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SIND AND THE PANJAB

PROVINCIAL CHANGES IN INDIA

BY A LATE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE PANJAB

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THE question of the separation of Sind from Bombay has again cropped up in the inquiries of the Simon Commission, and on this occasion it is raised on the differences of language and social condition which are well known. Sind was attached to Bombay because at first it was only accessible from that port, and was separated from the rest of British Northern India by foreign territories and Indian States. Consequently such military operations as had to be conducted there were necessarily entrusted to the Bombay Army. But in olden days it was always closely connected with the Moghal governments of the Panjab and Multan, and later it was so controlled by the Afghan Durrani dynasty. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was most anxious to include Sind in his dominions, and but for his death in 1839 he would probably have carried out his intention. Then followed the despatch of troops to Afghanistan through Sind, and finally Napier's expedition which ended in the incorporation of Sind in British India in 1843. So far the historical association of Sind and the Panjab is clear, and even the railway from Karachi to the interior was for many years known as the Sind, Panjab, and Delhi Railway.

It is fairly well known that in 1879, after the first phase of the Afghan War, Lord Lytton's Government had obtained sanction to the formation of all the Trans-Indus Frontier into a Frontier Province, and to the adding of Sind, or most of it, to the Panjab. The notification for carrying out this change was actually with the Secretary in the Legislative Department for final revision before it appeared in the *Gazette of India*, when in September, 1879, the news came through of Sir P. L. N. Cavagnari's murder in Kabul, and the scheme was postponed, only to be cancelled in the general scrapping of all Lord Lytton's policies on the return of the Liberal Government in 1880.

Since then the idea of reuniting Sind and the Panjab has

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often recurred, but has been dropped for various reasons. The former poverty of the Panjab and the fact that it was administered by a Lieutenant-Governor and not by a Governor in Council, while it was perhaps hampered by the charge of the Frontier, and justice was supervised by a Chief Court appointed by the Government of India, led the merchants of Karachi to demur to such a union. Sind officials also expressed a fear that Panjabis might seize their choice districts, and Panjab officers were not keen to sample the deserts of Sind, as they then had many desert stations of their own. The union might well have been effected in 1901, when Lord Curzon formed the North-West Frontier Province, but he had other things to do, and perhaps it was hardly his policy to add to the importance, at that time, of the Panjab.

The unnatural divorce of the two territories, however, has always involved serious drawbacks. The trade of the Panjab in wheat, oil-seeds, cotton, wool, hides, etc., all goes through Karachi, and the Panjab Government is often called on to remove what are held to be obstacles to that trade. It is surely not reasonable that a port depending almost entirely on the trade of one province should be cut off from that province. Now the old objections have all been removed. The Panjab enjoys the benefits of the administration by a Governor in Council and the supervision of a High Court, and is probably the most prosperous and progressive province in India. Its political conditions are analogous to those of Sind, and the addition of Karachi will give to the Legislative Council that commercial element requisite for political completeness. The Frontier has been separated and the Indian States transferred to the direct control of the Governor-General in Council, so that the Panjab Government, relieved of responsibilities that occupied most of its time, should be well able to control the united province.

But there is now an argument in favour of the reunion, which is vital and overwhelming. Sind and the Panjab both depend on canals for their prosperity and even for their existence. The Panjab has already over 11,000,000 acres of such irrigation; and Sind, in addition to her existing irrigation, hopes to water 5,000,000 acres from the Indus by the Sukkur Dam. The question of the distribution of the water supply is all-important for both tracts, and it is rather absurd that another Government in Bombay, which is entirely unconnected with the problem, should intervene. But it is believed that the Government of India have directed that no more water shall be taken from the Indus and the other rivers of the Panjab until definite proof can be given that Sind has a full supply

for the Sukkur project. The result is that the Sind Sagar Canal from the Indus and the Satlaj Dam Scheme with their 4,000,000 acres of irrigation in the deserts are indefinitely held up, as it may be ten years or more before the adequacy of the Sukkur supply can be proved, even if the soil, climate, and facilities of cultivation prove to be as suitable as those of the Panjab for such perennial irrigation.

It is true that the Satlaj Dam and the similar storage projects on the Jhelum, Ravi, Bias, and Jamna, which the Panjab Government has been considering since 1908, and even before that date, will not take more of the present supply than the existing canals do, and may even add to the available balance of water; but it will be difficult to convince Bombay of this, and these projects will also be blocked and enormous loss to the country and people entailed.

Obviously the proper course is to place these two cognate tracts, dependent for their prosperity and existence on the same source of water supply, under the same Government, which, with a staff of the greatest experts in irrigation, can assure them of equal treatment and of the fullest possible supply that science can provide. Then the happily reunited Panjab and Sind will attain even greater heights of prosperity and importance.

It is not necessary for this economical thesis to consider here the various schemes for dividing and amalgamating provinces, which have been put before the Simon Commission, some of which may well conduce to better government; but it may be pointed out that, if Bombay finds herself unduly cramped by the loss of control of Sind and of the Bombay States, there are contiguous cognate and homologous tracts which could be absorbed by her easily, and probably much to their own content, and with a great ultimate saving in administrative costs.

But whether such readjustments are made or not, the reunion of the Panjab and Sind seems imperative in the interests of the agricultural population forming about ninety per cent. of the whole, and the greatest good of the greatest number must prevail.

L. D.

LORD CURZON

BY SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND

LORD CURZON was not a grand seigneur nor a great man. But he was a great lover of his country. For him England was the instrument specially designed by Providence for divine work in the world. And in this faith he worked with might and main to carry out the divine purpose. He loved his country with all his heart and with all his soul and with all his mind and with all his strength. He loved her as himself. He had no genius to offer ; but all his talents and his marvellous industry he placed freely at her service. And, in spite of physical illness, he carried on her work with unsurpassed steadfastness of purpose. And his country recognized his devotion to her by creating him first a baron, then an earl, then a marquis, and conferring on him the knighthood of the Garter—distinctions not a single one of which she had conferred on that far greater predecessor of his, Warren Hastings.

Yet the magnificent three-volumed biography* with which his memory is also honoured is full of his expressions of disappointment and of bitter complaints that his work is not being appreciated. And the life ends with the gloom of failure hanging dismally over it. Why was this? Why was it that the man who started on life with so many advantages, an education in the greatest public school and perhaps the first university, many friends, a high social position, considerable talents, and a fund of enthusiasm, should have finished his life—even though he had received all the aforementioned rewards—with a sense of failure?

The answer is that with all these advantages of heredity and environment yet lacked he one thing. Lord Ronaldshay observes : " His imagination, brilliant though it was in some directions, was not precisely of the kind which enabled him to put himself in other people's skins." That inability to look through other people's eyes—in other words, that lack of *sympathetic* imagination—was the reason why he did not achieve supreme success. He worked hard and long for the good of England and for the good of India. He spared himself nothing. He carefully trained himself. He toiled, almost literally, night and day—continually up till two or three in the morning. And he would leave nothing to others : he

* Published by Benn Bros., Ltd., London.

wanted things well done, so he would do them himself. But England's good and India's good must be what *he*—not they—considered good. He would study each problem with the utmost assiduity; and he would elaborate his conclusions in speech, or minute, or despatch with the utmost brilliancy of composition. But the good must be what he had after full deliberation decided was good. He had not that quality of insight, that swift intuition, which could divine what was in the hearts and souls of peoples, what would satisfy their hopes and aspiration, what would bring them that contentment of soul which is their only true good."

As a consequence, he failed of complete success. He did much for India. He braced up the whole administration. He put new life and spirit into the administration. He reformed the education. He placed agriculture on a sounder basis. He improved the railways. He reorganized frontier administration. He preserved the ancient monuments. But no one can say that he won the hearts of the Indian people. He did not bring India nearer to England. And he failed to detect the new life that was bursting out in India and seeking for expression. And it was the same in England. From university days on he was always regarded as the superior person high above the common ruck of humanity.

And yet, as Lord Ronaldshay shows time after time, he was an unusually sensitive man, with great capacity of affection. In his early days he had many and good friends. He was a generous host. He was excellent company, full of good stories. And he had in addition the power of appreciation—he could recognize good work when he saw it and be generous in his appreciation. And possessing all these qualities one would have expected that he would have had sympathetic imagination as well. But it was absent. And perhaps connected with this deficiency was what in one who aspired to great office must be considered a defect. If he wanted a thing well done, instead of leaving one or other of the able and experienced Civil Servants in India or in the Foreign Office in London to do it for him, he would do it himself. Consequently, he left his mind no time to settle and steady itself and see things in proper proportion; and we have the biography disfigured by petulant outbursts and querulous complaints of opposition and want of recognition. In short, he overdrove himself and was wanting in judgment.

And, contrary to Lord Ronaldshay's opinion, I consider that the greatest mistake he made was in going to India at all. He was not asked to accept the Viceroyalty. He asked for it—and with some insistence. And at the time he asked

for it he was just beginning to establish for himself a good position both in the House of Commons and in the country. The manner which was such a drawback to him was being rubbed off. In two or three years he would have been in the Cabinet, where the process of attrition would have continued. He would have established his position in the Conservative Party. When Mr. Balfour went to the House of Lords, Curzon—he would still have been Mr. Curzon, for Lord Scarsdale did not die till 1916—and he, not Bonar Law, would have been Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons. And when Asquith's Government broke up during the war he and not Bonar Law would have been sent for by the King. And he and not Lloyd George would have been our War Prime Minister after Asquith.

As it was, the Viceroyalty increased instead of diminishing his defect, and England and not only Curzon suffered in consequence. It was a tragedy, and we cannot wonder that Lord Curzon was sad at the end of his life. For he had given of his best to India. And no other Viceroy had cared so much for India, not only during his term of his office, but long after it had expired. And the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta, which owes both its inception and its completion in its present splendid form to Lord Curzon's vigorous advocacy and persistent thought, extended for long years after he had left India, is both a noble memorial of the great Queen and also a remembrance of the last of her Viceroys. For in that splendid edifice beholders will recognize Lord Curzon's intense devotion both to his Sovereign and to India. And in that gratitude which India is always so ready to give may be found Lord Curzon's chief reward.

THE SALT REVENUE AND THE INDIAN STATES

BY COLONEL KAILAS NARAIN HAKSAR, C.I.E.

(Political Member, Gwalior State)

THE existence in India of a large number of States, each with an independent fiscal system, complicates the problems of taxation for the Government of India and the Provincial Governments very considerably. It is my purpose in this article to describe some aspects of the salt revenue problem. The taxation of salt was inherited by the East India Company from the Mughal Empire and was collected in Bengal from the time that the Diwani was assumed by the Company in 1765. It was later introduced into the other Presidencies, but in Madras and Bombay, where excise was charged upon salt manufactured by evaporation from the sea, the duties were much lower than in Bengal, where salt production was the monopoly of the Company.

In Northern India the chief source of supply was the salt lakes of Rajputana, and the tax upon this salt was collected by means of a customs duty levied at the inland frontier of British India.

So varied a system of taxation inevitably led to difficulties. Sir John Strachey described methods of collecting the customs duty as follows:

"In 1843, with the object of shutting out cheaper salt from provinces where it had been made artificially dear, and of keeping out of British territory the untaxed salt of Native States, the establishment of an Inland Customs Line was commenced, and by 1870 it had extended itself across the whole of British India from a point north of Attock, on the Indus, to the Mahanadi on the borders of Madras, a distance of 2,500 miles. Along the greater part of its length it was a huge material barrier, which Sir M. E. Grant Duff, speaking from personal observation, said could be compared to nothing else in the world except the Great Wall of China. It consisted chiefly of an immense impenetrable hedge of thorny trees and bushes, supplemented by stone walls and ditches, across which no human being or beast of burden or vehicle could pass without being subject to detention and search. If this Customs Line had been put down in Europe it would have stretched in 1869 from Moscow to Gibraltar.

It was guarded by an army of officers and men 12,000 in number, divided into beats, which were constantly patrolled by night and day, and were watched from 1,700 guard posts. It may easily be imagined what obstruction to trade, what abuses and oppression, what annoyance and harassment to individuals, took place."*

In order to remove the inconveniences of this system it was necessary to secure to the Government of India the control over almost the whole salt production of the country. Treaties and agreements were, therefore, negotiated with all States in whose territories salt was produced. In Rajputana the Sambhar Lake, and later other salt-producing districts, were leased by Government and became part of the Government monopoly. In other States the production of salt was entirely prohibited, and the Darbars were required to destroy salt-pans and to prevent their subjects from collecting the natural salt which in some districts occurs without the necessity for any process of manufacture. Other States, again, were permitted to produce salt but forbidden to export it either abroad or into British India. Two States were permitted to export salt to foreign nations, but not to any part of India. Thus control was secured to the Government of India, and a uniform system of taxation imposed upon the whole country.

In the course of unification the States possibly suffered serious losses, both of wealth and of sovereignty. There are many other cases in which it would appear, at least at first sight, that the legal rights of the States have been infringed or that the Princes have been compelled to yield up their rights by signing agreements which the weakness of their position has given them no power to refuse. In many such cases the Government's action was at least dictated by the desire to promote the good of India as a whole. The manner in which the co-operation of the States in the building of railways was demanded seemed often high-handed and the terms offered to them often appear unfair, but the railways were designed to open up the country and the States have shared in the benefit from them. The necessity for a single control and a single jurisdiction was clear, and it was possible to argue that India as a whole would suffer if the sovereignty of individual States were too scrupulously respected. No such argument can defend the Salt Agreements. On the contrary, both the Governments and the peoples of the States have, in my opinion, suffered very considerably. In the first place, the greater part of the salt consumed in the States is subject to Government taxation. Certain States are allowed to produce

* Sir John Strachey, "India."

salt for their own consumption, and certain others receive a part of the whole of the salt which they consume free of duty, but in the majority of States every person who buys salt is contributing to the revenues of the Government of India. Salt is, in the strictest sense of the term, a necessity of life, and though the variations in the amount consumed at various levels of price appear to show that the demand for it has some elasticity, the elasticity is very small. The salt tax is, therefore, a tax which none can escape. The peoples of the majority of the States are thus compelled to contribute to the revenues of a Government of which they are not subjects and in whose expenditure they have no share, while certain Darbars, although they receive the money collected by the salt tax, find themselves compelled by their agreements to impose this burden upon their subjects, not because their own fiscal necessities compel them to do so, but because of the fiscal arrangements with the Government of India.

The States which at one time produced salt suffer other disadvantages besides the burden which is imposed upon their peoples as consumers of salt. These States may be roughly divided into three groups : those whose salt works are leased and controlled by Government, those in which the production of salt has been prohibited, and those in which production is allowed but export prohibited.

Of the first group a typical example is provided by the State of Jodhpur.

The Sambhar salt lake was leased in 1879 from the Jodhpur and Jaipur Darbars as a preliminary to the abolition of the Customs Line, and the abolition of the Line was in itself a considerable benefit to Government. Besides this, the control of the Rajputana salt works has enabled the Government to increase its revenue which, from the Sambhar Lake alone, has averaged over Rs. 1 crore during the last thirty years.

The other salt works of Jodhpur were also taken over by Government upon similar terms, but for the sake of simplicity we will only discuss the Sambhar Lake source.

The Jodhpur Darbar receives as rent Rs. 1,25,000 annually, the Jaipur Darbar Rs. 2,75,000, and both receive royalties upon the selling price of salt when more than a certain minimum is produced. The salt consumed in the State does not pay duty to Government. There are several provisions in the Jodhpur salt treaties which appear ungenerous. There seems no good reason why the royalty should not be paid upon the whole salt production, nor why it should be calculated upon the selling price of salt and not also upon the duty, which is in effect a monopoly price exacted by Government.

The selling price of salt varies at present between 2 and 6 annas ($2\frac{1}{4}$ d. to $6\frac{3}{4}$ d.) per maund (82·3 lbs.), and the duty is Rs. 1·4·0 (1s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.). If the Government chooses to close down some of the salt works (two of the salt sources in Jodhpur leased by Government are not at present used) the Darbar receives no compensation for the loss of royalties, and is not permitted to take over the closed works. If any source is not worked to the full capacity, or if it is extravagantly managed, the royalties received by the Darbar fall off.

Finally, the salt treaties all contain the provision that if the arrangement should prove unfavourable to the Government of India it may be revised, or the lease terminated, but there is no provision which enables the State to revise the agreement.

Some States from which smaller salt works were taken over receive an annual compensation which was calculated upon the basis of their salt revenue at the time when the agreement was made, and which has never been raised in spite of the fact that both the consumption of salt and the Government salt revenue have increased considerably since the original award was made. For instance, the Nawab of Radhanpur protested in 1840, when his salt works were taken over by the Government, that the output of salt was even then increasing every year and that it was unreasonable to fix the compensation to be paid to him in relation to his revenue of that year, without making any allowance for the fact that it would be likely to increase in the future.* The majority of the salt treaties were concluded between 1870 and 1880, and since that time not only has the gross consumption of salt risen with the increase in population, but the consumption of salt per head has also risen.

In 1871 the salt revenue was Rs. 5 crores and the consumption per head about 7 lbs. In 1900 the salt revenue rose to Rs. 8 crores, and at present the revenue is Rs. 6 crores and the consumption per head about 12 lbs. a year.

In the State of Bharatpur the production of salt has been stopped altogether. This State at one time possessed very large salt works, and the Government of India wished to lease them at the same time as the Sambhar Lake. The Maharaja of Bharatpur, however, refused to allow such an interference in his jurisdiction, and declared that he would prefer to close the salt works altogether. The production of salt in Bharatpur was accordingly prohibited by an agreement in 1879. Few pages of the history of the Indian States are without a touch of comedy, and we find that the Maharaja refused compensation for the loss of salt manufacture, and preferred to ask

* Evidence before Butler Committee.

that the Headquarters of the Political Agency under which his State falls should be transferred from Bharatpur to Agra. The Government, however, pays to the Darbar a compensation of Rs.1,50,000 (about half the sum realized as salt revenue by the State at the time when the agreement was made) and supplies about one-sixtieth part of the State's consumption of salt free of duty.

The loss from the sudden cessation of salt production fell, of course, principally upon the producers of salt and upon the Darbar which was accustomed to tax it. The producers were compensated for their initial loss by a payment of Rs.2,26,000, and the Darbar, as we have seen, was compensated for a part of their lost revenue. The damage to the people of the State was, however, considerable. What had been one of their chief industries was closed to them; the manufacturers and their employees had to seek some other employment and the natural wealth of the State was left unused. Moreover, there is no doubt that agriculture in the salt districts was affected.

Colonel H. E. Brookman, who was Agency Surgeon at Bharatpur in 1905, writes :

"It is hardly a matter for surprise regarding brackish nature of the water in the wells in the State, when we consider that a very important industry—the manufacture of salt—used to be in the State in past years, till the monopoly was taken over by the British Government many years ago. The continual abstraction of water from Katcha wells dug for the purpose of drawing brine water from the salt-bearing strata, annually removed from the soil tons of brine which now, owing to the suspension of salt manufacture in this State, remains in the soil and contaminates the water with enormous quantity chiefly of chloride of sodium which mainly account for its brackish nature."

And Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who was Settlement Commissioner of Bharatpur 1890-1900, describes the result as follows :

"The central portion of the Tehsil lies around Kumber town on both sides of the Deeg-Bharatpur road, extending east to west from Pengaur to Asthawan and north to south from Dhamrer on the Deeg to Nagla Manji on the Bharatpur boundary. This was the great seat of salt manufacture, and was then one of the most busy and prosperous parts of the State, but it has now a forlorn and depressed appearance, with large areas of land lying waste or deserted owing to the bad soil, bad water, want of hands, and the inroads of the wild cattle from Heylak and Saketra Rundhs on the south,

and Auw and Mandhera Rundhs on the north. Since the abolition of the salt trade, population has become sparse, and the jungle has steadily encroached on the cultivation. Many estates have completely broken down, several are managed now in whole or part direct by the Tehsil (Kham), and many of the remainder are only kept going by the direct interference of the Tehsildar, and the levy of grazing dues on large areas of waste. The village sites have a forlorn and desolate appearance, aggravated by the belts of dismal farrash trees, which alone thrive in the ungenerous soil. The Zemindars, too, are a poor lot, weak and spiritless Lodhas (formerly salt workers), listless Brahmins, or useless Faujdars. The soil in the north is in many places injured by *Kallar*, and on the south-west close to Kumher runs into *Bhur*. The water is bitter or brackish throughout except along the eastern side, where there is a natural depression through which, in 1866-67, Lieutenant Home, the State Engineer, cut the channel known as Home's canal, to bring the Ruparel floods from Dahr Kho near Deeg to Moti Jhil in Bharatpur."

Similar results have followed from the cessation of salt manufacture in other States.

The territories of Kishengarh State have suffered deterioration in a different way as a result of the Government monopoly. A large area of this State is drained by streams flowing into the Sambhar Lake. Since the salt manufacture of Sambhar is partly dependent upon the drainage of surface water from Kishengarh territory, the Kishengarh Darbar is compelled to consult the Northern India Salt Revenue Department before undertaking any irrigation project. That Department, since 1900, when the question was first raised by them, have objected to the erection of fresh dams which would hold up water at present flowing into the Salt Lake, and also to the repair of existing works, and they have even required the destruction of wells and small dams constructed by villagers. Unfortunately for Kishengarh this policy was only introduced after the neighbouring British district of Ajmer, which is also drained by the Southern Lake, had already been allowed to construct a number of dams.

Kishengarh lies in a district of short rainfall and is peculiarly dependent upon wells and the irrigation works, but a great part of the water which is so precious to it is wasted in a large marsh on the borders of the Lake and is not even put to any profitable use at the salt works. The policy of the Salt Revenue Department and the jealous guard which they keep upon the level of water in their lake have prevented the Darbar from undertaking works which would have

increased its own revenue and improved the lot of its people, and have caused at the same time a considerable deterioration in the productivity of land in the area concerned (reflected in a fall of land revenue of more than 50 per cent. in seventy years), and, consequently, a considerable decline in the wealth of the people of the State.*

Of States in which salt manufacture is permitted, but from which export is not allowed, the chief examples are to be found in Kathiawar. The Kathiawar Peninsula is to a certain extent isolated from the rest of India by geography, and almost the whole of it consists of State territory. It did not seem, therefore, necessary for the Government of India, in securing its monopoly, to prohibit the manufacture of salt there altogether. It surely should have been only necessary to ensure that no salt from the Kathiawar works should penetrate into British India. This was effected by a number of engagements "for the security of the salt revenue of British India," which the States concerned reluctantly consented to sign.

By these agreements it was laid down that salt produced in Kathiawar can only be consumed in Kathiawar and that it can be exported neither to British India nor to any foreign market.

The following provisions from the Nawanager agreement are typical :

ARTICLE I.

His Highness the Jam of Nawanager agrees that Chasia Salt only should be manufactured in his territory and that only at the following places :

1. Hadiana.
2. Ghodajhar.

Works at present existing at other places shall be absolutely prohibited and suppressed.

The two works above mentioned shall be made as compact as possible and shall be properly fenced in, so as to prevent egress and ingress except at regular gateways.

ARTICLE II.

The amount of salt manufactured at these works shall in no year exceed (1,33,500) one lakh thirty-three thousand and five hundred Indian maunds, and His Highness the Jam agrees that the salt shall be manufactured only for consump-

* See evidence before the Butler Committee, in which the case is set out in great detail.

tion and sale within the limits of the Hallar Prant. (Less the States of Morvi and Malia.) His Highness the Jam, where the jurisdiction lies with him, will not permit its export beyond the other limits and the Political Officers of the Agency will use their influence to prevent such exportation of salt from the other States of Hallar and also the importation into Hallar of salt manufactured in the other districts of the Province.

Should it be found by experience that the amount of salt above mentioned is less than or in excess of the actual requirements of the district, the limits of manufacture shall be increased or diminished with the sanction of the Political Agent.

ARTICLE III.

His Highness the Jam will cause to be destroyed or carefully watched by State employees to prevent its sale or removal all natural salt produced within his territory.

The Political Officers of the Agency on their part will cause similar measures to be carried out in other States in Hallar where natural salt may be produced.

ARTICLE VI.

The duty levied by the British Government on salt manufactured in the Bombay Presidency is at present rupees two and annas eight per Indian maund. So long as this duty is maintained, His Highness the Jam agrees to charge a uniform duty of two rupees per Indian maund on all salt issued from salt works and storehouses of the States. No salt shall be allowed to issue therefrom without payment of the said duty, with the sole exception of the amounts mentioned in Article IX. of this agreement, but salt shall be supplied from such works and storehouses at rates not exceeding cost of manufacture plus duty.

Should any change hereafter occur in the rate of duty levied on salt in the British Districts of the Bombay Presidency, His Highness the Jam will cause a corresponding change to be made in his territory.

ARTICLE VIII.

His Highness the Jam agrees that he will absolutely prevent and prohibit the exportation by sea from his territory of all salt, except the small quantity that may be required for the use of the crew or passengers on voyage, and that he will do all in his power in every way to prevent the smuggling of salt whether by land or by sea into British territory. In return the British Government agrees that it will not directly

support the importation of British taxed salt either by land or sea into the territory for which under this agreement salt is to be supplied by the Nawanager State.

ARTICLE XIV.

His Highness the Jam agrees to keep up a preventative force consisting of not less than :

- 1 Superintendent.
- 2 Assistant Superintendents.
- 30 Horse or Camel Swars.
- 70 Foot.

This shall always be kept in a thoroughly efficient state, and shall be employed solely on the duty of the prevention of smuggling.

ARTICLE XV.

In the event of its being found by experience that the arrangements made by His Highness the Jam in accordance with this agreement are insufficient or inadequate for the security of the salt revenue of the British Government, this agreement shall be open to revision.

In return for this co-operation with the British Indian Salt Revenue Department the States receive no concession, and for the loss of their export trade no compensation.

It is impossible to estimate with any accuracy the amount of trade which is lost in this way. Before the export of salt was prohibited, Nawanager was accustomed to export salt to Mombasa, Zanzibar, and Madagascar, and ships calling at the Kathiawar ports were accustomed to carry salt as ballast. This trade in no way damaged the British Indian salt revenue, and the prohibition appears to be dictated by the fear that if salt were once loaded on to ships the British Indian Customs officials would not be competent to prevent smuggling into India.

Since the trade in salt came to an end the inhabitants of Nawanager have been compelled to emigrate in search of employment, and H.H. the Jam Sahib stated before the Butler Committee that some 100,000 of his subjects have left the State who could have been supported at home if this and other industries had been allowed to develop.

Meanwhile, salt is imported into India from abroad. India imports, chiefly by way of Calcutta, more than Rs.1 crores worth of salt. A part of this is refined European salt, that

does not compete directly with Indian salt, but nearly Rs. 70 lakhs worth of it is sea salt from Aden and Egypt and East Africa. If this demand in Bengal were met by Kathiawar salt the Government revenue would not suffer (since the salt would still be subject to import duty), the States of Kathiawar would be greatly benefited, and unnecessary transportation would be saved.

It is obvious from these examples of the effect of the Government of India's salt policy upon the Indian States that the losses which they suffer are not merely losses of revenue to the Darbars, but involve an actual loss of real wealth, which affects not only the States, but also the whole of India. When the compensation which is paid to a Darbar is inadequate the Government of India gains as much as the State loses, but if natural wealth is destroyed, or left unworked, if land is allowed to deteriorate, or salt is transported from a distance to a district where salt works close at hand are lying unused, the wealth of India is by that much the less.

The above facts would seem to show clearly that, not only have the States undergone great hardships in this matter of the salt revenue, but the economic wealth of India as a whole has been affected.

Salt-producing States in which—

1. *Salt works are run by Government:*

Jodpur. Jaipur. Radhaupur (works closed by Government).

2. *Manufacture is stopped:*

Cambay. Adampur. Alwar. Bharatpur. Dholpur. Jhallawar. Karauli. Kishengarh. Lawa. Shahpura. Sirohi. Touk. Bundi. Samthar. Kotak (except a small quantity produced at saltpetre works).

3. *Production is limited and export stopped:*

Patiala. Juragarh. Nawanagar. Bhannagar. Morvi. Jafarabad. Porbandas. Dhrangadra. Than Labtar. Limri. Wala. Malia. Bajana. Gwattior. Datia. Bikaner. Jaisalmer. Cutch, Baroda (export permitted to foreign ports outside India).

N.B.—This is probably incomplete, as some States have been prohibited from exporting salt or prevented from producing it either by political pressure or administrative action, and, therefore, have no agreements on the subject of salt, which appear in Aitchison.

GOVERNMENT CHAPLAINS AND THE INDIAN CHURCH ACT

BY A. J. MACDONALD,

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It is doubtful whether all the implications of the Indian Church Act have been realized. The Act covers the process of appointing future Bishops and Archdeacons; the rights of the Indian Church; the control of Church buildings maintained by Government; the appointment and control of Chaplains and the conduct of public worship; the incorporation and powers of Indian Church trustees and the vesting of property; the administration of existing trusts. It will at once be seen that under these headings lie some matters of vital ecclesiastical and religious importance to the body of Chaplains.

For example, Section 2, ii. and iii., abolishes the appointment of Indian Bishops and Archdeacons by Letters Patent of His Majesty, or their appointment under any right of royal patronage. As the Circular Letter of October 23, 1926 (para. 4) states: "The Indian Church will have power to frame rules in such manner as may seem most appropriate for its own good government." The appointment of Bishops will be made under the new Constitution of the Indian Church, a draft copy of which was forwarded to the Provincial Governments in October, 1926. This Constitution consists of draft proposals "as revised up to December, 1924," which have been circulated by the ecclesiastical authorities in India. Chapter VIII. of the Constitution contains the canon controlling the "Election or Appointment of Bishops and Metropolitans" in India. These appointments have been placed in the hands of the Indian diocesan councils. This raises one of the most vital questions at issue. The appointment of Indian Bishops has for a long period been unsatisfactory. They have been sometimes clergy sent straight out from England without any special knowledge or experience of Indian conditions, whether ecclesiastical or civil, or, more generally, they have been selected from the missionary body working in India. The number of Bishops appointed from the Chaplains on the Ecclesiastical Establishment of India,

in spite of the recent appointment at Lucknow, is almost negligible. The results of this policy are twofold. On the one hand, the ex-missionary Bishops tend to come with feelings that are pro-missionary; no terminology less strong could adequately describe the situation. They have generally been missionaries who have been engaged on the staffs of Mission Schools and Colleges, and have therefore lacked that parochial experience without which no Bishop either at home or abroad should be appointed. Again, their complete non-acquaintance with the elaborate system of rules, by which the Government of India controls the Chaplains' department, tends to make them dependent for some time after their appointment, upon one or two ecclesiastical officials at diocesan headquarters. Consequently the supervision of local church life, and especially of the Chaplains' conditions and wants, has lacked that statesmanlike and efficient control which is rightly expected in a Church organized on episcopal lines.

On the other hand, the refusal of the authorities concerned to make appointments of Bishops from the Chaplains serving in India has not only discouraged a body which until recently numbered some two hundred clergy,* it has also affected recruiting for the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment in England. Able men have declined to take service under an administration in which promotion to the highest office was almost entirely closed, and in which the Bishops were drawn from organizations having no knowledge or experience of the special features of a Chaplain's life and work. No other body of Government servants in India has been treated in this way. Whether the service be civil or military, medical or educational, the heads of the departments (apart from the Governors of provinces, and even some of these have been appointed straight from the ranks of the Indian Civil Service) have all been selected from officials engaged in those departments. The excuse has usually been twofold. Firstly, it has been said that a Bishop must be able to speak the language of the native community to which he ministers. But the invalidity of this explanation has been shown at two or three recent appointments, when missionaries were sent from a distance as Bishops, to dioceses where the language was not that with which they were conversant, and which, on account of age and the press of business, they had little or no prospect of acquiring. Secondly, it has been alleged that the Chaplains' Department did not contain men able enough for pro-

* The number is now about one hundred and thirty.

motion to the episcopate. The reply to this contention, again, is that some recent appointments do not bear out this reflection made against the Chaplains' Department. Men quite as well qualified could have been found in its ranks. Moreover, if there be some ground in the charge, then it refers to a state of affairs for which those who make episcopal appointments are entirely responsible. We have seen that able men have been discouraged from joining the Service; moreover, the acquirement of native languages by the Chaplains would have been encouraged if it had been recognized that Chaplains, as well as missionaries, could expect to be promoted to the Episcopate.

Now comes the new regulation whereby the appointment of Bishops is placed in the hands of diocesan councils in India. Will this regulation improve matters? It is difficult to see that it will do so. In the first place, all hope of Chaplains being appointed as Bishops will be eventually finally cut off. The diocesan councils are already dominated by missionary Bishops and missionary interests. The present defective system will therefore be confirmed, even if it be not accentuated. Moreover, there is the question of the appointment of Indians as Bishops. The appointment of one Indian Bishop has already been made,* and with a very proper recognition of the Indian Christian community; but the Indian clergy and laity on the diocesan councils already largely outnumber the European clergy and members. We may therefore expect an increase in the appointment of Indian clergy to the episcopate, at a rate far in excess of the requirements of the present condition of the Indian Church. It will be many years before European members of the Church in India ought to be placed under the control of Indian Christian Bishops, yet the Indian Church Act throws the door open to an unnecessary quickening of this development.

Together with Section 2, Sections 4 and 5 present the chief practical difficulties in the scheme. This has been clearly perceived by the Government of India, and it has been found necessary to deal with them at length in a number of Draft Rules (Appendix III. to the Circular Letter of October 23, 1926), which will be operated under the Indian Church Act.

The future of the Chaplains' Department has been a matter of controversy ever since the severance of the Church in India began to be seriously discussed. It may be conceded that the large reduction in the personnel of the

* To the missionary diocese of Dornakal.

Chaplains' service, carried out in recent years, is not the result of the negotiations for the severance. But the opinion is widely held in quarters where Indian conditions are understood, that the new scheme is bound to affect profoundly the Chaplains' service, even if it does not end in its abolition. It is unlikely that there will be anything permanently binding in the provisions of the Indian Church Act. Indeed, clause after clause, and rule after rule frankly contemplate the breakdown of the system, and a complete reorganization within five years from the passing of the Bill (Draft Rule 30). Economy is the cry in all departments of the Indian administration. A full debate has already taken place in the Legislative Assembly of India on the abolition of the Ecclesiastical Establishment.* In order to make more easy the sanction of Government to their proposal, the Indian Bishops have said to the Government, "We surrender the stipends of our episcopal sees and of their archdeaconries," representing a sum of about £10,000 a year. It will be observed that the personnel of these bishoprics and archdeaconries are the official heads of the Chaplains' Department in India. Only a short-sighted outlook can fail to perceive that in the not distant future this action of the Bishops will be used as a precedent by a Government bent on further economy, and that the Chaplains' Department will be further curtailed, if not entirely abolished. It may be replied that this development is inevitable. But that contention does not excuse the Indian Bishops from unnecessarily hastening the process. If disestablishment and disendowment in India are inevitable, then a more prudent course would have been quietly to organize against that development through the medium of the already existing diocesan councils, and not to cripple the meagre financial resources of the Church in India, by surrendering, before being asked to do so, a sum of £10,000 a year. It has not been clearly grasped by the laity that when the present occupants of the sees of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, together with the Archdeacons attached to them, retire or are translated, the lay people of the Church in India will be asked to finance their successors.

At the present time the Government of India is loud in its asseverations that Chaplains must always be maintained by it in India, for the benefit of troops and civilians and the British community generally. But even so, the Government has been compelled to contemplate the breakdown of

* February 22, 1923.

the present scheme so far as the Chaplains' Department is concerned. Section 4 of the Act makes arrangement "to resume complete control over all or any" of the churches served by Chaplains, and this is confirmed by the Draft Rules Nos. 27-30. The interpretation put upon these provisions by the Government of India is made clear in the Circular Letter: "The practical result of putting Rule 29 into operation, therefore, would be that the Secretary of State would be able to introduce Army Chaplains into India, and these Chaplains would minister to military maintained churches" (para. 9). . . . Paragraph 11, commenting on Draft Rule 30, says: "In the event of such orders being given, all military maintained churches may be resumed, and such churches could then be manned by Chaplains of the Royal Army Chaplains' Department."

The effect of such a change would seriously affect the spiritual welfare and ecclesiastical interests of both the European and Indian Christian communities attached to the Church of England in India. A very large sum of money would have to be raised to staff and maintain the disconnected churches. The number of maintained or Government churches would be reduced to a minimum. Only a few garrison churches at the big military centres would be staffed by Government-paid Chaplains. Being Chaplains of the Royal Army Chaplains' Department, their duties would be confined to the garrison churches. Hence the spiritual needs of the greater number of the European community, who do not live at military centres, or who, while living there, could not find room at services held in churches occupied by the troops during hours of worship, would be entirely neglected by Government. Even the Government of India does not contemplate that it would be possible to find efficient clergy, assuming that the Indian Church could find stipends, to go out from England in sufficient numbers to minister to the civil community, when such clergy would be no longer Government Chaplains. Indeed, the Government of India contemplates a worse contingency in which not only would sections of the British community be without the services of Chaplains, but many churches would be withdrawn from the ministrations of the Indian Church, and "held in trust for the purposes of the Church of England"; and it frankly admits that "it is doubtful whether the Archbishop of Canterbury would send out clergymen of the Church of England to minister to them" (Circular Letter, para. 9).

The final result may be that many civilians, who

cannot obtain facilities for worshipping at the garrison churches, will be left with no option but to attend churches existing under the sole control of the Indian Church, and staffed either by Indian or Anglo-Indian clergy. If they are not to be supplied with English clergy, they will, I think, in most cases, cease to go to church at all.

In the military centres, the British community would, so far as possible, attend the garrison churches, staffed by Army Chaplains. The Anglo-Indian and Indian Christians would be confined to voluntary churches staffed by Indian or Anglo-Indian clergy. Hence would be fostered a racial cleavage in the Church, extremely undesirable in the face of evils long existent in India, on account of communal cleavage in the Indian community. This result would tell most hardly upon the Indian Christian community. At the present time in military or civil centres alike, wherever Government Chaplains minister, Indian and Anglo-Indian Christians have facilities for attending the Government maintained churches, and they make full use of these privileges. Moreover, while the duties of a Government Chaplain on the Indian Establishment are concerned mainly with the British community, both military and civil, he is able to devote much time to the interests of the Anglo-Indian and Indian members of the Church. All this would be withdrawn if Army Chaplains were sent out to India.

Another defect in the scheme proposed, which has a direct bearing upon the Chaplains' Department, is the provision to place the Chaplains under the supervision of Archdeacons of the new Indian Church, who, together with the Bishops, will still be able to draw some Government pay for services rendered in these matters (Circular Letter, para. 4). That is to say, for administrative purposes as well as ecclesiastical, Government Chaplains will be under the control of officials who are no longer servants of the Government of India. The dangers of such an anomalous position might be circumvented by appointing in India a Chaplain-General, who should open his Office in Delhi, rather than Calcutta, who would have complete control over all the Chaplains throughout India for administrative purposes, and act as their sole intermediary with Government. Under special contingencies the Government of India definitely contemplates the possibility of such a step being taken: "it may be thought advisable that a Chaplain-General with episcopal powers should be appointed" (Circular Letter, para. 8). It is not desirable that such a

Chaplain-General should possess "episcopal powers," if such refer to episcopal functions; but the appointment of a Chaplain-General, even under the existing conditions, would vastly improve the morale and working of the Chaplains' Department in India, especially if he had the right to move Chaplains readily from one province or diocese to another. The efficiency of the present service is seriously impaired by reason of the difficulty of moving a Chaplain from north to south, or east to west, where his services might be vastly more profitable.

Another matter of vital importance for the spiritual welfare of the British community in India is the use of the Prayer Book, together with the type of church service permitted under the new scheme. Rule 5 of the Draft Rules, which is interpreted by paragraph 6 of the Circular Letter, provides that "Every Chaplain shall have the right to use the Services contained in any Book of Common Prayer from time to time authorized in England when ministering in a maintained church or elsewhere to a congregation which includes members of the Church of England temporarily resident in India and which worships in the English language," and the Chaplain is safeguarded from interference in the use of this right by the authorities of the Indian Church (*cf.* Draft Rules 15, 19, and 21). But the question of ritual is not mentioned, doubtless because it was anticipated that sanction for the wearing of vestments, for example, would be supplied by the Revised Prayer Book which the House of Commons declined to authorize. Consequently the regulations concerning the use of the Prayer Book must be read in the light of Draft Rule 20, which states that "No sacrament, rite, ceremony, solemnization of marriage, services or religious ministration of any kind . . . shall be administered or performed in any maintained church except in conformity with the rules for the time being of the Indian Church." Let us suppose, therefore, that the Indian Church adopts, as a compulsory ceremonial, the use of Eucharistic vestments sanctioned by the Deposited Prayer Book of 1927; it is difficult to see how Chaplains will be able to avoid obedience to the Indian Bishops in this matter. Even under the present system Chaplains have found it difficult in some cases to resist the influence of diocesan authorities.

The statements already made by the Government of India leave the impression that it regards the whole scheme with considerable hesitation. Not only does it confess that the legislation sanctioned is "unusual" in character, not

only does it allow for a complete withdrawal of the scheme within five years, but in the Circular Letter issued to the Local Governments in India, difficulty after difficulty is hypothecated, in a manner quite contrary to the customary definitive terminology of documents issuing from the Secretariat at Delhi. The Government of India already foresees a whole series of contingencies, which in the case of a civil measure would have prevented it from reaching even the draft stage. If the Government is satisfied that the conditions of the Church in India demand some such measure as this, it is difficult to see why it should have circulated a statement so hesitating and full of hypothecation as the letter sent out on October 23, 1926.

THE ENTHRONEMENT OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY *HIROHITO*,

THE 124TH RULER OF JAPAN, OF DIRECT DESCENT FROM
AMATERASU, THE SUN GODDESS. TRADITIONAL DATE 660 B.C.

BY MRS. C. M. SALWEY

(Hon. Member Asiatic Society of Japan; Member of Meiji
Japan Society.)

THE beauty that illuminates the historic pages of the "Everlasting Great Japan" lies not in pictured records or printed pages, but in the spiritual and living belief of a people who acknowledge the Divine Right of Kings. "The history of Japan is the history of her religion." The heart and actions of each loyal subject are influenced by their Ruler and the state worship of Ancestors. The long line of ancestry is believed in and accepted *de facto*.

We may safely say without hesitation that the Ceremonies attending the Enthronement of each succeeding Emperor are the most unique of all the many programmes drawn up for such an auspicious event in any other land.

Simplicity marks every step undertaken in order to carry out ancient customs, and the absence of any emotion is singularly evinced. The lavish display of enthusiasm universal in other countries on such a vital occasion is dispensed with, and visible demonstration and gesticulations of joy find deeper expression of reverence in utter silence on this occasion. The Japanese as a nation have from time immemorial accepted their reigning monarch and looked up to him as one to be obeyed and almost worshipped, relying on his mandates as being just and necessary—dictated by the gods whom they have been taught to revere.

The programme that initials the Enthronement is as follows: When it becomes quite evident that the reigning Emperor is drawing his last breath, the Treasures of the Regalia (which will be described presently) are brought into an adjoining room, and placed in readiness for presentation and acceptance of the heir-apparent. No time must elapse, or be lost, after the soul of the deceased Emperor has winged its flight and his feet have begun to tread the path to Meido. "The King is dead! Long live the King!" is the traditional proclamation.

The Sacred Treasures of the Regalia are believed to be either gifts or objects of Divine workmanship, safely guarded through the centuries, only called into requisition for a time from their secret Sanctuary, to be taken into the hands and keeping of the Heir, who has right to rule by reason of their possession.

The Imperial Regalia of Japan is therefore immediately received and held by the new Emperor.

The Regalia consists of:

The Mirror called *Yata-no-Kagami*.

The Sword *Mura Kumo-no-Tsurugi*.

The Jewels *Yasa Kani-no-Magatama*.

The Mirror represents Knowledge, Truth, Divinity, and Know Thyself; the Sword, Courage and Justice; the Jewels, Mercy.

Mr. Goji Ukita, Chancellor of the Imperial Legation, London, remarked in his lecture before the Japan Society, 1892:

"I am afraid I cannot convey to you the beauty of this symbolism in English, even in Japanese it is difficult to do more than *feel* it."

These emblems also represent the Sun, Moon, and Stars.

The original Treasures are never to be seen; a counterpart of them is shown in the centre of the shrine at Ise, and remains in the care and guardianship of a Princess of Royal blood, also in charge of the originals.*

Nothing can exceed the priceless worth of these Emblems of the Regalia in which lie so many traditional virtues; the mere possession constituting the right to rule, inspiring loyalty, devotion, and almost worship in the successive generations, who have lived and passed away true to their Ruler, and believing profoundly in the tenets of an ancient faith that has never wavered, notwithstanding the varied changes of this present or any other century.

After the Emblems of the Regalia have been accepted, and the New Emperor proclaimed, there is no need of rude haste in following up the Enthronement Ceremonies. Days and months pass by. These are devoted to quiet, restful mourning for the beloved relative, also for important State business that is still imperative, and for which the present Ruler is fully qualified.

His late Imperial Majesty *Yoshihito*, whose reign was named *Taisho*, or the "Era of Great Righteousness," after a brief sovereignty passed away to be gathered to his forefathers December 25, 1926. The Enthronement of H.I.

* W. E. Griffin, "The Mikado's Empire," p. 16.

Japanese Majesty *Hirohito* dates from November 10, 1928. His reign is already named *Sho-wa*, the "Era of Radiant Peace."

The Emperors of Japan are not crowned, the possession of the Emblems is sufficient. They are as binding as any golden or jewelled crown that is placed with prayer upon the head of our own King, or Ruler of any Land. But a headgear composed of black silk gauze and supports with a raised plume in the centre is sometimes donned by the Royal Sovereign of the Land.

These Ceremonies are divided into those of preparation and those of concluding items. When the date of accession is fixed the gods have to be acquainted and remembered in order to merit their approval. The Emperor, with members of the Imperial Household, is present on this occasion. Following this, His Majesty prepares and places in the hands of special messengers a scroll on which are written declarations to be read before the Tombs of the Imperial Ancestors and national Shrines. This scroll, after these have been visited and the messages declared, is preserved in a casket of pure white wood.

This done, the next consideration is the selection of the Rice fields for the sowing of the sacred rice, all traditional customs which must be strictly carried out. There are too many special rules to be enumerated here. The day is known by the name of the *Dai josai*, or the Great Harvest Thanksgiving for the firstfruits of land and sea, of which a portion has to be offered to the Kami, and therefore observed to the letter. This ceremony has more or less a fixed date, it cannot be delayed when the seasons for sowing and reaping come round.

After the fields have been carefully selected they are named *Yuki* and *Suki*. This takes place early in February. Those who own the fields that have to be prepared must bathe in a river, and all who have taken part in the preparation of the soil must follow suit, and not only purify themselves by bathing, but must robe themselves in white garments. When all this is observed, and the fields have been blessed, they are ready for sowing. This year we read it was commenced about September 15.

Everything being carefully and religiously carried out, the journey of the Emperor and the Empress to Kyoto from Tokyo claims attention.

The Enthronement Ceremony takes place in the heart of the beautiful and ancient City of Kyoto. Lovely surroundings and scenery, historic memories, temples of unique art

and forceful mysteries endear this spot to the Japanese. It has ever been acknowledged a city beloved and treasured by reason of the many historical events which have been enacted within its confines. In the days of seclusion and term of Great Peace it was the capital of the Empire, while the Shogun resided at Tokyo. In those days, numerically the term of 260 years, the monarchs of Japan were considered too divine to be approached. Thrown upon their own resources, the people worked for each other. They did not crave for notoriety, or expansion, or brotherhood beyond their sea-girt Island Empire. They lived their lives, believing the mandates of those in authority, and

"Then none was for a Party, all were for the State ;

The great man helped the poor man ; and the poor man loved the great." *

Then came the change, the knocking at the closed ports ; the demand for the open door, and a hundred other appeals. H.I.M. *Meiji Tenno*, the beloved, the revered, the noble and just, took up the reins of government, and with his pure, unselfish devotion, aided by his courtiers, carried out, in the highest sense of the word, "The Era of Enlightenment."

Wherever the Emperor journeys the Emblems of the Regalia must accompany him. As the Enthronement takes place in the Sacred *Shishin-den* Shrine of Shinto Faith, the Emperor and Empress will be conducted and accompanied to Kyoto in their splendid State carriage to the station at Tokyo and from the station at Kyoto to the Palace. On their way a procession of thirty-two youths from the Village of Yase will carefully bear a palanquin carried on their shoulders and supported by a long pole. This palanquin will contain the precious Mirror, Sword, and Jewels. The boys will take it right up, after the main station of Kyoto is reached, to the Sacred Shrine of *Shishin-den*. The journey commences on November 6th ; their Majesties will sleep the night at *Nago-ya*, the city of Industries, and arrive at Kyoto on the 7th. The quiet moving crowd in gala dress and the officials in scarlet uniforms will line the route from the station, and the ladies of the court will be conspicuous by their brilliant and costly costumes. All will be conducted in a becoming, reverential manner, as if in the presence of the Spirits of the Departed. The sound of gongs and drums and other musical instruments will proclaim the successive stages that must culminate as one item after another is carried out in all its archaic beauty with silence at intervals which is most impressive.

* From "Lays of Ancient Rome: Horatius," by Macaulay.

As the light fades during the hours of progressive duties, candles alone are burnt that have been made to last the appointed number of hours required ; they are lighted by means of pieces of wood struck together until they emit sparks.

When all ceremonies are observed, when prayers are said, when Ancestral Tombs and Shrines have all been visited, and the Gods acquainted that all has passed satisfactorily, when purification by bathing and hours of devotional silence are all over, and when the auspicious morning dawns, and H.I. Majesty, clad in robes of shimmering silk, with the Empress, present themselves, rising from their ancient thrones before all assembled, great indeed must be the joy of the nation that their historic traditions are yet in vogue, that their long line of Rulers is yet prolonged by H.I.J. Majesty, *Hirohito*, so well fitted to fulfil his high and ancient right to Rule.

The crown of Japan is her spirituality in her reverence for the Departed, and her belief in the undying life of the Soul.

Sacred Dances expressive of symbolism are the final phases in this historic event. Then the return journey to *Ise* is undertaken, and the Sacred Emblems are borne back by the boys of *Yasa*, and after the Rescript has been read, and the Emperor and Empress have visited the Mausoleum of *Momoyama*, their Majesties settle down to take up the task that has fallen to their portion in the Historic Annals of the Land of the Risen Sun.

Their Majesties having received full recognition, the tension so perfectly endured is at an end. All present must have longed to show their loyalty by some more definite outward demonstration. At the raising of the hand of the Premier, loyalty finds expression of devotion—the voices of all at a timed signal from far and near—from the uttermost parts of the Island possessions, across the water—from Fuji and Koya's sacred Mounts—as far as the extreme limit of fair Formosa, and the cold regions of *Hokkodaï*, the hushed voices break into one jubilant shout of joy, "*Banzai ! Banzai !* may you live a thousand years."

Not only in the Land of the Rising Sun, but across the ocean, from the hearts of Japan's allies in our own Empire that His Majesty's eyes have seen, and his feet trod, may the echo ring out true, "*Banzai ! Banzai !*"

To conclude we cannot do better than quote the words of John Sharrock :

"SHO WA—the Era of Radiant Peace, or Peace with Justice, that is the name of the present Era, the standard by which the acts of the present generation will be judged by those who come after them. Typical of Japan today it holds vast promises for the whole world, as it shines like a beacon of hope in this mad day of unrest, of passion, jealousy, and selfishness."*

THE ROYAL RESCRIPT OF H.I. JAPANESE MAJESTY
HIROHITO

Having succeeded through the benign influence of Our Imperial Ancestors to the Throne of a lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal, and having assumed the power to reign over and govern the Empire—we have now performed the solemnity of the Accession to the Throne. It is Our resolve to observe the fundamental rules of the State, to cultivate the Inherited virtues, and to maintain intact the glorious Traditions set by our Ancestors.†

* From "Japan," issued by the "Nippon Yusen Kaisha Co." 1928.

† "The Unbroken Line," by K. K. Kawakami, p. 16.

LABOUR PROTECTION IN MALAYA

By W. BENSON

(Native Labour Section, International Labour Office)

LABOUR SUPPLY

NOTORIOUSLY the Malay has held aloof from many of the benefits of Western civilization, including that of wage-earning employment. Yet Malaya's prosperity has been built on the country's success in securing wage-earners at a low price for the skill required. With this foundation, the planter awaits with scepticism the Liberian attempt to produce rubber on the basis of African labour, in the obtaining of which it is difficult to see the possibility of avoiding an element of labour compulsion discarded or never permitted in Malaya.

Malaya's success is partly due to its fortune in having comparatively close at hand in China and India two peoples of high industrial capacities in relation to their standards of living. Mainly, however, it must be ascribed to the measures of labour protection adopted, by which the Malayan administrations have guaranteed that the reward of labour will be duly paid.

The majority of labourers are Southern Indian and Chinese. The Indians form the bulk of the estate labour, being described as more amenable to European control than the Chinese. In addition, in the Straits Settlements a high proportion (122 per 1,000, 1921 Census) is engaged in commerce, while in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States Government work is mainly performed by them. The Chinese in the Straits Settlements are nearly twice as numerous as any other race. In the Federated Malay States they almost equal the Malays in numbers. In the tin mines labour is practically entirely Chinese. Long before British capital was attracted to the industry the Chinese were working alluvial deposits, and Chinese firms are still prospering where conditions do not demand modern methods of extraction. A third source of alien labour is supplied by Java. The Javanese are of particular interest in a study of labour conditions, since they are the only labourers in Malaya for whom indentures are now legal.

LEGISLATION AND ADMINISTRATION

Protective legislation was codified in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States in 1923, and similar measures were introduced for the first time in Johore in 1924, and in Kedah and Perlis in 1926. These codes contain provisions, identical in purport, regarding the supervision of immigration, of general conditions of labour, and of the health of workers. In Kelantan an Indian Immigration Enactment was brought into force in 1927, protecting Indian workers in the same way as in the other states.

For the enforcement of this legislation labour departments have been created or special officers detailed in most of the political divisions, and work under the direction of the Controller of Labour, Malaya. In the case of Indian immigrant labour a committee has been formed composed partly of officials and partly of nominated non-officials including Indians. In addition, the Indian Government appoints an agent who under the codes may exercise the powers conferred on the Malayan controller. Chinese labour is protected by the labour departments aided by the departments primarily responsible for Chinese affairs. Lastly, the policy of appointing special officers for the different races of workers is completed in the Federated Malay States where provision is made for the appointment of a superintendent of Netherlands Indian immigrants.

In illustration of the supervision thus effected, it may be noticed that in the Federated Malay States in 1927, 919 ordinary and 130 special visits of inspection were made by officers of the Labour Department; 2,776 complaints were registered and investigated, fifty per cent. of which related to the late payment and non-payment of wages; 14 convictions of employers or their agents for offences against labourers were secured, and various minor strikes were settled. The labour departments have justified their existence not only by their efficiency, but also, which is always more difficult, by the manner in which they have been accepted by the classes with which they come into contact. The workers regard the labour officers with confidence, and the employers have ceased to define a gentleman as a man who gives notice in advance of his intended visits of inspection.

FREEDOM OF LABOUR

The chief interest of labour legislation in Malaya is that in a country employing some half million workers, whose

services a generation ago appeared to necessitate a system of indentures with their penal sanctions for offences regarded as purely civil in Western countries, a system of civil contracts has been applied and extended. Workers cannot be compelled to work in payment of debts. They are at liberty to leave their employment on giving one month's notice. They are not liable to criminal action if they desert or commit any other purely labour offence. This situation was only codified and consolidated by the legislation of 1923 to 1926. The indenture system for Indians was abolished in 1910 and for Chinese in 1914. Malaya has therefore a long experience of free immigrant labour.

Although there have been complaints by employers of the triviality of the causes for which their workers abandon their services, no serious and sustained objections have been made against the reform. Its success is even more noteworthy than the similar achievement in Ceylon, for in Malaya there is the Chinese, in addition to the Indian problem. At the present moment the Javanese are alone engaged on the indenture system. Any great development of this form of labour immigration has, however, been prevented by the high cost of recruitment and the success of free Indian immigration—a striking testimony to the economic advantages of free engagement carefully organized.

The Malayan experiment is of more than local importance. The movement to abolish indentures in the outer provinces of the Netherlands East Indies, where already in Government mines penal sanctions for labour offences are being withdrawn, owes as much to the example of Malaya as to that of Java. Dr. Vreede, the Director of Labour of the Netherlands East Indies, has himself visited Malaya to enquire into the methods adopted by the Malayan administration to abolish indentures. Furthermore, the Committee of Experts on Native Labour of the Geneva Labour Office, to which a member of the Malayan civil service has till recently belonged, has begun this last December its international study of indentured or contract labour, and Malayan experience cannot but tell in estimating the economic and social results of indentured labour and the transitory steps in securing its evolution.

Indeed, there is a logical incompatibility between the indenture system and the principle of trusteeship to which all colonial powers now subscribe. The indenture system is admittedly a form of employment for workers whose

sense of responsibility is undeveloped; the principle of trusteeship puts in the forefront the development of this sense. No matter how careful may be governmental supervision—and although such supervision is possibly easier under an indenture system—the right of a worker to leave his employment after short notice still remains throughout the world the chief guarantee against unsatisfactory labour conditions. Indentures confine this right so closely that it can be only exercised by breaking the law—a situation hardly calculated to raise the sense of responsibility of any race. As early as 1910 Mr. Barnes, then British Resident in Pahang, stressed this point by declaring that “no body of employers, whether European or native, can be trusted to employ indentured labour in places where circumstances render absconding difficult, unless their labour is constantly inspected by Government officers.”

Closely connected with the question of indenture is that of recruiting—*i.e.*, the procuring or supplying of workers for employment. Labour may be nominally free, but if the recruiting system is not supervised, misrepresentation or indirect compulsion may reduce the labourers to a status involving the compulsion, but not the guarantees, of indentures.

In Malaya recruiting has been carried on for some twenty years through the medium of the Indian Immigration Fund. The chief features of this fund are (1) that it is administered by a nominated committee of officials and private persons; (2) that its functions are laid down by legislation; (3) that it is financed by compulsory assessments upon the employers of Indian labour. It is not a recruiting organization, but a body by which private and non-professional recruiting can be effected cheaply and under Government control.

The operations of recruiting are carried out by the kanganyes authorized by their employers to find workers for the employment of which they have direct experience. The kangany must obtain a license from the Malayan authorities and its endorsement by the Indian agent. On arrival in India, he registers his license with the Malayan Emigration Commissioners at Madras or Negapatam. Thus authorized, he is entitled for a maximum period of one year to engage not more than twenty labourers for employment in Malaya. He is required to supply such labourers with a copy of the official pamphlet giving information on Malaya. He must then bring them before the village headman who, if satisfied, signs the entries of

the intending emigrants on the license. He then conducts them to the port of embarkation, where they are inspected by the Indian emigration authorities. On arrival in Malaya, the Indians are again examined before being forwarded to their employers.

The kangany system may have outlived its utility for Malaya. It is criticized in India. The kangany may sometimes exercise undue influence by advancing small sums to the labourers. In 1927 the number of adult labourers recruited by kanganies was 75,820, but assisted non-recruited labourers from India numbered 32,302, the largest annual figure yet attained. Nevertheless, even if immigration of the latter type becomes general, the functions of the Indian Immigration Fund will still subsist. Moreover, the part it will have played in the transition from indentured to free labour will be of value in those areas, notably African, where, while the disadvantages of professional recruiting agents are recognized and the administrations justly refuse to accept direct responsibility for recruitment, a free flow of labour is impossible to obtain.

COLLABORATION WITH INDIAN GOVERNMENT

The progressive policy of the Malayan administrations undoubtedly owes much to the pressure exercised by the Government of India. The latter Government by the Indian Emigration Act of 1922 prohibited emigration for unskilled work except "to such countries and on such terms and conditions as the Governor-General in Council" might specify. A natural apprehension was felt in Malaya as to the effect of any consequent restriction of Indian immigration. Accordingly, in September, 1922, a deputation was sent to Simla to discuss the question with the Standing Committee on Emigration of the Government of India. The negotiations were successful, and emigration to Malaya was permitted on the following principal terms: (1) Recruitment was to be controlled by the Malayan administrations; (2) no engagement was to exceed one month; (3) an agent in Malaya was to be appointed by the Indian Government; (4) within one year of arrival, any immigrant was to be repatriated free of charge for any reason deemed sufficient by the Indian agent.

The agreement has worked smoothly, as is testified by the published reports of the Indian agent. In Malaya, therefore, by a definition of responsibilities, it has proved

possible for the Government of one area to protect its subjects in employment in other areas. This is, of course, not the only case in which India, having the labour elsewhere required, has successfully adopted a similar policy. But, so far as Malaya itself is concerned, it may serve as an encouragement to closer collaboration with other administrations which, either by immigration to or emigration from Malaya, are affected by Malayan labour movements.

COLLABORATION WITH NETHERLANDS INDIAN GOVERNMENT

This is a generalization which has special reference to the Netherlands Indies. The Javanese immigrants in Malaya benefit by detailed protective measures. The existence of indentures for them in a country where in all other cases free labour exists may appear anomalous. But so long as the indenture system is applied to Javanese workers in Sumatra they are explicable. Moreover, the legislation governing Netherlands Indian labourers was only adopted after consultation of the Netherlands Indian Government, which at that time favoured the indenture system as giving an administration more powers of control and protection. Recent conversations between the administrations seem to indicate that the Netherlands Indian Government has since changed its opinion, and that indentures for the Javanese labourers in Malaya may soon be abolished. In any case, with regard to Netherlands Indian labourers in Malaya, there is consultation between the administrations responsible, which if slow is eventually effective in results.

On the other hand, it would appear that a greater cohesion of efforts between the Straits and Netherlands Indian authorities would benefit the workers usually recruited in Singapore for employment on the Sumatra "panglongs."

The panglongs are small lumbering undertakings making planks, firewood, and charcoal. In 1925 there were 379 panglongs on a belt of almost desert coast along the island of Sumatra and on numerous islands off the coast and in the Riouw-Lingga Archipelago.

Labour conditions on the panglongs are admittedly bad. Inevitably the work is exhausting. Moreover, the Chinese "kapalas" in charge of the operations have been able, owing chiefly to the remoteness of the undertaking, to retain their workers, also Chinese, by organized terrorism. In March, 1925, for example, a coolie was beaten and severely

injured with burning wood because he was suspected of trying to escape on the ground that he had put on his coat when going to work. When he was shown to the inspector a month later his body bore the scars of twenty-four burns.

Both the British and the Dutch authorities are not unmindful of such conditions. As early as 1896 the Straits Settlements Protector of Chinese submitted to the Netherlands Indian Government concrete complaints concerning the ill-treatment of Chinese lumber-men. For its part, the Netherlands Indian Government has extended labour inspection to the panglongs from January 1, 1925, with the result that conditions have greatly improved.

Nevertheless, the three inspectors detailed for this work, though they have been provided with fast motor-boats, are hampered by the scattered situation of the undertakings and by the ease with which coolies can be smuggled from Malaya. A Dutch official report* states that "in various quarters of Singapore—always quarters of ill-fame—there exist establishments known as 'kedehnasi,' where Chinese looking for work, who have absolutely nothing but their clothes, are boarded and lodged. These coolies pay for their board and lodging when they find work—that is, when they are sold to an employer."

The Malayan authorities have been successful in suppressing "man-dealing" for employment in Malaya by prohibiting the landing of immigrants except at specified ports when officers of the Chinese Protectorate question the immigrants. Similar action on the part of the Dutch authorities appears impossible. The panglongs are scattered in a crescent round Singapore. It appears, therefore, that it should be in Malaya that the control of recruitment should be carried out. To effect this, there are no legislative difficulties, for the Straits Settlements Labour Code provides for the control of Asiatic emigration. But in practice, if the panglong workers are to be adequately protected, some agreement in regard to administrative methods would appear necessary between the Governments concerned. The success of collaboration with the Indian Government should be a factor facilitating such agreement.

LABOUR CONDITIONS

In this article attention has been concentrated on the principles of labour protection adopted in Malaya. The

* Netherlands Indies. "Kantoor van Arbeid : De Panglongs." By G. Pastor, Weltevreden. 1927.

results—i.e., the actual conditions of the labourers—have therefore been omitted. It may, however, be stated that the complaints arising on some particular points such as the level of wages and the health conditions, especially on estates under Asiatic management, are being met by legislative and administrative action, and that the general adequacy of the labour supply is a tribute to the satisfactory nature of working conditions.

THE ASIAN CIRCLE

A SURVEY OF ASIATIC AFFAIRS

THE Asian Circle is conducted by a group with personal knowledge of the various parts of Asia, and through the collective experience of its members aims at giving to the public an informed, progressive, and disinterested view of Asian affairs, both in detail and as a whole. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., is President, and its membership includes :

Sir George Boughey, Bart., O.B.E.

Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Sir Richard Dane, K.C.I.E.

Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

The visit to Paris in 1927 of the Secretary of State to the Colonies, where he delivered an important address at the Union Coloniale, and the presence in London last month of Marshal Lyautey, have focussed public interest upon the relative positions of Britain and France in Asia. The Circle now presents to its readers two articles on the French point of view upon this all-important question, the first contributed under the auspices of the Union Coloniale, and the second by one of the leading authorities upon Asiatic affairs in the French Chamber.

I

LINES OF FRANCO-BRITISH COLLABORATION IN ASIA

THE era of colonial conquests is past, and with it has disappeared the rivalry between Great Britain and France for the possession of tropical countries; since then, on the contrary, collaborating together in a common work, and being faced with similar problems, there has arisen between the two Powers reciprocal sympathy for their efforts. To the period of benevolent neutrality, in which each observed the methods and experiences of the other—but from a dis-

tance and often with a very incomplete insight into affairs—has now succeeded an era of collaboration and mutual assistance.

It is this thought which was uppermost in the minds of the leaders of the "Union Coloniale Française" (French Colonial Union) when, in June, 1927, they received the Right Hon. Leopold M. S. Amery, Chief Secretary of State for the Dominions and British Colonial Minister, accompanied by two Under-Secretaries of State of the British Colonial Minister, the Right Hon. M. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., and Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Wilson, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B., together with high officials of this department; the greater part of the governing members of the Conference, which had just met in London, had also accepted the invitation of the Colonial Union. The presence of M. Poincaré, the President of the Council, and of the Minister of the French Colonies indicated the great importance which the Republic attached to this event.

It marked, in point of fact, the commencement of a useful collaboration. This has been principally characterized by keeping a watch on Bolshevik activities aiming at provoking discontent and disorder among the native populations, in the operations of a Conference held at Dakar between the administrators and doctors of the British and French colonies in West Africa to study methods for combating yellow fever, and in the exchange of information between the colonial administrations of Great Britain and France.

On the other hand, the Empire Parliamentary Association, on the initiative of Sir Howard d'Egville, K.B.E., has established in common with the French Colonial Union an organization for the purpose of making it possible for French and English Members of Parliament, Governors or ex-Governors of Colonies, heads of large colonial enterprises and publicists, to meet and discuss together those colonial problems the solution of which is not purely local, and international questions calling for the joint efforts of the colonizing Powers.

Within the Empire Parliamentary Association there is a committee consisting of members of both Houses of the British Parliament at Westminster, which is charged with the care of questions of interest to those Colonies which are not self-governing. In Paris, under the auspices of the Colonial Union, a Franco-British Committee for the Study of Colonial Affairs has been formed, the President of which is M. François-Marsal, Senator, late President

of the Council, and the Vice-President is M. Jacques Bardoux. These two committees correspond with each other, and arrange to meet in common session two or three times a year, sometimes in London and sometimes in Paris.

There is no doubt that Franco-British collaboration in the colonial domain will have its effects throughout the whole of Africa, and most particularly in West Africa; Great Britain and France find precisely the same conditions there, and possess enormous frontiers in common. But the same applies, it may be remarked, also to Asia Minor, where it is very desirable that the two Powers should reciprocally facilitate the exercise of their Mandate by their entente and by their mutual assistance, if not by a common policy.

In Asia, the Indian Empire, the Malay States, and Indo-China are separated by great distances, and no comparison can be made there; the friendship of Great Britain for France will be shown in a general manner by the latter country being given every facility to study British institutions and the successes attained. But there are also certain matters in which the two countries can and must co-operate. In the first place there is the defence which may ultimately become necessary of colonial work against anarchy, and also the defence of this work against the more immediate danger of Communist intrigues aiming at disturbing the peace in Indo-China and Java as well as in India. It is essential that the three colonizing powers act in concert for the defence to be efficacious, that they exercise mutual surveillance, so that the fomenters of trouble may not go for refuge from one country to the other, and thus direct from one country subversive campaigns menacing public order in the other.

In the domain of medicine a mutual policy is also necessary. In the remarkable speech which he delivered at the dinner of the Colonial Union in June, 1927, Mr. Amery emphasized the necessity of establishing contact, particularly in regard to technical matters. "Science does not recognize administrative frontiers," he said; "the Pasteurs, the Ronald Rosses, could not and did not wish to restrict their good services to their own countries alone." But it is not sufficient to exchange scientific works; meetings between English and Frenchmen are necessary for the purpose of collecting together and discussing the various observations, of examining *de visu* the measures taken and the results obtained—for instance, in the struggle against malarial

disease in plantations and swampy regions—and to establish measures in common to avoid the spread of disease.

Another domain in which collaboration is necessary is that of aviation. It would be expensive and unnecessary to construct different aerodromes, or even, at the beginning at all events, to have different services for the British and French lines in Southern Asia. A Franco-British entente is necessary for the realization of the immense line in the extreme East, through India to Indo-China, through Indo-China to Hong-Kong and Japan. The French line arriving at Beyrouth would join up at Bagdad with the line to India, which will be put into operation on April 1, 1929, and which can be extended from Delhi to Calcutta, then to Rangoon, Hanoi, the capital of Indo-China, and Canton.

The great numbers of Chinese who have settled in the European possessions in the Malay States and Indo-China also present, to Great Britain and France, delicate common problems, not especially urgent, perhaps, but which might become of immense importance on the day when China, delivered from anarchy, again takes rank amongst the Powers.

There are, therefore, no lack of matters—and many more could be mentioned in connection with economic relations—in which Franco-British collaboration is eminently desirable. But let not matters rest there; what is needed is a common programme of action to ensure for the peoples under our charge greater security, a better state of public health, and more rapid progress in every walk of life.

II

FRENCH INTERESTS IN THE FAR EAST

BY LÉON ARCHIMBAUD

(Deputy, Rapporteur du budget des colonies Président du groupe coloniale de la Chambre des Députés)

WHEN in 1921 the Government of the United States called an International Conference at Washington for the purpose of reducing naval armaments and seeking solutions to the irritating problems of the Far East, it first of all contemplated leaving France out of the discussions relating to China and the Far East.

Why? Simply because it considered these would not be of interest to France. It did not occur to the mind of any-

one—or hardly anyone—either in the United States or in England, that France might be one of the great Powers of the Pacific.

And yet, apart from Russia and Great Britain, no country has such a long stretch of frontier in common with China as the Franco-Chinese frontiers; no other nation has obtained such an intellectual and moral influence in China as that possessed by France, thanks to her Catholic Missions.

And in the Pacific itself, the islands of New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, Tahiti, the Marquises, Gambier, etc., are not negligible. The best means for demonstrating that France has interests to defend in that part of the world is first of all that she should cease to neglect them, that she should at last take some steps towards safeguarding them.

Undoubtedly France is herself responsible for the ignorance of the foreigner in this respect—I am the first to admit it—and, if we do not wish Washington and London to fail to recognize our interests in the Far East, it is essential that those interests should not remain unknown to the majority of the French people.

With this preoccupation is bound up the idea of a High Commissioner of the Pacific. Such an organization would, in fact, give the world the impression that France does take care of her interests in the Far East, and the title itself would appeal to the imagination above all of Anglo-Saxons.

The injustice of which France was a victim at the Washington Conference was one of the reasons why the scheme of a High Commissioner was received with favour, but it was not the reason which called it into being.

The scheme arose from much more material considerations—viz., the distress in the French colonies in the Pacific.

In these islands, whether at Tahiti, New Caledonia, or the New Hebrides, economic development is hindered by scarcity of labour: there are very few Kanakas and Oceanians; up to within the last few years their race seemed in danger of rapid extinction (for the last three years the situation has changed, thanks to French medical assistance, and the births now exceed the deaths) and above all, they have an extreme dislike to all regular work.

Moreover, the considerable financial strain borne by France during the war and her post-war difficulties have given rise to the idea that that country could not for a long time to come resume the work of developing her posses-

disease in plantations and swampy regions—and to establish measures in common to avoid the spread of disease.

Another domain in which collaboration is necessary is that of aviation. It would be expensive and unnecessary to construct different aerodromes, or even, at the beginning at all events, to have different services for the British and French lines in Southern Asia. A Franco-British entente is necessary for the realization of the immense line in the extreme East, through India to Indo-China, through Indo-China to Hong-Kong and Japan. The French line arriving at Beyrouth would join up at Bagdad with the line to India, which will be put into operation on April 1, 1929, and which can be extended from Delhi to Calcutta, then to Rangoon, Hanoi, the capital of Indo-China, and Canton.

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Moreover, the considerable financial strain borne by France during the war and her post-war difficulties have given rise to the idea that that country could not for a long time to come resume the work of developing her posses-

sions. Our Pacific Colonies—the most distant—would, it was feared, have to be sacrificed.

Seeking for some means of saving our Oceanian Colonies, the minds of the Committee of French Oceania turned quite naturally to the assistance of Indo-China, the amazing prosperity of which in 1919 and 1920 had attracted general attention.

"It is necessary," it was said, "that Indo-China should come to the aid of her poor sisters in the Pacific; that she should send them labour and give her signature as security for the loans raised for the purpose of providing them with the necessary economic equipment."

Thus presented, the idea should have pleased the colonists of Oceania, but they did not understand at once, and believed at first that it was a question of placing them under the strict control of Indo-China. This was impossible, especially as regards New Caledonia.

But this misunderstanding did not last long, and soon our Pacific Isles showed great enthusiasm and urgently demanded the creation of the Commissioner.

In Indo-China the welcome was colder, as it could not well be seen what advantage the Colony would obtain from the operation. She estimated that she had not too much money for the carrying out of its programme of public works, and this was true. The hostility aroused by the idea of sending coolies did not come until later when a rise in the price of rubber caused a "rush" to the "red lands," which were very rich but short of labour.

Then the colonists demanded that no more boatloads of Tonkinese should be sent to Port-Vila and Nouméa, and violent campaigns were instituted against what certain people complacently styled the "yellow slave trade."

It was in 1920 that the emigration of Annamite workmen to Oceania commenced; several thousands were thus transported, and relations were thus established between Haiphong, Port-Vila, and Nouméa.

The establishment of these marine connections, which came to play a very important part in the life of our Oceanian colonies, and decided their future, was not, as one might suppose, the work of the Government. It was simply a colonist of the Isle of Epi (New Hebrides), M. Lançon, who took from Haiphong the first Tonkinese emigrants. The following year the Ballande Company created a regular service.

That day marked the birth of the Pacific Commissioner-ship; it came into being from the very fact that commercial

lines were established between Indo-China and the French Pacific, and there remained nothing but to include it in the programme of administration.

Alas! at the end of eight years we are still practically at the beginning. The coming of the coolies from Tonkin has given a new impulse to the New Caledonian industry, both agriculture and mining; in the New Hebrides it has conferred upon French colonists a privileged position which has completely transformed the archipelago; at Tahiti only 500 workmen have arrived, and a long and hard struggle will be necessary to wrest the archipelago from the Chinese, who are very numerous there (more than 4,000), and who have monopolized the small trade and the little industries. This movement is so strong that it can no longer be arrested, in spite of certain protests which are being raised today in Indo-China. The remainder of Tonkin and North Annam, while far from forming inexhaustible sources for the supply of workmen, is still quite able to supply the needs of colonization in South Indo-China, which at the moment, we must not forget, is suffering on account of the fall in the market price of the products and the delay in publication of a definite régime of rural concessions.

As could have been foreseen, Indo-China has ended by finding a direct interest in her relations with the Southern Pacific, which is good proof that they supply a demand and are not artificial.

Exports from Indo-China to New Caledonia, nil before 1920, were raised in point of fact from 1,565,774 francs in 1923 to 10,745,805 francs in 1926, and they correspond exactly to the transports of coolies; when these go down they go down also.

It is, of course, rice which forms the staple feature of this trade (5,296 tons in 1926 and 3,119 in 1927), and, curiously enough, it is Cochin China which, though hostile to closer relations with New Caledonia, yet obtains from it the greatest profit (6,485,588 francs in 1926 as against 4,260,217 francs of merchandise from Tonkin).

It has been proved, therefore, that a marine service, Indo-China, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, can be remunerative; it has operated effectively for seven years without the smallest subsidy—without the slightest encouragement from the State.

After the question of labour and trade let us now examine the question of money.

In 1920-1921, the financial situation of New Caledonia in particular was precarious, and forbade, in an almost

arbitrary fashion, the construction of large works of general utility.

Since that date the budget of the colony has been balanced by an excess of receipts, and it has recovered all its elasticity; the Governor, M. Guyon, has been able to construct roads and begin the works at the port of Nouméa.

If tomorrow the colony needs to raise a loan she will be able to guarantee it herself from her own resources without assistance from anyone. The question of guaranteeing Indo-China no longer arises.

Thus today the High Commissionership of the Pacific cannot demand from Indo-China sacrifices greater than those it has agreed to for several years. It can only bring to it considerable advantages, particularly in the political domain.

We now proceed to examine them.

* * * * *

The Emperor of Annam was, for many years, a vassal of Peking, and when France established herself in Tonkin, more than half a century ago, that country submitted without protest to Chinese incursions.

More than any other country in the world Indo-China has an interest in the prosperity of her great neighbour China, and that China should live in peace; she very quickly feels the effects of the events occurring on the frontier beyond, and the hostilities between the Yunnan and the Kouangsi, for instance, would have a considerable repercussion on the situation in Tonkin.

By virtue of her presence in Indo-China, France has an interest in watching very closely what happens in China.

There is a tendency to pay attention to Northern China exclusively. Until the last few months the intrigues at Peking centring around the phantom of the Central Government were looked upon as being the most important matter, whereas, in point of fact, the real game was being played out elsewhere.

It must never be forgotten that China is as large as Europe; without losing sight of the general position on this immense chessboard, France must obviously interest herself particularly in those provinces bordering upon Indo-China—she must have a South Chinese policy.

It is not the Minister who resides at Peking, or even at Nankin, who can define and apply this policy; it is the Governor-General of Indo-China who must look after this; it is from Hanoi, in French territory, that the Chinese situation must be viewed.

Such a conception is sufficiently old and is known in

Indo-China under the name of "Project of a Minister of the Far East." It dealt with placing under the orders of the Governor-General of Indo-China the representatives of France in the Far East, in particular our Ministers at Peking, Tokio and Bangkok, in order to arrive at a uniform and at the same time more realistic policy, taking into consideration above all Indo-Chinese interests.

This activity would come exactly within the scope of the High Commissioner of the Pacific. The title of High Commissioner of the Pacific Ocean would, as already said, strike the imagination and place the representative of France above all the representatives of European nations in the Far East. Moreover, politically, the question of China is at the same time the question of the Pacific, and the safety of Tahiti and Nouméa depends, without the least doubt, upon what is happening at Peking, Shanghai and Canton.

There is, therefore, nothing arbitrary in placing the Colonies of the Pacific under the supreme authority of the Governor-General of Indo-China.



If the problem presented were purely colonial it could no doubt be satisfactorily settled, but it is the question of foreign affairs which has always prevented a solution being reached. The Quai d'Orsay, in fact, considers that the foreign policy of France constitutes a whole, from which one part must not be detached for the purpose of placing it under the control of a colonial functionary, no matter how highly placed.

To overcome this difficulty, therefore, it is necessary to confide the High Commissionership of the Pacific, not to the Governor-General of Indo-China, but to a Minister who would be directly responsible to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and—for certain questions—to the Colonial Minister.

The High Commissioner of the Pacific would spend six months in Hanoi and six months in Paris.

This solution would have the advantage that the interests of Indo-China would be safeguarded in Parliament by a high official with a thorough knowledge of all its needs and aspirations, and this necessity was more particularly apparent in 1927 when the Indo-Chinese Administration was the victim of the grossest calumny.

In short, on every side there are excellent reasons to be found for creating a High Commissionership of the Pacific,

and it is difficult to see what objections can be raised against it. The causes for the delay are not easy to find.

The real reason, no doubt, is that the Rhine frontiers are monopolizing the attention of the public bodies in France. We trust, however, that when the delicate question of reparations and of her safety have been settled, France will be able to look beyond the Rhine—even as far as the Pacific.

MARCO POLO

BY N. M. PENZER

(Author of "The Ocean Story")

II

WE now pass on to Chap. 5, which deals with the Pipino texts. Of all Polian texts those of Francesco Pipino, a Dominican of Bologna and contemporary of Polo, are the most widely distributed. To the previously known twenty-six MSS. Benedetto has added another twenty-four. These fifty must be supplemented by seven more in the vulgar tongue, besides a very large number of printed versions. Nearly all the important European libraries possess one or more Pipino MSS. There are several copies in the British Museum, while others will be found at Oxford, Cambridge, Glasgow, and Dublin.

Of particular interest is the MS. mentioned on p. cxliii, which once belonged to Baron Walckenaer. Benedetto describes it correctly as being in a volume containing other matter, including a version of the *Mirabilia* of Jordan de Sévérac. He regrets that its present locality is unknown, and conjectures that it has probably found its way to America. Both Yule and Cordier had previously made similar statements as regards the MS. itself, yet only a few months ago our friend, Rev. A. C. Moule, "discovered" it properly catalogued and indexed at the British Museum!*

When scholars and bibliographers† can pass over such fully recorded MSS., we can the more easily imagine that many unknown Polian treasures may still lie in European libraries *wrongly* catalogued, or not catalogued at all.

The fame of Pipino's version is well attested to by the numerous translations of it which exist—in French, Irish, Bohemian, Portuguese, and German. The French translation exists in two MSS., one at the British Museum (Egerton, 2176), and the other in the Royal Library at Stockholm. The Irish version is that in the famous "Book of Lismore," discovered in such a romantic manner‡

* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1928, p. 406 *et seq.* The MS. is numbered Add. 19513.

† Even when Cordier printed the entire Table of Contents of Walckenaer's volume in *Les Merveilles de l'Asie*, 1925, p. 44, he gave no indication that here was the long-lost Polo text.

‡ See Yule, vol. i., p. 102 *et seq.* of his Introduction.

in 1814. The Bohemian version forms part of Cod. III., E. 42, in the Prague Museum, and dates from the middle of the fifteenth century. Benedetto considers, however, that the MS. is copied from a still older Pipino text. The Portuguese translation was printed at Lisbon in 1502.*

The first printed Latin text appeared about 1485, while a second edition (1532) was included in the famous collection of travels known as the *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum*. It was edited by Simon Grynaeus, but actually compiled by Jean Huttichius. The text is corrupt, and has been considered by many to be a retranslation from the Portuguese of 1502.

There were several editions of the *Novus orbis*—1535, 1537, and 1555,† as well as translations—German (1534), French (1556), Castilian (1601), and Dutch (1664). Apart from this, Andreas Müller reprinted the Latin in 1671 on which was based the French translation in Bergeron's *Voyages faits principalement en Asie* (1735).

The text of Ramusio (to be more fully discussed shortly) can be regarded as based on a version of Grynaeus, so that it is fundamentally a Pipinian text.

Chap. 6 is very important, as it deals with that portion of the Polian tradition which, according to Benedetto, antedates *F*.

As we have seen, Ramusio's version appeared in 1559. In the letter contained in it, to his friend Jerome Fracastoro, he speaks of his sources, clearly indicating Pipino's text as well as another *di meraviglioso antichità*. Although Ramusio's text was at first ignored, its great importance has been gradually established, until, with the discovery of *Z*, it is a *sine qua non* in helping to trace the earlier stages of the history of the book. At the same time, Benedetto admits that it is a composite text—*sbocco a tradizioni già sicuramente corrotte*—and therefore cannot be used as a basic text, especially when compared with *F*. He would analyze the Ramusio text as containing: (a) Pipino as the original and principal base; (b) three other MSS., *V*, *L*, and *VB*; (c) the newly discovered MS., *Z*, which corresponds to the Ghisi codex mentioned by Ramusio himself.

The history of the Milan copy of *Z*, so far as it is known, is very interesting. It is taken from an old lost Latin

* Benedetto refers to the reprinted version of this as being issued in 1902, instead of 1922.

† Apparently the 1555 is the most complete edition. There is a fine copy of this in the Grenville Library at the British Museum (G. 7034), which contains the map that is so often missing.

Codex Zeladiano, copied in 1795 by the Abate Toaldo to complete his collection of Polian documents. The original of this copy must be identified with the MS. *cartaceo in 8°*, *del sec. xv.*, mentioned by Baldelli-Boni, who says it was left by the will of Cardinal Zelada to the Biblioteca Capitolare of Toledo. A close inspection of *Z* shows it to be a Latin version of a Franco-Italian codex, distinctly better than *F*. But as we shall see when considering the second part of this work, *Z*, as represented in the Milan MS., is by no means complete. We are very surprised that Benedetto has given us no photographic reproduction of *Z*.

The first three-quarters of *Z* seem like an epitome of a much fuller text, but after Chap. 147 *F* is faithfully followed, while the additional passages point to a pre-*F* codex, which must have been considerably more detailed than *F*. Benedetto suggests that the copyist of *Z* began with the idea of a limited selection of passages, but gradually became so interested in his work that he eventually found himself unable to sacrifice a single word.

A point of prime importance with regard to *Z* is that it clearly betrays Polo's mode of thought, showing that, as far as it goes, it is a literal translation of an early text now lost. This is also supported by the fact that the names of people and places appear in *Z* in less corrupted forms than in *F* or subsequent texts—*e.g.*, Mogdasio, Silingi, etc.

The various indications of *Z*'s anteriority to *F* suggest a subsequent suppression of certain passages by a copyist or by the cumulative work of several copyists. A large percentage of these passages occur in Ramusio, while some are found in *Z*. In those cases where *Z* only resembles an epitome, we must conclude that Ramusio had access to a text closer to the archetype of *Z* than *Z* itself. We can call this text *Z*¹. We can, therefore, agree that if *Z*, as represented by the Milan text (Y. 160 P.S.), can account for unique passages only in the latter part of Ramusio, it is not unreasonable to conclude that he had a complete *Z* text before him (*Z*¹), and took all the unidentified chapters in the first half of his book from it. At the same time it would be exaggerating to say that Benedetto has identified *all* the sources of Ramusio. He has, perhaps, *indicated* them. The discovery of the archetype of both *Z* and *Z*¹ would doubtless help to settle the question.

We now come to *V*, *L*, and *VB*. They can be looked upon as coming somewhere between *F* and *Z*. They are of value because they occasionally contain passages neither in *F* nor in *Z*.

V is a curious Venetian recension (Staatsbib. Berlin, Hamilton 424A) which has undeniable echoes both of a Franco-Italian and a Latin text. It contains about thirty unique passages, and was undoubtedly used by Ramusio. *L* is an interesting Latin compendium represented in the four following codices: Ferrara, Bib. Pubbl. 336NB 5; Venice, Mus. Corr. 2408; Wolfenbüttel, Bib. Com. Weiss. 41; and Antwerp, Mus. Plantin-Mor. 60. They are practically identical, and represent the best compendium of Marco Polo extant. Its Franco-Italian origin is proved by the survival of certain expressions which, not being understood, have been retained unaltered. It was probably used by Ramusio, though this cannot be said for certain.

Taken together, *V* and *L* must be regarded as closely related to, but distinctly a sub-group of *Z*¹ and *Z*.

VB is a Venetian version (Donà della Rose 224 Civ. Mus. Corr.) differing from any of the Venetian recensions we have already discussed. Two copies exist: one in Rome (Bib. Vat. Barb. Lat. 5361) and the other in London (Brit. Mus. Slo. 251). *VB* shows signs of a Franco-Italian origin, and in two cases contains details ignored by *F*, but preserved by *Z*. On the whole, however, this is the worst of all Polian texts, and it is a pity that Ramusio used it at all.

To sum up, we must not blind ourselves to the undoubted defects of Ramusio. Here is a man who has selected a distinctly ragged garment (*P*), with the intent to make it look new by the addition of various patches (*Z*, *V*, *L*, *VB*). Some of the patches are of very good material, but others are frayed and badly put on, and, moreover, not always in the best places. They do not harmonize well with the cloth to which they are sewn. In some cases they have been trimmed a little, but then again we find in other cases that our repairer has added extra pieces of his own.

Thus altogether, while the finished article contains much material, it does not approximate in any way to a complete and original garment.

In spite, however, of all this, Ramusio remains an essential source in the reconstruction of the richer text by which *F* was preceded. It has continually been assumed that from time to time additions were made to the original work of Polo. The researches of Benedetto clearly show that, on the contrary, as time went on impoverishments have occurred.

Z gives occasional bits of folk-lore and details of intimate social customs; so also does the *Imago Mundi* of Jacopo

d'Acqui (D. 526 Bib. Ambros.) called *I* by Benedetto. It may be that the church censored some of this material, for in the *Z* passages we have caught a glimpse of Marco Polo as the careful anthropologist, and how can we determine what curious and esoteric information was originally supplied to Rustichello? We do not find it hard to believe that there may well be some genuineness in the passage of Jacopo d'Acqui when he says in Polo's defence: "And because there are many great and strange things in that book, which are reckoned past all credence, he was asked by his friends on his death-bed to correct the book by removing everything that was not actual fact. To which he replied that he had not told *one-half* of what he really had seen."

The gradual decadence of the original text as proved in the cases of *FG*, *TA*, and *VA* must also have occurred in the stage anterior to *F*. The discovery of *Z*, the study of *V* and *L*, the analysis of Ramusio, and the reference of certain elements to the lost Ghisi codex all convince Benedetto that *F* was preceded by more conservative and more exact copies. *Z*, *V*, and *L* not only help to bridge the distance from *F* back to the original Genoese archetype, but also prove the richness of the latter and its gradual impoverishment. They show as well, that each of the three phases (*Z*, *V* and *L*, *F*) is dependent on the same original Franco-Italian text. Thus apart from restoring the lost passages of *F*, they also attest to its unique importance and authenticity.

The last chapter of Benedetto's Introduction is devoted to a few fragments which, however, need not detain us here.

Having reached the end of the Introduction, we look in vain for a list of all the MSS. mentioned, arranged according to Benedetto's groupings. This, we feel sure, will find a place in a revised edition. So too, we would greatly value a genealogical tree of MSS. showing the ante-*F* phase.

THE FAMOUS FRENCH TEXT, FR. 1116

We now turn to the second half of the book, which consists primarily of the *F* text (fr. 1116) correctly transcribed and edited for the first time.

This alone is a piece of work for which we are most thankful, and which has long needed doing in a manner worthy of its importance. It has always been a difficult text, and Yule's decision not to adopt it because of "all its

awkwardnesses and tautologies" has certainly not encouraged scholars to concentrate on overcoming its difficulties. The irregular spelling and punctuation of the original have now been carefully corrected and standardized, while the *lacunæ* have been filled in either by deduction or with the help of other texts. With but very few exceptions these corrections can be accepted without question, many of them displaying great erudition and ingenuity.

The chapters are numbered consecutively throughout the complete work. There are 234 chapters as compared with the 232 of the printed Geographic Text (*Recueil du Voyages et de Mémoires*, Soc. de Géog., vol. i., pp. 1-288, Paris, 1824). This is due to the fact that Chaps. 95 and 194 are both split into two separate chapters. In the case of Chap. 95, Benedetto has added additional matter (between square brackets) from *FG*.

We much regret that the corresponding book and chapter numbers of Yule's edition have not been given in addition to the present enumeration. Such a simple arrangement would have greatly facilitated a comparison between the amended fr. 1116 on the one hand, and the English translation (chiefly from *FG*) on the other hand. Of even more importance are Yule's invaluable notes, which act as an unsurpassed commentary to Benedetto just as much as to Yule's own translation.

It might appear at first sight that as Yule contains only one more chapter than Benedetto, the difference is due to the splitting up of one of Yule's chapters, or some such similar cause. This, however, is far from the case, and it is merely the balance of alterations that chances to work out at the difference of but a single chapter. Thus whereas Yule, Book I., Chap. 50 = Ben., Chap. 68, we notice that Yule I. 56 = Ben. 71 (not 74.) In order to facilitate correlation we have enumerated the differences below in full.*

* Yule's 235 chapters are divided up as follows: Prologue, 18; Book I., 61; Book II., 82; Book III., 40; and Book IV., 34. In Benedetto these correspond respectively to: 1-19; 20-75; 76-158; 159-199; and 200-234. The differences between the two, finally resulting in only one chapter more or less, are as follows: Y. gives no number to the Introduction of the Prologue, which thus has 18 to the 19 chapters of B. Book I., Chap. 12 of Y. is from Z. R. and V. and so finds no place in B.'s text (only in his notes). Thus Y. 13 = B. 31. All continues well until Y. 51, which together with Y. 52 = B. 69. Then Y. 53, 54, and 55 = B. 70, and later Y. 59 and 60 = B. 74. Thus, Book II., Chap. 1 of Y. = B. 76. Differences in Y., Book II., then proceed: Y. 6 and 7 = B. 81; B. 85 begins in Y. 10 and continues in Y. 11; Y. 12 and 13 = B. 86; Y. 14 = B. 87 and 88; Y. 23, 33, and 34 are from R., and only occur in B.'s notes; Y. 52 = B. 123 and 124; Y. 60 = B. 132 and 133; Y. 61 = B. 134

At the immediate foot of the text on each page Benedetto has printed critical notes—by no means a complete *apparatus criticus* (as one reviewer seemed to imagine), but quite sufficient to indicate other important readings, and to give the original of the *F* text whenever it has been corrected in the printed text above.

Beneath the critical notes, at the bottom of each page, are given additional passages from other MSS. not found in *F*. As only to be expected, they are chiefly from Ramusio's printed text (*R*) and the newly found Milan MS. (*Z*), which has proved to be one of the original sources of *R*. The chief interest in these passages, then, is to ascertain how much of the unique portions of *R* can be traced to *Z*, and to try and discover if any light is shed on the *unde derivatur* of such portions of *R* as are *not* found in *Z*. If we can do this we shall fully realize the value of *Z* in helping to unravel the mystery which still surrounds the early history of the Polian texts.

The first thing that strikes us is that in Chaps. 1-75 inclusive neither *R* nor *Z* have unique passages of any length. This surely points to the fact that Ramusio is here chiefly relying on Pipino and only made use of *Z*, or more properly *Z'*, later on. This is attested to by the fact that *Z* *does* afford much more extensive passages in the second half of the work. Of these seventy-five chapters, only Chap. 35, dealing with the Kingdom of Kerman, has an exclusive *Z* passage of over six lines. Of much more interest is Chap. 59. It describes the province of Camul (the modern Hami), and is chiefly devoted to the curious practice of the husbands who offer their wives to any foreigners. Polo explains how Mangu Khan (Mongu Can) in vain tried to stamp out the custom. Now the *Z* MS. contains nine lines (which seem to form a small chapter by itself) dealing with "Carachoco," the chief city of "Icoguristam." These lines come after line 14 of *F*—*i.e.*, just before the mention of Mangu Khan—

and 135; Y. 63=B. 137 and 138; Y. 67=B. 142 and 143; Y. 68=B. 144 and 145; Y. 77 is from *R*., and so is only in B.'s notes. Thus, by the end of Y., Book II., we find that Y. 82=B. 158. In Y., Book III., the differences are: Y. 10=B. 168 and 169; Y. 11=B. 170 and 171. The chapters then become very mixed. Y. brings the two Ceylon chapters together, hence Y. 14=B. 174, but Y. 15=B. 179; Y. 16 and 17 (Maabar)=B. 175; Y. 18 (St. Thomas)=B. 177; Y. 19 (Mutfili)=B. 176; Y. 20 (Lar)=B. 178. After this all continues in order to the end of the Book, where Y. 40=B. 199. In Y., Book IV., there are but few differences: Y. 1 and 2=B. 200; Y. 28=B. 226, 227, and 228; Y. 29=B. 229 and 230; Y. 33=B. 234; while Y. 34 is the conclusion, which, being from *TA*, is not in B.'s text. It is to be found, however, in his "Postille Supplementari," p. 258.

right in the middle of the wife-lending portion. This seems curious, but of much more interest is the fact that we may here have a clue to fixing the locality of "Ghinghintalas," which is the subject of Chap. 60 and which has as yet defied identification. Incidentally, we should point out that Benedetto has made a sad blunder* in trying to connect "Carachoco" with "Carachoto." They are two entirely different places, over six hundred miles apart. "Carachoco" is the Karakhōja mentioned by Stein in 1915, during his third journey to Central Asia (see *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, September, 1916, p. 202, and *Serindia*, vol. iii., p. 1167 and vol. v., Sheet 59†), lying twenty-one miles E.S.E. of Turfān, while Karakhoto is a ruined town on the Etsin-gol, (river), 135 miles N.E. of Mao-mei,‡ explored both by Kozloff and Stein. Now Z says that Icoгурistam (Uighuristan) "subiacet magno can." Yule thought Karakhōja lay to the N.W. of Turfān, and so pointed out (vol. i., p. 214) that it would be outside the Khan's boundary.

Rashīd-ud-dīn, the famous Persian historian, a contemporary of Polo, distinctly says it was a neutral town on the border line. No direction from Camul is given, but we now know it was due west. Ghinghintalas, says Polo, is "entre tramontaine et maistre"—i.e., N.N.W. from Camul, and is also "au grant can." Yule gives two alternatives for its situation in his map (No. IV.), but neither seem satisfactory. Rashīd gives a point near Chagan-Nor as being also on the boundary. Now if we take this boundary line to run in a semicircle from Karakhōja to Chagan-Nor, we can surely place "Ghinghintalas" in the neighbourhood of Barkul. Thus we shall be both "au grant can" and also N.N.W. of Camul.

* Unfortunately, Filippo de Filippi (who seems, for some unexplained reason, to have obtained practically the monopoly of the English reviews of B.'s work), not only supports B, but actually "proves" that Sir Aurel Stein has wrongly identified it with Polo's "Etzina." Both places are given in the map to the very article quoted by Filippi! While going to press, we have received a letter from Sir Aurel Stein confirming our statements about "Carachoco" and Karakhōja. See also *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, September, 1928, pp. 300-302.

† See also Pelliot, *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. 10, vol. xix., 1912, pp. 579, 603.

‡ Thus, Cordier was correct in his theory (Yule, vol. i., p. 225). He quotes Stein from *Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.* in *Ser Marco Polo*, pp. 53-55. For detailed maps of Karakhōja and Karakhoto see sheets Serial Nos. 28 and 45 respectively in the map case to Stein's *Memoir of Maps of Chinese Turkistan and Kansu*, Trigonometrical Survey Office, Dehra Dun, 1923, to be re-issued as Vol. IV. of his *Innermost Asia*.

(To be continued.)

THE INNER EAST

This section was initiated a year ago with the object of giving special study to the politics, history, art, and archæology of the Caucasus and Central Asia. The considerable interest which has been taken by readers in this section has caused us to decide to make it a permanent feature of the REVIEW. During the course of this year we have arranged to secure the following papers by writers who are known as authorities on the respective subjects with which they deal:

1. Mongolia under Soviet Rule.
2. The Georgian Church since the Revolution.
3. Historical Studies in Azerbaijan.
4. Recent Archæological Explorations in Central Asia and the Crimea.
5. Georgian Icons: a Study in Mediæval Art.
6. The Culture of Urartu.

TOWNS OF ANCIENT GEORGIA

BY W. E. D. ALLEN

PART I.—COLCHIS OR WESTERN GEORGIA

THERE have always been differences in the culture as in the political history of Western and Eastern Georgia. In the Roman days Colchis, the western country, was more civil. Iberia, over the Suram mountains, was more rusticated. Strabo notes a harder, rougher way of life as he goes eastward from the busy ports of Colchis over the mountains into the agricultural plain of Iberia, and further towards the Caspian into the parts of the half-nomadic Albani. It is the same in the mountain country. The western mountains of Caucasus, draining to the Euxine, were fairly well known to the ancient Greek and Roman geographers; of the eastern mountains, beyond Swaneti and the Daryal, they were quite ignorant. Pliny, writing in the first century A.D., is the first who gives some scanty information of the tribes in Daghestan and along the course of the Terek.

Colchis was, then, in the first centuries A.D. the most civil part of Caucasus—a part, in fact, of that Græco-Roman civilization which was spread round the shores of the Black Sea from the mouths of the Danube to the

Caucasian mountains. And the country was, indeed, for some decades during the first century A.D. included in the Bosporean kingdom of the Roman clients Polemon and Pythodoris.

Iberia remained the ruder land over the mountains, the up-country part: its kings, cadets of the Persian royal houses, and veering in their politics between the Roman Emperors and the Court of Ctesiphon; their capital was rather ruder, more remote than those of the Armenian kings in the cities on the Araks; their weight in policies much less significant.

THE CIVIL LIFE OF COLCHIS

When Strabo knew it, Colchis, the civil part, the country by the sea, already had a long tradition of urban life and foreign trading. The days of its commercial history go back to the centuries certainly when the cities of Greece were opening up the Euxine business; the legends of it to much earlier time. It is probable that in the Colchian towns was preserved some remnants of the old Bronze Age culture that covered all the Caucasus before the Cimmerian and Scythian invasions.* The Greeks, in spreading round the Euxine in the seventh century B.C., were only resurrecting the cities, the sea-ways, and the land routes of this former vivid age. The great Hellenic cities of the Cimmerian Bosporus grew up on the foundations of an older and forgotten building. Phanagoria and Hermonassa had been founded before the Milesians came, and Panticapæum was, in the words of Rostovtseff, "*active probably hundreds of years before the Greeks settled there. . . . The Barbarian name of the town, and the legend preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium that it was founded by a son of Aietes, king of those Colchians who appear in the story of the Argonauts, testify to the great antiquity of the town, to its ancient intercourse with the Caucasus, and to its existence as a seaport long before the arrival of the Milesians.*"†

It does not seem fantastic to believe, perhaps, that the Greeks came into the Black Sea, rather as in a later age the Normans and the Saracens broke upon the cities of the Mediterranean, and that they suppressed, imposed themselves upon, supplanted an older Euxine Thalassocracy,

* See author's previous article, "The Ancient Caucasus and the Origin of the Georgians," in *ASIATIC REVIEW*, October, 1928.

† Rostovtseff, "Iranians and Greeks," pp. 18 and 19.

built up maybe by the natives of the littoral lands, or by some earlier Ægean power.* They may have come upon, disrupted and chaotic, after the ruin of Cimmerian and Scythian invasions, some older state of things, in which Colchis had had the part which later the Bosporean kingdom had during the period of the Hellenic Thalassocracy.

At the time of the Roman conquest Colchis was a rich and prosperous land. Its decline during the subsequent six centuries of Roman-Persian hegemony in Trans-Caucasia was progressive and catastrophic. This decline, as was that of the Græco-Scythian cities of the Tauric Chersonese and the Cimmerian Bosporus, was due obviously to the unsettled political conditions occasioned by the great movements of barbarian hordes over the Eurasian steppe, to the north of the Caucasus, and round all the shores of the Black Sea. But it was occasioned also in part by the recurrent Roman-Persian wars, and the consequent interruption of normal commercial goings along the great Ponto-Caspian trade route up the valley of the Rioni, over the Suram mountains, and down the valley of the Kura.

At the time when Strabo wrote, and Polemon ruled, the territory of Colchis occupied the whole of the great alluvial plain between the main chain of the Caucasus, the mountains of Likh, and the mouth of the Chorokh. The country occupied now by the Abkhazians, between the Kodor and the Ingur, was included, and within it the celebrated city of Dioscurias. This city, until the conquests of Mithradates, had constituted a kind of independent republic, but under Roman rule it rapidly declined.

Strabo has left a picture which conveys at once the prosperous state of Colchis and its old tradition of civility.†

"The greater part of Colchis lies upon the sea. The Phasis, a large river, flows through it. It has its source in Armenia,‡ and receives the Glaucus§ and the

* The story of the rape of Medea seems rather to indicate the piratical character of early Mediterranean adventurings in the Black Sea.

† I follow Hamilton's rendering (London, 1856). Strabo, B. XI, c. 2, 17, 18.

‡ Phasis. Hamilton identifies it as the Rioni. Strabo's statement as to its Armenian source indicates a confusion either with the Chorokh or with one of the smaller streams which fall into the Rioni from the south-west. The reference to persons sailing up the Phasis to Sarapana (Shorapan) makes it clear that "the Phasis" was the Qwirala as far as its junction with the Rioni, and then the lower course of the Rioni.

§ Glaucus (Greek γλαυκος = gleaming, glancing). Procopius (ref. Dubois, II. 70) uses the name Reone. This name would appear to derive from the

Hippus,* which issue from the neighbouring mountains. Vessels ascend it as far as the fortress of Sarapana,† which is capable of containing the population even of a city. Persons proceed thence by land to the Cyrus (Kura) in four days along a carriage‡ road. Upon the Phasis is a city of the same name,§ a mart of the Colchians, bounded on one side by the river, on another by a lake,|| on the third by the sea. . . . The country is fertile and its produce is good, except the honey which has generally a bitter taste. It furnishes all the material for ship-building. It produces them in great plenty, and they are conveyed down by the rivers. It supplies flax, hemp, wax and pitch in great abundance. Its linen manufacture is celebrated, for it was exported to foreign parts; and those who wish to establish an affinity of race between the Colchians and the Ægyptians, advance this as a proof of it.

"Above the rivers which I have mentioned in the Moschic

Greek *πεών* = "flowing," "streaming," "gushing," and to indicate the same idea as "Glaucus." The name may have been adopted into Georgian and have superseded the older name "Phasis." Wakhusht favours the Greek derivation of Rioni, and says of the river "it flows with great rapidity and speed from its source as far as Kutais" (p. 347). Dubois (II. 70) identifies the Surium of Pliny with the Rioni. There is a small river Sora, a tributary of the Rioni in its upper course (Wakhusht, p. 379).

* *Hippus*. "The Tskhenis-tsqali," literally in Georgian "horse's-water" or "river."

† Sarapana, Georgian Shorapani. Wakhusht, "Description Géographique de la Géorgie," p. 365: "Higher up (the Qwirala) at Shorapani the Qwirala receives the Dzirula, coming from the west. . . . Shorapani is built in the angle at the confluence of these two rivers. It is a town and fortress founded by the first King Parnavazi, who made it the seat of an 'eristavi.' The battlements of the place are very great; to the north-west flows the Qwirala, the south-east the Dzirula, and towards the north-east is a little rocky mountain, and a great excavation which reaches the river." Dubois remarks that large vessels could only reach as far as the confluence of the Rioni and the Qwirala; from that point travellers would have to change into smaller boats to reach Sarapana.

‡ Strabo (B. XI., c. 3, 4), in discussing the entry from Colchis into Iberia, indicates that travellers did not then proceed over the Suram Pass, but that they followed the Qwirala to its source, and then descended into Iberia by the valley of the Liakhva (cf. Dubois, II. 71 and 72, and III. 163 *et seq.*, who counted nineteen fords over the Qwirala, and suggests that the 120 bridges mentioned by Strabo on this route is a copyist's error for 20). This country is called by the Georgians "Semo-qweqana"—the Upper Country.

§ Phasis. Fasso of the mediæval travellers, Fashe-Kala of the Turks, Poti in modern Georgian. Cf. Dubois, III. 66 *et seq.*

|| Lake Paleastome. Cf. Dubois, "Voyage autour du Caucase," III. 71.

territory* is the temple of Leucothea,† founded by Phrixus and his oracle, where a ram is not sacrificed. It was once rich, but was plundered in our time by Parnaces, and a little afterwards by Mithradates of Pergamus. For when a country is devastated, in the words of Euripides:

“respect to the gods languishes and they are not honoured.”

“How great anciently was the celebrity of this country appears from the fables which refer obscurely to the expedition of Jason, who advanced as far even as Medea; and still earlier intimations of it are found in the fables, relative to the expedition of Phrixus. The kings that preceded, and who possessed the country when it was divided in Sceptuchies,‡ were not very powerful, but when Mithradates Eupator had enlarged his territory, this country fell under his dominion. One of his courtiers was always sent as sub-governor and administrator of its public affairs. Of this number was Moaphernes, my mother’s paternal uncle. It was from this country that the king derived the greatest part of his supplies for the equipment of his naval armament . . . the territory of the Moschi, in which is situated the temple, is divided into three portions, one of which is occupied by Colchians, another by Iberians, and the third by Armenians.§ There is in Iberia, on the confines of Colchis, a small city, the city of Phrixus, the present Idessa,|| a place of strength.”

* The mountains of Likh or Suram. They are still called sometimes the Meskian mountains, and to the south-west they divide the Colchian basin from the high region where the Kura takes its source. Samtzkhe of the Georgians = sa-Mtzkhe—“land of Mtzkhetos.”

† Leucothea. Dubois (II. 249, and III.) suggests that either Gwimé, near the upper valley of the Qwirala, or possibly two large tumuli near the embuchure of the Borjomi defile, may have been the site of this temple.

‡ σκηπτουχίας, literally “the bearing of a staff or sceptre,” principalities—a reference to the “Kartlosid era” of Georgian history, which came to an end in the third century B.C.

§ Moschi. The territory occupied by the Moschi included the Suram mountains and the upper Kura basin, known to the Georgians as Samtzkhe. This upland region of Samtzkhe passed alternately under the Iberian and Armenian crowns. The Armenian name for the upland country was Gugarkh (Gogarene).

|| Idessa. Possibly on the site of Suram, where there was in the Middle Ages a small town and stronghold. This foundation was, however, comparatively late (cf. Wak., 268, 269). Possibly also Urbnissi, between Suram and Gori. Urbnissi is one of the oldest inhabited sites in Georgia; the tradition of its foundation dates back to the Patriarch Uplós.

THE TOWNS OF COLCHIS: KOTATISSIUM

All the rich alluvial basin of the Phasis was spread with thriving towns. The site of Kutais of later days, seat of the Imeretian kings, and the capital of Western Georgia—Kutatissi of Wakhusht*—was covered by the two towns of Cytaia or Kotatissium and Oukhimerion,† which are described in fullest detail by Procopius, who wrote, in the sixth century, of the Lazic War. The twin emplacements lay in a curve of the Rioni, a few miles above its confluence with the Qwirala. Oukhimerion was situated to the north on the right bank of the loop of the Rioni; Kotatissium was to the south, in the angle of the left bank. Oukhimerion, the fortress, was situated on a hill at a height of about 250 feet above the level of the river, and it was formed of an acropolis on the summit of the hill, an upper town with battlements and a lower town, opening over steep rocky slopes to the waters of the Phasis. Across the river extended the open streets, the markets, and the scattered suburbs of Kotatissium. Kutais today gives to the traveller this impression of a scattered, loose disjointedness. The few streets, the churches, the houses and the gardens and the orchards of this casual town are littered all around the great rock of the ruined citadel, straddling the two banks of the river. In the last foothills of the Caucasus fineing to the Colchian plain, in the sparkling sunshine—the river gleaming past down from the mountains to the sea—the lovely city stretches, lazy, brave and laughing, like as it were to some free woman who has known so many grasping, dirty masters, and remains so fresh in all her shame.

RHODOPOLIS

Further down the river, below the conflux of the Rioni and the Qwirala, lay in the classic time Rhodopolis;‡ it is Vardis-tzikhe of the Georgians—in literal translation “the castle of the rose.” Situated on low ground, among the woods, it became a favourite winter residence of the Lazic and Imeretian kings. Men dealt badly by it; the natives razed their rose castle in the Lazic War (A.D. 549) to prevent its seizure by the Persians; about twelve centuries later the

* Wakhusht, 371, who attributes the construction (of the mediæval Georgian town) to Levan (Leon), King of the Abkhazians (c. A.D. 744-789).

† Cf. Dubois, I. 398-400; II. 72.

‡ Cf. Dubois, II. 220 *et seq.*, quoting Procopius, “De Bello Gothic,” p. 527, ed. Bon.

Russians smashed the ageing walls of the Imeretian foundation "afin d'empêcher les Turcs d'y prendre position."* And thus, when Dubois visited the site, about a hundred years back, he found that nothing rested but a strong wall of seven or eight feet in thickness, of which a part dated, perhaps, from the time of the Lazes, for it was in their style of architecture.† Lower down, again, in the angle of the conflux of the Tskhenis-tsqali with the Rioni, was "the plain of oaks," Moukherisi,‡ dominated by a fortress of the name, a hold much contested in the Lazic War. And higher up the Tskhenis-tsqali was Onurgurisi, Khoni§ of later days, commanding the way up into the mountains to the Swanian country.

ARCHÆOPOLIS

There was one place in all this country so much older than the others in tradition that the Greeks distinguished it as Archæopolis—"the ancient city"—and the Georgians, through the long years to this present day, have named the site of it Nakalakevi, which has meaning of "where there was once a town." In Wakhusht's time, Nakalakevi was an obscure Mingrelian borough, a residence of the Dadianis, situated on the right bank of the Tekhuri, a small stream which falls into the Rioni, some miles below the Tskhenis-tsqali. Wakhusht describes it as "a town and fortress built by Kuji in the time of the first King Parnavazi." Kuji was the ruler of Egrissi, the old Georgian name for all the western plain. Wakhusht adds that Nakalakevi was destroyed during the Arab wars, "became a town again and was again ravaged."|| Dubois, who visited the ruins of Nakalakevi, decided that in great detail they answered to the description of Archæopolis of the Lazes, written by Procopius. He found the ruins of a bridge over the Tekhuri, a castle or acropolis, and a great walled area inside which were the ruins of a palace, a bazaar, and a small Christian church, in the earliest style of Byzantine Christian¶ art. Brosset also visited the site and accepted the identity of Nakalakevi with Archæopolis.**

The special antiquity of the town is patent in both the Georgian and the Greek nomenclature. In the *Georgian Annals* the legend of its foundation dates to the first

* *Ibid.*, II. 221.

† *Ibid.*, II. 221.

‡ *Ibid.* II. 96.

§ *Ibid.*, I. 405.

|| Wakhusht, pp. 396-7. Nakalakevi was called also Tzikhe-Godja.

¶ Dubois, III., pp. 51 *et seq.*

** Brosset, "Voyage Archéologique," 7^e Rapp., p. 60; 9^e Rapp., pp. 22 *et seq.*

days of the Georgian Monarchy. And it may well be that "the old city" of Procopius was the successor of *Æa*, the capital of the mythical kingdom of Aietes, where the Argonauts came. In fact, the sparse indications as to the whereabouts of *Æa* given by Strabo, by Pliny, and by Stephanos of Byzantium, all indicate that Archæopolis, the Lazian capital, and Nakalakevi, the obscure Mingrelian borough of the Middle Ages, rose the one upon the other, upon the site of *Æa*.*

Many more were the seaports, towns, and castles of the Colchian-Lazian basin, from Bathys†—"the deep anchorage"—round the crescent up to Dioscurias, inland to Petra, the Roman stronghold under the Gurian hills, and to Alexandria, which twin marcher-fort with Sarapana, guarded the ways over the mountains from Iberia.

* For discussion of this question see Dubois, *ibid.* Cf. also Strabo, B. I., c. 2, 39; Plinii, "Hist. Nat.," VI., cap. 4; Stephanus of Byzantium, "De Urb.," p. 18, ed. Xylandri.

† Bathys, transmitted into Georgian Batomi = Batum.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

UPLIFT OF THE ABORIGINALS OF CHOTA NAGPUR

BY REV. T. VAN DER SCHUEREN, S.J., K.-i.-H. (1st cl.)

THIS paper, although written by a missionary and dealing largely with missionary effort and achievement, is not intended to be propagandist. Its object is to give some account of the work, past and present, of the Belgian Jesuit missionaries among the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur, inasmuch as this work makes for the uplift of these backward races.

Presiding on November 15 last at the Annual College Day of the Scottish Churches in Calcutta, His Excellency Sir Stanley Jackson, Governor of Bengal, said :

It was not until I came to India in my present position that I had the slightest idea of the great educational work the missionaries from various parts are doing out here. I have now seen enough to appreciate the value to India of their unselfish efforts, and I have no hesitation in asserting that they deserve every possible encouragement.

It is to these words of His Excellency that I owe the idea of writing this paper. A short historical review will be needed, but the main theme will deal with facts, methods, achievements and ideals.

Without detracting from the merit or belittling the efforts of the earlier Belgian Jesuit missionaries, who for years had done pioneer work among the Mundas and met with some measure of success, it may be said that the real history of what now constitutes the Belgian Jesuit Mission among the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur begins from the date, November 23, 1885, when Father Constantine Lievens settled down at Torpa and accepted the offer made to him by a friendly jemadar of an empty hut at the end of the police lines. In a short time he had mastered the Munda,

Ouraon, and Kharria languages and come into contact with thousands of these aboriginals.

Father Lievens applied his great natural talent to the study of the laws and customs of the country, in which work he received valuable help from his friend, the Jemadar of Torpa. He studied the laws governing the land tenure, the extent, and also the limitations, of the rights of the zemindars. He consulted magistrates and lawyers, and soon gained accurate knowledge not only of the obligations, but also of the rights of the oppressed ryots. As a consequence, in many cases justice was done.

Naturally the news spread rapidly through the country, and soon multitudes of people flocked to Torpa from all sides. Father Lievens, while helping them in their material needs, was not forgetful of his own special mission, and used every occasion to explain to them the great benefits Christianity would confer on them if they were willing to accept the Faith: it would mould them into happier and more prosperous communities. There was little or nothing in the cold Animistic cult of these people, devoid as it is of temples and priesthood, to obstruct the Gospel message, and they listened readily to the preaching of the man whom they considered their best friend and greatest protector, and who could have no other purpose at heart than further to promote their welfare. The result was truly extraordinary, and in less than four years the number of Ouraons, Mundas, and Kharrias who had adopted Christianity was in excess of 70,000.

I am unable to quote chapter and verse, for my recollection is of the vaguest description, but I think I do remember that Lord Lytton, the Chairman, speaking one day about Indian Christians, said that in this respect he was not a believer in mere numbers. Perhaps, to start with, these 70,000 were mere numbers, however good their will, but they did not long remain so. Father Lievens immediately set up an organization to change these mere numbers into a compact living Christianity. He picked

out young men from among them for special tuition and training. Very soon he had a little army of more than 200 educated Catechists and had opened more than 100 schools. This success gave the zealous missionary a claim for further support, and he did not ask in vain. Every available priest in the Belgian Mission was drafted to the Chota Nagpur district, while in Belgium itself, in answer to his earnest and eloquent appeal for willing helpers, it is on record that 163 Belgian Jesuits volunteered for the Mission, and of these 18 started immediately. This was in 1889, and one year later the Irish Loreto nuns arrived in Ranchi to take charge of the education of the girls.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

With the advent of the missionaries from Belgium the vast mission field was divided into districts, with two or more missionaries in charge of each, whilst Father Lievens transferred his headquarters to Ranchi, thence to exercise a general direction. Education made rapid strides: primary schools were opened everywhere, boarding-schools were set up at the headquarters of each district where a higher grade education was imparted to the best boys from the primary schools, while in Ranchi a big central boarding-school, which eventually developed into St. John's High School and St. John's College, was erected for the education of the more promising boys picked from all the schools of Chota Nagpur; by 1892 the number of boys in this school had reached 200.

In 1892 there was a complete breakdown in the health of Father Lievens. Acting on medical advice, he returned to Belgium. He lingered on for some time, and then died at Louvain at the age of thirty-seven years and six months. He had all the qualities of heart and mind which make a great apostle, and his name will live in history as the apostle of the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur. I had lived with him in India in 1884 and 1885 and knew him

intimately, and I may be permitted to pay this personal tribute to one whose life has been the inspiration of my life, as it has been of so many others who have followed in his footsteps.

The next ten years were not marked by any great increase in numbers, but witnessed important work of consolidation, and in particular a continued rapid growth of education by the multiplication of schools and the more effective training of teachers and Catechists. Then came a period of fourteen years, during which expansion kept pace with consolidation, so that at the time of the outbreak of the war in 1914 the number of Christians had increased to 170,000.

The outbreak of war threatened the whole of this great organization with complete disaster. Suddenly cut off from Belgium, the Belgian Mission in India found itself completely isolated from the source which so far had supplied all the men and all the funds. With no men from home to replace the fallen ones (22 missionaries died between the years of 1914 and 1920, while no new recruits arrived), and with no funds from the stricken fatherland to provide for the maintenance of teachers and Catechists, it looked as if within a very short time the whole fabric must totter to pieces. That it did not do so is due to the truly wonderful help the Mission received in its hour of trial both from the Government and from private sources. Sir Charles Bayley, and after him Sir Edward Gait, successively Governors of the Province, saved the Mission Schools by making special and exceptional grants to keep them in full work. In Calcutta a committee for the support of Chota Nagpur was constituted, with Lord Carmichael as President and Sir D'Arcy Lindsay as Executive Chairman, while among its members were representatives of every race and creed. The Royal Calcutta Turf Club, through its Senior Steward, the late Sir Allan Arthur, sanctioned an annual donation of Rs. 10,000, while all the leading mercantile firms in Calcutta, both European and Indian, year after year subscribed in a lavish manner. Appeals

were also made in Australia and in the United States, and in both countries the response was most generous. Of course, the war had checked all progress, and 1920 found the Mission much as it was in 1914. There had been much suffering and hardship, but there had been no real set-back, and certainly no disaster.

The total number of aboriginal Catholics in the Chota Nagpur Mission at present is 258,000. The total number of Jesuits in the whole Mission or archdiocese belonging to the Belgian province of the Order is 278. In addition to these, there are 24 Indian priests, mostly belonging to the aboriginal races, while 21 are students in the Ranchi Seminary preparing for ordination to the priesthood. The number of Catechists—*i.e.*, specially trained lay auxiliaries—working in the Mission is 1,081.

I have, during a period of more than forty years, been a close witness of the effect of the Christian ideal on the lives of the aborigines of Chota Nagpur, and I may be allowed to give testimony to what I have seen. To the convert aborigines, Christianity gradually becomes a living religion penetrating into their innermost lives and exerting a manifest influence in their homes and families. It brings spiritual ideals to them, accompanied by higher moral conceptions, and thus causing both an intellectual and moral uplift. They take readily to the rites and ceremonies which accompany Christian worship; they sing, in their own aboriginal languages and with their own musical rhythm, the Christian hymns. In those parts, especially, where they form a compact homogeneous community Christianity in time becomes to them practically what it is to the simple rural communities in Europe which have been Christian for so many centuries.

I proceed to what is more directly the object of this paper—*viz.*, to give an account of the actual civilizing work going on in the Mission today. Realizing the importance of doing in this respect the best that can be done and in the very best way, the Mission has, since 1908, appointed one

of the Fathers to assume the supreme direction of all that relates to the material and social welfare of the converts. His title is "Director-General of Social Works." His headquarters are at Ranchi, but he is frequently out visiting the various stations discussing matters with the missionaries, advising them, making new suggestions, and co-ordinating all their efforts. He is freed from all directly religious ministry, and devotes all his time and energy to his responsible task.

CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT

First in merit and importance among the social works under his charge is the Co-operative Credit Society, or, as it is now commonly called, the bank. It is essentially a people's bank, managed *by* the people *for* the people. The Director-General of Social Works is the President, but the whole of the managing staff and every one of the shareholders are aborigines. I was present at the general meeting of the bank in 1925, and I may be permitted to make some statements based on the notes I then took.

The bank has a working capital of approximately three lakhs of rupees, and the whole of this capital is owned by 14,304 shareholders, all aborigines. These are grouped into nineteen circles, and these circles contain and control 1,475 village branches of the bank. Each village branch is ruled by a panchayat, or committee, of elected members of that village, and each circle by a panchayat of elected members of that circle. If a villager is in need of a loan he applies to the village panchayat. If the latter approve of it, they forward the application to the circle panchayat, and the latter, when forwarding the application to headquarters, assumes all responsibility in its respect. The amount of loan money in the hands of aboriginal borrowers in 1924 was about Rs. 120,000, and the interest paid by these about Rs. 10,000. It was pointed out at the meeting, amid applause, that no less than Rs. 60,000 would have had to be paid as interest if the bank did not exist, and

they had to obtain these loans from mahajans or money-lenders, a net saving therefore in one year to the aboriginal community of Rs. 50,000. Nearly all these loans were taken for excellent purposes; purchase of cattle, purchase of land, redemption of land, improvement of land and setting up or developing trade: these five eminently productive purposes accounted for fully ninety per cent. of the total amount taken in loans.

There is a yearly general meeting of the bank at Ranchi, attended by elected delegates from the village branches. No less than 1,200 delegates from all parts of Chota Nagpur were present at the gathering of 1925. There are general and sectional meetings, and it is not only financial or bank matters which are discussed; every question which bears upon aboriginal interests and the uplift and betterment of their race comes up for discussion and the framing of resolutions. By a unanimous vote the 1,200 delegates representing the 14,000 shareholders decided that no dividends should be declared or paid, but that the whole of the net profits of the year's working should be added to the amount of the undivided profits of preceding years, and that this sum should be added to the working capital of the bank. This brought the accumulated net profits to Rs. 42,000, and this sum stands in the name of the shareholders and is theirs. Every year at the annual meeting they vote how the interest accruing therefrom should be used for the general benefit and uplift of the community. At the meeting of 1925 they unanimously voted a sum of Rs. 3,000 for scholarships to poor but talented and deserving students of the community. The report of 1925 showed that during the year 1924 no less than Rs. 14,450, or more than £1,000, had been received in new deposits by the bank. To anyone who knows the poverty and the proverbial improvidence of the aboriginal races, this must appear as extraordinary evidence of the wonderful growth of the spirit of thrift among them.

The Co-operative Stores Society, or *gola*, as it is com-

monly called, is as old as the bank. Its object is to teach the aborigines the advantage of trade and to divert some, at least, of these advantages from the monopolistic non-aboriginal foreigners to the aborigines themselves. The *gola* brings co-operation to bear on buying as well as on selling—*i.e.*, on disposing of the produce of the country as well as on supplying its needs—and all this by and through aboriginal officials only, to the elimination of parasitic, foreign middlemen, who carry away the best percentage of the profits.

The bank and the *gola* have their headquarters at Ranchi, and have branches in each of the twenty odd districts into which the Mission is divided. In addition to these, each district has its own special social works adapted to the needs of that district and confined to its limits.

Practically every district has its rice or produce bank. The object is to keep the cultivators out of the hands of the mahajans and money-lenders, and to teach them thrift and foresight. The working is very much like the working of an ordinary bank, but instead of the capital and shares being money, they are rice, and instead of the loans and interest on them being money, they are also in kind. These rice banks are within reach of everyone and are much appreciated by the people. They have saved many a poor family whose supplies of paddy had run out before the sowing-time came or the new crop had ripened. They could get a loan of paddy from their own banks on easy terms, while the mahajan's terms are seldom less than 100 per cent. So well has this been understood, and so readily taken to, that, in many a village, the local panchayat have established their own paddy and produce bank. I know that in one district this exists in no less than thirty-four villages, with a total stock of 200,000 lbs. of paddy. Every grain of this stock belongs to the villagers, and the whole working and management is in their hands, the missionary not interfering in any way beyond merely controlling their accounts.

MUTUAL HELP SOCIETIES

Mutual help societies have been established in several districts. Their object is to procure help on occasions when it is most urgently needed and cannot be obtained through the bank or other ordinary channels. To be able to help one another in such cases, each family in a district is invited to make a little contribution towards a fund, and the fund so raised is administered in that district and for the people of the district only. It is a kind of insurance against times of special need when, through sickness or misfortune, a family may be faced by impending ruin or exposed to fall into the hands of money-lenders. I know of a district where the fund raised by the people to meet such special cases is in excess of Rs. 4,000.

To indulge in further descriptions would make this paper long beyond measure, and I merely add a few headings without comment. For instance: improved agriculture, implying the bringing of more lands under cultivation; the building of dams and making of tanks; the digging of wells for irrigation and consequent intense cultivation; the raising of new and more productive crops, etc. These to an exclusively agricultural population are, of course, of the highest importance. At the bank meeting of 1925 which I attended, Babu N. Katchchap, Agricultural Inspector, had been sent by Mr. A. P. Cliff, Deputy Director of Agriculture, to give a lecture to the 1,200 assembled delegates. He did more than this: he placed at their disposal, free of cost, 10,000 lbs. of two better kinds of rice-seed for experimental purposes, and added that the Government would follow this up by a free grant of artificial manure.

Much attention is also being paid by the missionaries to interesting the people in fruit and vegetable growing. In one of the mission districts more than 200 wells have been recently dug for this purpose with very satisfactory results. Spinning and weaving and other cottage industries are

being developed, and the designing by one of the Fathers of a wonderfully cheap and yet very effective handloom has done much to popularize this craft. No less than eighteen industrial or technical schools have been opened, and the lace-making schools of Rengarih, Khunti, Tongo, and Ranchi, the latter with over 200 lace-workers, are sending their produce to all parts of India and beyond its boundaries.

From the earliest days the Mission has concentrated on education, and it is in the field of education that the most telling results have been and are being obtained. The schools number more than 700, and the pupils in them a good 24,000. It is a graded system with primary and upper primary schools, culminating in the very flourishing St. John's High School in Ranchi. There is a Director-General of Education with headquarters at Ranchi, co-ordinating and unifying all the efforts made in the field of education.

MIGRATION

The aboriginal of Chota Nagpur is passionately fond of his country, and clings to it and to his little rice-field as long as he can. But extreme poverty and repeated parcelling out of the land consequent upon the rapid multiplication of these races cause thousands of these people every year to leave the country which they love, but which can no longer support them; hence Chota Nagpur is naturally a favoured labour-recruiting ground. The missionaries by social work, by increasing the wealth and population-capacity of the land, and every other means, try to stem this leakage, and, where they cannot stem it, try to organize it and direct it into suitable channels. This is the chief preoccupation of the Director-General of Social Works, and, thanks to his efforts and energy, nearly all, if not all, of the old-time abuses of coolie-catching have disappeared. He keeps in direct touch with the employers, and gets from them reasonable terms and satisfactory

arrangements, making sure that the emigrants will meet with protection and that their spiritual as well as their material interests will be looked after.

Having found out that the Government wanted labourers to do forest clearing work in the Andaman Islands, the missionaries explained the nature and conditions of the work and the Government terms, with the result that great numbers volunteered for this service. They all gathered at Ranchi, and from there one of the Fathers accompanied them to Calcutta and saw them safely on their way to the islands. It was by batches of four or five hundred that they came, each batch being under contract to work for eight months. Father Merkx and other Fathers visited them periodically while they were in the Andamans, and when they returned there was always a Father to meet them on the arrival of the steamer at Calcutta and take them back to Chota-Nagpur. Father Merkx himself told me that in two years these people came back with more than two lakhs of rupees. This enabled them to redeem mortgaged fields or buy new fields, and was the saving of hundreds of families.

One of the missionaries, whose district is far away in the Feudatory State of Jashpur, has instituted what he calls a special "Labour Office" for his district with the object of procuring lucrative employment for his people during the slack months when there is little or no work in the fields. The Labour Office—*i.e.*, the Father himself—gets all the required information and settles the conditions with the employers. While the men are at the work the Labour Office keeps in touch with them and receives directly from the employers half the salary earned by the men. This is remitted to them on their return. In one season upwards of 230 men secured work through this little Labour Office which on their return remitted to them the aggregate sum of Rs. 13,809, or more than Rs. 50 per individual workman.

Every mission district has at its headquarters a Dis-

pensary in the immediate charge of the missionary himself, and generally the Catechists or trained lay auxiliaries in the remote parts of the district have a medicine-chest with just the ordinary and most frequently needed remedies. All medical help is given free of charge to all. I remember one missionary telling me that in his district alone over 5,000 sufferers had received in one year medical help of some nature or other. The outbreak of the influenza epidemic in 1918 saw every missionary and every available brother and lay auxiliary at work carrying help to the poor sufferers in every village, even the most remote. I read in the Diary of one of the missionaries that he was on the move for a fortnight from early morning till late at night. The death-rate was terrible, whole villages being wiped out, but many lives were saved where timely help could be given.

FAMINE WORK

During the year 1896-1897 the Chota Nagpur, in common with many other parts of India, suffered from a terrible famine. Every missionary offered his services to the Government, and Government officials and missionaries worked side by side and in harmony to combat the famine. Every mission bungalow became the relief headquarters of a district, and, while relief works were organized for the able-bodied, the bungalow itself became a public kitchen where the old and weak and the women and children were served with food, sufficient at least to prevent starvation. The Fathers appealed to Belgium for help, and an "Indian Famine Relief Committee" was constituted at Antwerp, and the donations received amounted to about £4,000.

Lord George Hamilton, then Secretary of State for India, wrote on June 4 of that year to Monsieur Louis J. Wegimont, the organizer of the Antwerp Movement, expressing his thanks to the Committee and to the Belgian missionaries in India, and conveying a message of gratitude from Her Majesty, the Queen-Empress, to the Belgian

people and the missionaries for the timely and generous help given to her famine-stricken subjects in India. The famine was followed by an epidemic of cholera, and the letters of Father Eugene Dasnoy, whose district of Katkahi in the Barway was in the very centre of the affected area, are sad reading indeed. Father Dasnoy aided his stricken people through the worst part of the terrible visitation, but, as the dawn of a brighter day began to appear, fell a victim himself. Of a naturally strong and healthy constitution, but completely exhausted, he died at Katkahi in the midst of his afflicted flock at the age of thirty-eight.

While the World War was raging the Government approached the mission authorities in Ranchi with the object of recruiting men to constitute a Labour Corps for the front in France. The Director-General of Social Works, the late Father Molhant, undertook its organization, and every missionary's bungalow became a recruiting centre. The bank undertook the management of the moneys, making monthly allotments to the families and receiving the rest in deposit. The response was excellent, but all who volunteered put it as a *conditio sine qua non* that Fathers should accompany them, and that they should be at all times in the immediate and complete charge of the Fathers. The Government readily agreed to this, and Fathers Ory and Floor received charge and ministered to the men at the front. About 4,000 men, or, to be exact, 3,953 men were enrolled and gave an excellent account of themselves on the battlefields. Their only regret was that they were not there to follow the victorious allied armies in their reconquest of Belgium, the land of their beloved Fathers, and that they did not have the privilege of kneeling before the great Cardinal Mercier to receive his blessing. On their return in 1918 the whole of Chota Nagpur joined in a wonderful demonstration of welcome. The bank accounts showed that the men had earned ten lakhs of rupees, or, more exactly, 989,215 rupees. About half of this total had been given in monthly remittances to their

families. The remaining four and a half lakhs stood to their credit and enabled them to redeem or buy lands, purchase cattle, and settle down again in their villages in comfort and with a measure of prosperity.

SCIENTIFIC WORK

Naturally, living and working among different aboriginal tribes, each of which has its own language, the missionaries have made a study of these languages and embodied the results of their studies in publications issued at intervals. As long ago as 1891 Father Lievens had composed a short religious Catechism and published it in four languages—Hindi, Oraon, Munda, and Kharria. The list of missionary authors is quite a long one, and the grammars and dictionaries and other publications in these four languages form quite a little library. Many of these have attained the position of standard works and constitute most valuable contributions, not only to the languages, but also to the habits and customs of these people and their folklore, and the legends and traditions current among them.

Even in the field of botany the missionary has made his contribution. Working in conjunction with Sir David Prain, Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens, Father Louis Cardon made a study of the Chota Nagpur orchids. He discovered the *Dendrobium regium*, which secured a first prize and medal at the London Horticultural Show. He also discovered another orchid new to science, a *microstylis*, which in his honour received the name of *Microstylis cardoni*. It is especially gratifying to me to have the occasion of paying this little tribute to Father Cardon. We went out to India together in 1884. In 1888 he joined Father Lievens as his first and most valuable helper, and today he is still in that field, where he has worked for forty years without break and practically without interruption. He was the first to penetrate into the Biru and the Gangpur, and now, at the age of seventy, he

has still charge of the three mission districts of the Biru with a compact Catholic community of 45,000 in a total population of 48,000.

GOVERNMENT AND THE MISSIONARIES

This long enumeration of work done and results achieved may seem encouraging reading, but the march onwards of civilization and uplift among these poor aboriginal tribes is in reality still very slow, and certainly very far from answering the hopes and earnest wishes of the missionaries who devote their lives to the welfare of these races.

I have before me the "Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India." Many of its pages constitute sad reading. It is a very long list of what are called in the report "the disabilities of the cultivator." It raises a long, a very long, series of vitally important problems, the solution of which has barely reached the initial stage. It would be beyond the scope of this paper to attempt to tackle any of these problems. But I may be allowed to put forward a plea of a general nature, and it is for closer co-operation between the Government and the missionaries. I must make myself clear.

There is no question of religion here: that purely and solely concerns the spiritual ministry of the missionary. But this spiritual ministry is far from exhausting the activities of the missionary. He has also at heart the purely material welfare and the happiness and general well-being of the peoples among whom he dwells, and this is not limited to those who receive his spiritual ministry, but extends to all.

At the cost of many precious lives and with the generous help of the Belgian people, the Belgian Jesuits have set up in Chota Nagpur an organization which covers the whole of that province and has reached a high degree of development. At the headquarters in Ranchi there is a Bishop and with him a Director-General of Education and a

Director-General of Social Works. Scattered in twenty-nine districts are fifty-two Belgian Jesuit priests and seventeen Indian priests and about eighty Belgian and Indian nuns. All these are settled in villages, living among the people and in constant and intimate contact with them. As lay auxiliaries there are more than a thousand instructed and specially trained salaried men called Catechists, while education is dispensed to boys and girls in more than 600 schools of all grades. All this little army is mobilized to work for the civilization and uplift of the poor aborigines of Chota Nagpur. Side by side with it there is another army, the Government army mobilized for the same purpose, with its headquarters and higher officials, with its various departments each having its complete staff, with its own schools and hospitals and dispensaries and institutions of all kinds.

My plea is for closer co-operation of these two armies mobilized for the same purpose. There is no question of the missionary attempting to usurp Government functions or obtruding himself into administrative circles, nor is there question of the Government official high or low becoming mixed up in what is purely the religious side of the missionary's work and activities. I do not advocate fusion of any kind, but merely closer co-operation where the aims and objects are identical and the means and methods are practically the same.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture sees a possible solution which has attracted it greatly in what is called the "Guide" idea. This is a system of village guides devised by Mr. F. L. Brayne, I.C.S., C.I.E., Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon. Mr. Brayne is a Government official, but manifestly his devotedness to the people in his care has made him a missionary in reality, although not in name or in calling. I cherish the fancy of Mr. Brayne being a Deputy Commissioner in Chota Nagpur instead of in the Punjab, and finding there in the missionaries and nuns and Catechists and school-teachers a ready-made army of

village guides satisfying his highest ideals and capable of reaching every village and every family in every village.

My plea deals with the future and implies no reflection on the past. The intercourse between the missionaries and the Government officials high and low has been at all times of the best. Side by side with the name of Mr. Brayne in his own sphere, I might mention the name of Mr. H. C. Streatfield, C.I.E., for many years Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi. His name was, and to some extent is still, a household word in every mission bungalow, and his memory still lives among the poor aboriginal villagers as that of the great and good "Zilla Saheb."

Co-operation there has been, individual co-operation at all times. My plea is that this should become an established system of closer or even the closest co-operation pervading all ranks from the highest to the lowest. "To break up the inhibition on the will to live better," write the Royal Commissioners in their report, "there is required a strong central driving force that will encourage enthusiasm, develop public spirit, and provide suitable material for active workers . . . it depends for its success on the enlistment in the cause of everyone willing and able to assist, official or non-official. . . ." If the plea put forward here finds favour and is translated into practical application, I look forward in buoyant expectation to seeing the present snail-like pace changed into rapid progress on the road to civilization and uplift among the aboriginal races of Chota Nagpur.

I have written about the Belgian Mission only, but manifestly what I have written applies also to the other mission organizations in Chota Nagpur.

I may be allowed to conclude this paper with a remark of a somewhat personal nature. Although a Belgian Jesuit when going out to the missions leaves his country without any idea or hope of ever returning to it—and India, in a sense, becomes his adopted country—the feelings of loyalty which attach him to his country and King not only do not

die out, but seem to grow all the stronger for his voluntary exile. The knowledge therefore that in his distant home-country not only his fellow-citizens but his King himself are deeply interested in him and his work is a source of great encouragement and a stimulus to further efforts. King Albert is indeed deeply interested in the work of the Belgian missionaries abroad. At the end of a private audience His Majesty granted me in July, 1924, the King stood up, and, in telling and impressive words, asked me to take a message from him to the Belgian Jesuit Fathers on the Mission in India. "Please tell all the Belgian Fathers on your return to India," His Majesty said with marked earnestness, "that I take a very great interest in their work, that I admire their devotedness, that I am proud of the honour with which they surround the name of Belgium among the peoples of India, and that I pray to God for their success in the noble and great work to which they devote their lives." When in 1925 the King and Queen visited India, their Majesties, on their way down from Darjeeling, made a halt at Kurseong to meet about thirty Belgian Fathers assembled there, and did them the signal honour of accepting an invitation to be entertained at breakfast by them. At the end of the meal His Majesty rose and, after having expressed the Queen's and his own pleasure at this intimate Belgian family meeting on the heights of the Himalayas, once more paid an eloquent tribute to the work of the Fathers for the Indian people, and expressed the deep interest both the Queen and he were taking in that work and their gratification at its success.

It is also gratifying to the missionaries to know that their work meets with high appreciation in the land of their adoption. Indian statesmen, Indian political leaders of all parties, Indian men of rank and position in all classes of life readily and willingly bear testimony to the value of the work and their appreciation of it. But more than all else do the Fathers value the plain and simple gratitude and the childlike love and affection of the poor aborigines themselves.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Monday, October 15, 1928, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., when a paper was read by the Rev. Father T. Van der Schueren, S.J., K.-i.-H., on "Aboriginal Uplift in Chota Nagpur."

The Right Hon. the Earl of Lytton, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., presided, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: The Countess of Lytton, Lord Justice Russell, Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir William Ovens and Lady Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Colonel Sir Arthur Dick, K.B.E., His Eminence Cardinal Bourne, Sir Robert Holland, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O., Sir Campbell W. Rhodes, C.B.E., Sir K. Vencata Reddi, the Baroness Beaumont, Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., Mr. C. H. Bompas, C.S.I., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Miss Marsh, Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. Alma Latifi, O.B.E., and Mrs. Latifi, Mr. W. Coldstream, Lady Holberton, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. George Pilcher, M.P., Mr. Edwin Haward, Mr. V. Sutton, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Dr. A. Shah, Mr. L. L. Sundara Ram, Mr. A. D. Bonarji, Miss Margaret Brown, Miss Cathleugh, Miss Corfield, Mrs. Martley, Mr. H. A. Shire, Mr. T. Barry, Lieut.-Colonel Osborne, the Right Rev. Mgr. J. Fernandes, Rev. Henry Browne, S.J., Mr. F. J. Richards, Mr. A. F. Day, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Mr. M. M. Hare, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mrs. Mignon, Mr. T. McSheehy, Mr. E. F. Hayes, Mrs. Leggatt, Mrs. John Reid, Mrs. J. McSwiney, Miss Fell, Mrs. Nichol, Miss Nichol, Colonel A. D. Warliker, Mr. C. C. Cubitt, Mr. C. D. Panioty, Mr. H. Norman, Miss Gravott, Rev. O. Withnell, S.J., Mr. Edward Eyre, Miss Balfe, Mr. J. Goodman, the Right Rev. Canon Ross, Mr. G. O'B. Power, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel that I owe to you and to our lecturer an apology for not having been here punctually to fulfil the chief if not the only duty of a Chairman, that of introducing the lecturer. I had intended, if I had arrived in time, to encourage you to listen with attention to the lecture which we were about to hear by telling you that, though you had come here expecting probably to meet a stranger, you would find a friend, and a very old friend, one whom we have all known from childhood since it would have been my pleasure to introduce you to "Father Christmas," for that is the name our lecturer is known by to his friends. I believe in America he is known by the name of Santa Claus, but it is the same man, and, whether as Santa Claus or as Father Christmas, in India, in America, and in England, we all love our friend. (Applause.) Father Christmas, as we know, is never late, and he never waits for anyone. He

may perhaps have asked our parents when we were children what it was that we should like to see in our stockings, but he did not ask for leave to come and visit our houses, nor did he wait for anybody's permission to present his gifts. Therefore, perhaps it is just as well that I was not here in time and that you have seen Father Christmas true to his character. I have no doubt that you recognized him at once, and that you also recognized in the story he has just told you the characteristics with which we are so familiar. Indeed, I think we should congratulate the Belgian Jesuit Fathers on having chosen Father Christmas to tell the story of their work, for he is the greatest propagandist in the world. (Hear, hear.) Whatever doubts anyone may have of the tact of one who seeks to convert another from his religion, no one, I believe, has ever questioned the tact of Father Christmas's propaganda, and so it is in India, as you have learned from his story. Quite apart from the well-known and well-recognized religious communities, there are, both in the hills and in the plains, a number of tribes who cannot really be said to have any religion at all, and by whom the greatest possible benefit can be derived from the gifts which Father Christmas and his fellow-Fathers have brought to them. The work of which the lecturer spoke today was not in the province with which I was connected, and I am not myself familiar with it beyond what he has told us today, but I was familiar with another side of the work of the Belgian Fathers, for they conduct two magnificent schools, one in Calcutta and the other at Darjeeling, and I feel that I should take this opportunity of expressing to Father Christmas our obligations and our gratitude for the work which he and his fellow-Fathers carry on in those two schools. It is a work from which the children of my own countrymen derive benefit, and on their behalf I thank him for it. I thank him also on behalf of the Government of Bengal. He has spoken at the end of his paper about the necessity for and desirability of greater co-operation between the Government and the missionaries. I can assure him that there has been no lack of co-operation between the Government and the work of his Mission, either in Calcutta or in Darjeeling, and certainly no lack of gratitude; for we realized that these Belgian Fathers were doing our work, were saving our money—money which otherwise we should have had to spend—were educating children that were our responsibility, and we were grateful to them for doing it. With regard to the details of the work about which he has spoken, I only desire in a few words from my own personal experience to emphasize how valuable it is. The establishment, for instance, of co-operative credit banks, as anyone connected with the Government of India knows, is perhaps the most valuable service that anyone can possibly render to the Indian peasant, because from his early manhood to the grave, in the absence of this source of help, he is dependent upon money-lenders, and becomes their slave through life. To be redeemed from that slavery and enabled to provide for his own needs and the needs of his family and industry by co-operative banks of the kind Father Van der Schueren has been telling us about is of the utmost value to him. Again, it seems a simple matter in a room like this to speak about weaving—a useful activity, no doubt—but I was shown

in one part of my province a village which was noted for its criminality—practically every inhabitant of the village, I was told, was a professional highway robber who lived by the commission of dacoities—and into that village there was introduced the industry of silk-weaving. That was an industry which had previously flourished in the village, but through disease among the silkworms it had died out, and in the absence of any other occupation the inhabitants had taken to burglary; but immediately on the reintroduction of the occupation of silk-weaving the entire population found themselves satisfied, well occupied, and without any temptation or desire to resort to any other livelihood. The village was pointed out to me as a very flourishing one, engaged in this silk-weaving business, and I was assured that there was not a criminal in the whole population. That is an illustration of what real moral and social benefit can be accomplished by means of that sort of thing, but it was rather for their educational work that I knew the Belgian Fathers and especially desire to thank them.

I will now invite discussion from the audience. I have been provided with a list of speakers who have expressed their willingness to take part, and I will commence by calling upon Sir Edward Gait.

Sir EDWARD GAIT said that he had served in Chota Nagpur in various capacities, and could testify from his own personal observation to the great improvement which had taken place among the aborigines in recent years. Less than two generations ago they were sunk in ignorance and superstition. Their tribal dialects were unwritten, and they depended for their subsistence on their scanty rice fields and precarious catch-crops of inferior grains. The improvement which had taken place was due to various causes, partly to the development of the railways and partly to the action of Government in undertaking settlement operations and passing an up-to-date Tenancy Act, but mainly to the splendid work of the missionaries of various denominations—Anglican, Lutheran, and Presbyterian, as well as the Roman Catholic Mission, whose activities had been described by the lecturer. In connection with the educational work of the missions, special mention should be made of the college established at Hazarbagh by the Dublin University Mission. By reason of the educational facilities provided by the missionaries, large numbers of aborigines had obtained positions in the lower ranks of Government service, and one of them had recently been appointed to the Indian Civil Service. The missionaries had greatly assisted the aborigines in their long and uphill struggle with the landlords and the money-lenders. The benefit which the aborigines had derived was most noticeable amongst those who had accepted Christianity. (Applause.)

His Eminence Cardinal BOURNE said he was very pleased to be able to be present to listen to the very interesting and important paper which had just been read by his old friend Father Van der Schueren. The work which had been accomplished by the Belgian missionaries in India had been remarkable, though little was known about it in England, and he thought they owed a debt of gratitude to the lecturer for having brought to the knowledge of the people of England what had taken place in connection with the Belgian Missions in India. Fourteen years ago England had contracted a debt of gratitude towards Belgium which could never be

repaid, but few of those present knew the extent of the debt which they owed to Belgium in respect of the missionary work in India. Belgium was under no obligation towards India. Belgium was a small country with a population about equal to that of Greater London, and that Belgium should give men and money to such an extent for the evangelization of India was another reason why they should be deeply grateful to the Belgian people. Nothing had been said in the paper of what the lecturer had done himself. Personally he could not speak with any knowledge of what the lecturer had accomplished in the mission field, but he had some knowledge of the work done by the lecturer in order to obtain the necessary funds for carrying on the work. With his great stature, venerable appearance, and eloquence he had raised large sums of money, not only in his own country but also in Australia and America, for the work in the mission fields. (Applause.)

Sir K. VENKATA REDDI said all Indians present would wish to express their gratitude for the missionary work which had been accomplished in India. The children were being educated by the missionaries, without whom they would have remained uneducated, and every Indian man and woman felt they were under a debt of gratitude to the missionaries. In India so long as one of the aboriginal or depressed classes adhered to his original faith he was not respected to the extent to which he was if he became a Christian. The missionaries had given the aborigines education and a status which they could not have otherwise acquired. He desired to place on record the sense of gratitude of the Indians to all missions, whether from America, Australia, Belgium, or elsewhere. Among other things the Jesuit missionaries had established a college in Madras, which was doing splendid work. Indians would never forget the great debt of gratitude which they owed to the missionaries.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH MALLIK said Indians owed a great debt of gratitude to the missionaries, particularly for their work with regard to education. It was most gratifying to find that strenuous efforts were being made by them on the lines of social and economic regeneration. The starting of the most difficult work of establishing co-operative banks, to save the agricultural classes from the hands of the money-lender, showed the most unselfish and prolonged devotion with which the missions had been carrying on their labour of love. The lecturer was a man who commanded the universal respect and admiration of all in Bengal. He could bear testimony to the great work which the Belgian and other missionaries had carried out. With regard to the lecturer's plea for more co-operation on the part of the Government, he was doubtful if that would be wise. (Applause.)

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said he had no first-hand knowledge of Chota Nagpur, but the problem which the Belgian missionaries had by their devoted self-sacrifice helped to solve there was not confined to that province; it was common to all the provinces of India. In every province there were the depressed and outcaste classes. The outcastes in the Punjab, some two millions or more, were at a disadvantage compared with those in Chota Nagpur in that they had no connection with

the land, and in India the lot of the man who had no land and no caste was hapless indeed. In the Punjab in connection with one of the great irrigation schemes it had been thought desirable to give the various bodies who professed to be working for the improvement of the outcastes a chance of settling some of those people on the Government waste land which was coming under irrigation. When Lieut.-Governor, some twelve or thirteen years ago, he had said to those people: "If you will come forward and settle on this land, so many hundred families, we will give you so much land—12½ acres per family—on the most favourable terms. After you have brought half the area under the plough, we will allow you to purchase all on behalf of your people at about one-third of the market value, spreading the payment over twenty years." Most of the organizations had some hesitation; the first to come forward had been the Belgian Franciscan Mission, and after them the Salvation Army. They settled hundreds of families on the land, built houses, taught their people—most of whom were previously ignorant of agriculture—to plough and sow seeds, to reap and mow, and established schools and churches. Two years afterwards, when he visited those settlements, it was difficult to believe that that trackless land had become a smiling garden. On every side neat homesteads and rich crops met the eye. The moral change in the people had been even greater. These poor outcastes, who a few years before had been despised and treated as "untouchables," now faced the world like men, and looked one in the face. They had learned that they were the equals of their caste neighbours before God and man. All this had been accomplished in two years by the labours of the Belgian missionaries. It was not an easy task; the Belgian Fathers had to play the rôle of Father O'Flynn, who kept his flock in the fullest control by—

"Checking the crazy ones, coixin' onaisy ones,
Liftin' the lazy ones on with the stick."

The stick, of course, was only metaphorical. (Laughter.)

They knew that Father Van der Schueren had now been transferred to America to raise funds for the extension of the good work. They also knew that his heart was in India, and he hoped that when Father Van der Schueren successfully accomplished his work in America he would return to the people and the land he loved to carry on the great work of social and moral regeneration which had brought such credit to himself and the Belgian Missions.

Sir LOUIS DANE, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the lecturer, said that as Private Secretary to Sir Robert Egerton, Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab in 1879-82, and lately as Secretary in the Foreign Department, he had seen much of the personal work of the late Lord Lytton, and had even, with three others, had the great honour of being his host during the period that elapsed between the arrival of Lord Ripon and the time when the long, hard journey to Bombay from Simla could safely be undertaken by the ex-Viceroy and his family, including the present Chairman. He therefore ventured to say that Lord Lytton's father was one of the ablest, most original and far-sighted Viceroys that India had ever had,

and if the proposals which had been made by him had been carried out a great deal of trouble that had since arisen in India would never have occurred. (Hear, hear.) They all owed a great debt of gratitude to the lecturer for his interesting account of the magnificent uplift work which the Belgian missionaries had done in Chota Nagpur. (Applause.)

The LECTURER, in reply, said that, with regard to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's hope that he would return to India, he intended to work in America as long as he was able, but when he could no longer do the work, which was arduous, he would immediately return to India, because everywhere else in the world he felt himself to be a stranger. He was grateful for the kind remarks which had been made by the various speakers. Missionary work was hard, and a missionary was gratified to learn that his work had been appreciated. He was sure that when the report of the meeting reached the missionaries in India it would encourage them to go on working for the uplift of the people. The life of a missionary among the poor people in their humble villages was the best life a man could live in this world; it was, in his opinion, the nearest approach to the life of Christ when He was on earth, and it was that which made the missionary's life such a happy one. (Applause.)

INDIAN EDUCATION UNDER THE REFORMS

BY J. A. RICHEY, C.I.E.

OUR system of education in India has been much criticized in recent years. Some of this criticism is ill-informed; some of it, though kindly meant, is unhelpful. Among the critics I have met, the commonest types are: the frankly antagonistic, "Education is at the bottom of all the trouble in India"; the less crude but equally obstructive adherents of some old formula—for example, the official, "If the parents want it they must pay for it; people don't value what they don't pay for"; the non-official, "Girls' schools should teach nothing but sewing and the care of the home"; the public speaker who makes capital of historical untruths, "The British started schools in India in order to provide themselves with clerks"; "The wrong turn was taken when Macaulay pronounced in favour of English in preference to the vernacular"; till one reaches the vague theorist with such impracticable suggestions as "Hindi (or Urdu, if the critic is a Muhammadan) should be substituted for English as the medium for higher education"; or such meaningless phrases as "The system of education should be based on the national culture of India." I shall, I fear, have no time to reply to these critics today, for I propose to give a very brief account of the most important educational developments during the last ten years—*i.e.*, since the era of reform—and to mention some of the most serious problems.

Official reports on Indian education, after treating of administration, deal in turn with University, secondary, and primary education, with supplementary chapters on education of special kinds and classes, such as Indian

girls, Europeans, and criminal tribes. I shall start with the base of the pyramid, primary education.

First as to quantity—I shall avoid statistics as far as possible, because Indian educational statistics need careful interpretation. If, for example, I were to say that there are over one and a half million boys in secondary schools in India and less than seven million in primary schools, you might fall into the same error as the Inchcape Committee. Treating of educational expenditure in the North-West Frontier Province, this Committee, while dealing not unkindly with primary education, noted that there had been a marked increase in expenditure on secondary education, and demanded drastic reductions. The apparent increase was due to a reclassification of the schools, effected when I was Director on the Frontier, whereby the larger primary schools were converted into lower secondary schools, though two-thirds of their scholars still remained in the primary stage. I find that the same proportion holds good for the rest of India, so that of the 1,500,000 boys in secondary schools in India about 1,000,000 are reading in primary or preparatory departments.

I will confine myself therefore to a few general statistics. Ten years ago there were about 7,350,000 scholars in 162,000 recognized public institutions in India; there are now over 10,000,000 in 200,000 institutions. From the beginning of the present century till 1918 there was a fairly constant annual increase of 200,000 scholars; during the next five years the rate of progress was halved, so that in 1922 the total attendance was 7,740,000. During the last six years the rate of increase has risen to nearly 500,000 a year. The all-India figures for last year are not yet available, but provincial reports show that this rate has been maintained. The set-back from 1918 to 1922 was due to three causes—the period of economic distress which followed the War, the rise in the cost of living which diverted all surplus funds to a revision of salaries, and the non-co-operation movement. These hindrances to progress no longer exist.

DEFECTS OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Of the children of school-going age in India only 42 per cent. of the boys and 8 per cent. of the girls are enrolled as scholars. And it must be remembered that of this enrolment only a small proportion reach the stage of literacy. Various attempts have been made in recent years to calculate the wastage in Indian primary schools. This wastage consists partly of little children who are sent to school for two or three years to be out of harm's way at home, partly of the duller children, who are unable to make any headway by themselves or in the brief intervals of instruction the master can spare from the more serious work of the upper classes—volatile and stagnant infants as they have been called. A careful census made in one division of Behar showed that of the boys admitted into the first class 72 per cent. were never promoted at all. I was struck on visiting a school in the Punjab, where compulsion had just been introduced, to find how large a proportion of the boys brought in had actually been in school before for a short time. The wastage is clear evidence that the ordinary village schoolmaster is not competent to run a primary school single-handed, even though it may only contain three or four classes.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture have gone so far as to declare the task impossible. "No primary school," they say, "can be efficient which has less than two teachers"; and again, "A village that has a primary school with only one teacher might almost as well be without a school at all." Now, if these statements are true, we may well despair of the future of rural education in India; for nothing is more certain than that if education is ultimately to reach the more backward and sparsely inhabited tracts it must be by means of the single-teacher school; no other type is economically possible. But, of course, these statements are very exaggerated. We have evidence enough in the thousands of good single-teacher schools in

the United States, Canada, Australia, and South Africa. I have inspected a number of such schools in South Africa, and more, I have visited many good single-teacher schools in India itself.³ Still, no one will deny that such teachers are set a hard task.

The Commission have made various suggestions to remedy the present state of affairs. Their first suggestion, that the single-teacher schools should be converted into branch or preparatory schools, has been tried, notably in the United Provinces, but is unpopular with the parents and with the masters, who lose both interest and dignity. It is here that we feel most keenly the want of women teachers. To one who has been accustomed to the cheerful animation of infant classes under bright and sympathetic kindergarten mistresses, the infant class in an Indian village school is a dispiriting spectacle—a huddle of scantily clad urchins seated in a corner of the schoolroom or the verandah, spending hour after hour, day after day, and month after month in conning torn fragments of old-fashioned alphabet readers, or laboriously drawing complicated letters on leaves or wooden boards, lucky if they receive half an hour of the master's attention during the day, and learning to look on school as a place where all activity of mind or body is out of place. One even sees some hygienic arguments for the swaying bodies and confused babel of the Koran school. It is beneath the dignity of the ordinary inspecting officer to pay any attention to the infant class, though it may constitute the bulk of the school.

The Agricultural Commission deplore the absence of women teachers, and urge that an effort be made to recruit them; but with the crying need for teachers in girls' schools, it would hardly be justifiable to withdraw any from the small available supply. The Commission are certainly right in advocating better training and a larger supply of trained teachers. Most provinces are now alive to these needs. Even in Bengal, where the status of the

primary teacher is probably lowest, a system of large, well-staffed training institutions, started long ago by Sir Henry Sharp, is at last superseding the old guru-training school.

COMPULSION

Though better methods of teaching may have some effect on the wastage due to neglect, it will have little effect on the wastage due to irregular attendance and early withdrawal. The only way of coping with this evil, as the Commission recognize, is by the progressive adoption of compulsory attendance.

It is ten years since the first compulsory Education Act was passed in India. To quote from the last quinquennial review :

"The feeling that the chief obstacle to India's progress towards a complete nationhood is to be found in the illiteracy of her masses first found expression in Mr. Gokhale's Primary Education Bill of 1911. It was brought to a head by the declaration of the Secretary of State in August, 1917, that India's future lay in the progressive development by successive stages of complete self-government. Responsible Indian thought realized that the rate of progress from a bureaucratic to a democratic form of government must be largely dependent on the evolution of a popular electorate capable of exercising the franchise, and so, ultimately, on the rate of expansion of literacy among the masses. Expansion under a voluntary system of education was proving a slow and uncertain business. The solution appeared to be the early introduction of compulsory education ; and Education Acts with this object in view were introduced in rapid succession in the seven major provinces of India between February, 1918, and October, 1920."

These Acts, some of which were introduced officially, some by private members, are all based on the principle of local option ; some of them extend only to municipalities ; four of them only apply to boys. To those who hoped much from these Acts, the history of the past ten years has been one of profound disappointment. The last available statistics, those for 1926, show that compulsion had been introduced in 97 municipalities and 477 rural areas : but of the municipalities 20 are situated in Madras, 23 in the United Provinces, and 42 in the Punjab ; while of the rural areas, 451 are situated

in the Punjab, and 21 in the Central Provinces. In the remaining six provinces of India, only 8 municipalities and 3 rural areas have availed themselves of the Acts. The effectiveness of compulsory education varies considerably. Ranchi appears to have one of the best systems: nearly all the boys of school-going age are enrolled, and 78 per cent. in daily attendance. Moreover, the municipality have not hesitated to use their legal powers, and, though it used to take them over a year to secure a conviction from the court, 653 cases of infringement of the Act were disposed of last year.

Compulsory education in rural areas is only a live issue in the Punjab. What is the reason of this? I should be glad to think that it was due to some peculiar merit in the Punjab Primary Education Act which I introduced in the Council in 1919; but, except that it allows for the introduction of compulsion in the smallest possible area, the provisions of this Act do not differ widely from those of other provincial Acts. Nor is it to be explained by the satisfactory state of the Punjab's finances. It is due to a difference in the attitude adopted towards compulsion by the Punjab Government. The traditional attitude of Government is that disclosed in the debate on Mr. Gokhale's Bill—namely, that money should not be spent on the introduction of compulsion while it is still needed for expansion on a voluntary basis.

It was Sir George Anderson, Director in the Punjab, who first pointed out that the application of compulsion was, in fact, a far more economical and effective method of expansion than the multiplication of small schools on a voluntary basis. One school with three teachers and eighty boys, all committed to a five-year attendance at school, is an incalculably greater force in the fight with illiteracy than three single-teacher schools each with a fluctuating attendance of thirty scholars, the majority of whom will leave within two years of admission. It is also much cheaper to maintain one large school in full use than three small schools half-empty.

An even more valuable contribution by the Punjab to the solution of the problem of compulsion was the adoption of the single-school area as the unit. It had always been assumed that the smallest administrative area for this purpose would be the tahsil or subdivision, though the village has from time immemorial formed the lowest unit of administration. In a village where 50 or 60 per cent. of the boys are already in school it is not hard for the schoolmaster and inspector to organize public opinion in favour of compulsion, which will mean a larger staff, better teaching, and possibly even the raising of the school to a higher status if the numbers warrant it. A petition to this end is drawn up by the schoolmaster, signed or thumbmarked by the parents, and submitted to the District Board. It must not be thought that the type of compulsory education which is thus brought about is comparable with the strict systems of compulsion with which we are familiar. It does not claim as yet to bring in more than 80 per cent. of the boys in the school area; and it is enforced by pressure of public opinion, sometimes embodied in a co-operative society, rather than by law. It is, however, a very valuable step in the direction of full compulsory education, and it is the only possible means of preventing the wastage caused by premature withdrawals.

RESPONSIBILITY OF GOVERNMENT

It is not enough for a local government to recognize the importance of compulsion if it is not prepared to take the initiative in introducing it. It is here that we touch the heart of the whole matter. The claims of primary education in India have suffered by being subordinated to those of local self-government—so much so that the Decentralization Commission could actually suggest the transfer of all responsibility for elementary education, even to the prescription of curricula, to local bodies. Although this recommendation was not, of course, accepted, elementary education has always been treated as a matter of local

concern. This is due largely to the English precedent, though the Indian system of local finance is more analogous to the French than the English, and other parts of the Empire, notably Australia, have developed State systems of primary education. Actually the power exercised by Indian local boards in respect of education is far wider than those enjoyed by similar bodies in England. I remember an important District Board deciding to close all its girls' schools on the ground that female education was a waste of money, and giving a month's notice to all the school-mistresses.

Except in the case of one or two of the larger municipalities, every successful development of primary education in India has been due to the action of Government, direct or indirect; Government must not only supply the initiative but also meet most of the cost. The resources of local bodies in India are, even with the addition of an education cess, entirely inadequate to meet the growing needs of education, and development is only possible where Government recognizes those limitations and is prepared to supply the necessary funds. For example, the spread of compulsory education in the rural areas of the Punjab is due to the initiative of Government acting indirectly through its subordinate inspecting agency, and has been rendered possible by a financial agreement whereby Government has undertaken to meet a share of all new approved educational expenditure, varying from 50 per cent. in the case of rich boards to 100 per cent. in the case of the poorest.

I suggest that elementary education may be defined as that minimum amount of education which the State considers necessary for all its citizens and which it is prepared to make compulsory. This definition has at least the merit of being equally applicable to advanced countries with an eight-year compulsory period and to India, which aims at five. The Government of India in its last resolution on educational policy (that of 1913) emphasized the importance of breaking down illiteracy; the Royal Commission on Agriculture has

again laid stress on it; the Statutory Commission cannot fail to do so. Elementary education is now of such vital importance for the political, social, and economic advancement of India that I believe the time has come when Government, with legal authority if necessary, should assume responsibility for it. So long as municipal and local boards supplied the only sphere in which the people of India could show their capacity for self-government, there was some justification for allowing these bodies a greater freedom in educational affairs than is enjoyed by similar bodies elsewhere, but with the introduction of a measure of self-government in provincial administration this policy is no longer defensible. Freedom in the lower sphere should not be allowed to hinder progress to a wider political freedom.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

When we turn to secondary education we are at once confronted with the difficulty of determining what exactly we mean by the expression: Where does secondary education begin; where does it end; what is its aim; and, consequently, what should be its content? In actual practice secondary education is usually taken to mean that which intervenes between the primary course and the university. But it does not always coincide with the curriculum of a so-called secondary school. In the case of our English public schools the entrance test demands a more than elementary study of language, and the test for admission to a university is passed three years before the school course is completed. The Bombay and Madras Governments insist on including all vernacular education under primary, including that which is elsewhere termed middle vernacular or secondary.

All full secondary schools have one point in common—the preparation of the best of their students for the university. In recent years this has come more and more to mean the preparation of the senior boys for the matriculation examination. One realizes how widespread is this evil on

reading that "the dominance of the matriculation examination is the curse of secondary education" in a report on Esthonia. In India, as the Calcutta Commission reported, "the high schools think almost exclusively of matriculation."

Apart from its injurious effect on the methods of teaching, this obsession has led in the past to a most unfortunate struggle between Government, as represented by the Education Departments, and the universities for the control of the secondary schools. The Education Department uses its powers of inspection and grant-in-aid to try and raise the standard of the schools, but the power of framing the matriculation course and of raising a school to the status of a high school, by permitting its scholars to appear at matriculation, vests in the university. Sometimes this power has been much abused. This was the case in Bengal, where the Calcutta University, anxious to secure a large revenue from matriculation fees, recognized schools without regard to their fitness. Of some 2,400 high schools in India, nearly half are in Bengal; but of what a kind! I know of one case of a high school with a monthly salary bill of Rs. 100, and another in which recognition was granted to a school which was no longer in existence. Yet the increase in the number of candidates was accompanied by the lowering of the standard of the examination, so that in 1922, of nineteen thousand candidates appearing at the Calcutta matriculation, no less than fifteen thousand, or 80 per cent., were successful. This leniency on the part of the university was contrasted favourably by the public with the efforts of the Education Department to maintain some standard of efficiency.

The Calcutta Commission as a compromise recommended the establishment of boards to control secondary education, composed of representatives of the universities, the departments, and various outside public and professional bodies. Such boards have been created at Dacca, in the United Provinces, in Behar and Orissa, in the Central Provinces,

and in Delhi. They have yet to establish their reputation, but they are making a promising start, as I found from personal experience as chairman of the new board at Delhi. Now if this change meant nothing more than the transfer of control from one authority to another, it would have little educational significance, but it does in fact imply a recognition of the secondary course as something more than a preparation for the university. The new boards have at once enlarged the high school curriculum by the inclusion of a number of non-university subjects. In so doing the boards are attempting to meet the now popular demand for a more practical education. The demand is, of course, really one for employment, brought about by the pressure of candidates for clerical and professional appointments. But education does not create opportunities for employment; it only fits the scholar to take advantage of the opportunities which offer. It is not, therefore, surprising that the only non-university subjects which are at all popular are those, like book-keeping and shorthand, which lead to clerical and commercial appointments.

The largest field for employment in India is, of course, agriculture. Most attempts at agricultural education in India have failed because they have started with the assumption that the farmer will send his boy to a technical school to study farming. Any farmer's son who continues his schooling beyond the primary stage does so in the hope of leaving the land. It is pleasant to find that the Agricultural Commission have accorded their particular approval to the Punjab system of agricultural teaching, which is being copied in other provinces. This was the product of a committee appointed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer under the chairmanship of Sir Patrick Fagan. It is based on two indisputable facts :—that a boy attending a rural secondary school will not deliberately cut himself off from the hope of higher education; that, on the other hand, a majority of rural schoolboys must through lack of means or brains return to the land. By adding agriculture to the ordinary

course of the rural secondary school it does not interrupt a boy's progress to the university, but it does keep the farmer's son in touch with the land, in the hope that if circumstances force him to return to it for a living he will be at least no worse a farmer than if he had never been to school. It does complicate the curriculum where English is taught; and to my mind the time is not distant when English will be taught in all secondary schools.

The language question has entered a new phase with the general adoption of the vernacular as the medium of instruction in secondary schools. This is, of course, educationally sound, but it leads to difficulties where, as in Behar and Orissa, there are six recognized vernaculars in the province. How is an examining board to assess the comparative merits of answers written in six languages?

It is unfortunate that in dealing with higher education in India some question of examinations is always arising. Since the majority of students work only to qualify for employment—and success at an examination is a definite qualification—the schools have lost sight of the wider aims of education. In England a young man mentions the name of the school he attended as his first claim to consideration. I have interviewed literally thousands of young Indian candidates for civil employment and cannot recollect one who advanced such a claim. The Indian schoolmaster is apt to confine his efforts at character-training to a repetition or display of moral precepts. In these, especially if they are alliterative, he takes a pleasure which is not always justified by their moral worth. Common mottoes for the classroom are "Might is Right" and "Tit for Tat." Among more original mottoes I have met is one which adorned the Sandeman Girls' School, Quetta (from its peculiar inapplicability to small Muhammadan girls I can only suppose it was put up for my benefit or that of the old mullah who accompanied me): "The bottle kills more than the battle." Another ingenious motto from Abbottabad was: "No sweat, no sweet."

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

The Calcutta University Commission complicated their proposals by pronouncing the two years' work following matriculation to be secondary in character. I have shown the difficulty of drawing any line between secondary and university education, and Indian opinion is generally not in favour of transferring the control of intermediate education from the universities. This step has only been taken in the United Provinces and at Dacca. This proposal has been the chief obstacle to the adoption of *any* of the Commission's proposals in Calcutta itself. Both Government and the university have made much of the cost involved. As I started work in that province, I permit myself the criticism that Bengal has a tendency to frighten itself with large figures, forgetting that these can only be reached by degrees, and that large ends may be won from small beginnings. Outside Calcutta the recommendations of the Commission have had wide influence on university development.

In place of the five affiliating universities of 1914 India has now seventeen, eleven affiliating and six unitary teaching universities. These range in type from Bombay, which is still on the constitutional model of 1904, to Dacca, which is post-intermediate and residential, and even include an affiliating university located at a railway junction possessing neither colleges nor culture. They have been formed partly by the disintegration of the original universities into more manageable units, partly as the result of local or communal patriotism. In place of the old university of Allahabad the United Provinces are now served by five separate universities.

The first attempt to secure co-operation between the universities of India was made by the Government of India in 1924, when they were invited to send delegates to a conference at Simla. As a result of this conference an Inter-University Board was set up, but the various universities are still very jealous of their autonomy, and actua

co-operation between them is little in evidence. One of the chief problems of the future will be the maintenance of equivalence in the standard of their various degrees.

FEMALE EDUCATION

To turn from colleges to girls' schools is to pass from a record of flourishing activity to a tale of struggle against prejudice and apathy. "Female education," an inspector wrote ten years ago, "is carried on in response to a demand which does not exist." It is true that there are over a million pupils in girls' schools today, compared with seven hundred thousand when he wrote, but of these over seven hundred thousand are in the infant classes. In the higher stages the advance has been very slow. It can hardly be otherwise so long as a girl is withdrawn from school as soon as she reaches marriageable age, which the Bombay Municipality report to be nine years old in the opinion of parents in that city. So that we find of a thousand girls reading in colleges in India over 500 are Europeans or Indian Christians, 400 are Hindus, 30 are Muhammadans, and some 25 belong to other communities. The matter is one largely of social usage, over which Government exercises no control. If this makes it difficult for a girl to be educated, it makes it still harder for her to seek employment as a teacher. For appointments in the inspecting service recruitment is confined to Europeans, Anglo-Indians, and Indian Christians. With the disappearance of the European element it will be necessary to rely on the product of the mission school. Indeed it is hardly possible to overestimate the debt which the education of Indian girls owes to the devotion of missionary women.

The types of education of which I have been speaking were all by the Act of 1919 transferred to popular control, represented by Indian ministers responsible to the provincial councils. The outlook of the councils was at first narrow, and the questions were about matters of detail or personnel. They now take a wider view. They have

never been chary of supplying money for education unless it be for increasing the inspectorate. The first provincial governments after the Reforms produced three outstanding ministers of education. All three have unfortunately been translated to higher spheres of work, a fate liable to overtake any minister for education. The most important legislation was a Primary Education Act in Madras, a revision of the Bombay Act and the Acts incorporating the new universities.

ANGLO-INDIAN EDUCATION

The education of the domiciled community in India, European education as it is called, was made a reserved provincial subject under the Reforms. The community itself has been agitating to have the subject brought under the direct control of the Government of India. Their underlying motives have been fear lest the local councils might reduce the grants to European schools and a desire to secure recognition of the special claims of the community on the British Government. They have some strong arguments on their side—for example, the non-provincial character of their schools, which use no local medium, draw their pupils from a wide field, and prepare for a common external examination, the Cambridge School Certificate. The Government of India has been content to impress on the community the desirability of throwing in their lot with their Indian fellow-citizens, more particularly if they wish to validate their claim to share in the Indianization of the services. They have just rejected another appeal from this community.

Even if it were desirable to centralize European education, it is certain that the Government of India would not consider such a step at the present time. Their policy since the Reforms has been to divest themselves so far as they could of even that small amount of educational responsibility with which they were entrusted by the Act of 1919. The Government of India cannot escape the duty of maintaining schools in the areas financed from central revenues, such as

Delhi, Ajmer, and the Frontier, though it did until last year starve them of money. It has also direct relations with a few all-India institutions, notably the Hindu and Muslim universities of Benares and Aligarh and the Chiefs' Colleges. The powers of control over university legislation which they possessed under the Act of 1919 they have now unfortunately surrendered. They were also responsible for maintaining a Bureau of Education and a Central Advisory Board. The former was an office under the Educational Commissioner, modelled on the much larger Bureau at Washington and the Office of Special Enquiries and Reports in Whitehall.

The Central Advisory Board of Education was a body of educational experts, official and non-official, which met twice a year at different centres for the consideration of problems of common interest to India. I was chairman of this body for the brief two years of its existence, and received ample evidence of its value. Both the Bureau and the Board were abolished by Government on the score of economy. I am glad to say that the Royal Commission on Agriculture have gone out of their way to recommend the revival of the Board. It is to be hoped that the Statutory Commission will do the same.

Education in India will never exercise the vital influence which it should on the economic, social, and political advancement of India until it ceases to be treated as a matter of purely local or provincial concern. Other Federal Governments like the United States have learned this lesson. In spite of the aggressive autonomy of the individual states of that Union, the Federal Government now makes large appropriations for particular types of education which it considers of national importance. Canada is moving in the same direction; South Africa has already moved far. It would be a great pity if India should repeat the mistakes of other lands. We may, however, safely leave it to the expert committee, under that able and experienced educationist Sir Philip Hartog, and to the Statutory Commission to indicate a wise policy for the future.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, November 12, 1928, at which a paper was read by Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., entitled "Indian Education and the Reforms." The Right Hon. the Earl Winterton, M.P., was in the chair; and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Lady Chatterjee, Lady Tighe, Sir Clement Hindley and Lady Hindley, Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Ganen Roy, Sir Henry Sharp, K.C.S.I., Sir Mark Hunter, Sir Walter Willson, Sir Edward MacLagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Lady Maynard, Sir Selwyn H. Fremantle, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Mr. C. H. Bompas, C.S.I., Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., Mr. M. Hunter, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Lindsay, Mr. G. F. Boag, C.I.E., Mrs. Richey, Mrs. J. J. Nolan, Mr. C. F. Strickland, Mr. F. J. Richards, Mr. J. K. Metherell, Rev. T. Van der Scheuren, K.-i.-H., Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Miss L. Sorabji, Mr. A. Latifi, O.B.E., and Mrs. Latifi, Mr. A. P. Das Gupta, Miss E. W. Gray, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mr. H. M. Harris, Mr. W. G. Bason, Mr. Percy M. Wallace, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Mr. M. M. Akram, Mrs. A. Holloway, Mr. B. N. Kaul, Mr. H. G. D. Turnbull, Mr. H. A. P. Genge, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mrs. W. G. Martley, Miss Curteis, Miss Gravett, Dr. A. Shah, Mrs. Herron, Mr. and Mrs. Gray, Dr. Paul Saveriroyan, Mr. K. M. Ashraf, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. Van Wart, O.B.E., Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. F. C. Turner, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. Maun Kaung, Mr. Kumar P. D. Shah, Mrs. Coatman, Mr. and Mrs. E. Tydeman, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my pleasure this afternoon to preside at a meeting, which is to be addressed by Mr. Richey, on "Indian Education under the Reforms." To an instructed audience like this it is hardly necessary to refer to Mr. Richey's great public services to the Empire; but I should like to give a short résumé of them for the benefit of those who are not so well acquainted with them.

Mr. Richey is the son of the late Sir James Richey, who was for some time in the Indian Civil Service in Bombay. Mr. Richey has had practical experience of teaching, both in Scotland and in the Transvaal, before he went to India. I think that it is true to say of him that he left a mark on the educational system of each of the provinces to which he was posted. He reorganized the school system both in the North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab. He was one of that band of men who helped to bring about the development in primary and secondary education which

has had so conspicuous a place in Indian education in the last few years, and which has no doubt contributed to the welfare, progress, and prosperity of the Punjab. Perhaps I do not put the case for Mr. Richey's services sufficiently strongly. He was the man who carried out that organization. When Mr. Richey became Educational Commissioner in India, he did so at a time when a great deal of the work had fallen to the lot of his predecessor, Sir Henry Sharp, who was removed under the rearrangements following upon reforms. But, of course, a new field lay open to the incoming Educational Commissioner in the matter of advice, co-ordination, and research, and of that it may be truly said Mr. Richey made full use. He was instrumental in organizing, by means of the Inter-University Congress of 1924, the formation of a permanent Inter-University Board.

In conclusion, I should like to say that in my judgment Mr. Richey's services in India did not come to an end with the extensive technical knowledge which he possesses. His sympathy, his tact, and his common sense made him a valuable adherent to the movement, unorganized and often unrecognized, but, nevertheless, conscious and definite, which has been going on for years past to produce mutual sympathy and understanding between the men of different races working in the service of the Government of India or Provincial Governments. No one who has studied public affairs in India for the last six or seven years, as I have done, can fail to realize, despite all difficulties, that this movement has had most beneficial results on the public weal of India.

It only remains for me to mention a fact which is known to all of those who have studied Mr. Richey's public career in India, that Mrs. Richey has always been to the fore in charitable and social work throughout her husband's career in India. (Applause.)

Mr. Richey has been good enough, following an admirable custom which has grown up in recent years, to send me a printed proof of his paper, and I have had the pleasure of reading it. But that will not in any way detract from the pleasure of hearing it today, because it is an address which may well be read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested by all who have the interests of Indian education at heart. It is high time that somebody with the knowledge and authority possessed by Mr. Richey did read a paper on this most important subject, and thereby assist to disperse a great deal of the ignorance which exists on the subject in England.

(The paper was then read.)

Sir HENRY SHARP, in opening the discussion, said that he thought that the most impressive part in Mr. Richey's very admirable paper was that contained in a sentence almost at the end, when he told them that education could not safely be treated as a local or a provincial subject.

He heartily agreed with him when he deplored the disappearance of the Central Advisory Committee and of the Bureau of Education—and he would like to add, still more, the Indian Educational Service. (Hear, hear.)

The picture which Mr. Richey had drawn was chequered with light and shade. A good deal of light emanated from the Punjab. (Hear, hear.) There was also a good deal of shade in it, and one heard of those things from other sources. One read of them in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report;

one read of them in the excellent reports by the Director of the Bureau of Public Education, and in the reports emanating from the educational authorities in India. There could be no doubt as to the paramount importance of education—the corner-stone, so to speak, of the reform scheme, and one which the Simon Commission and Parliament would have very carefully to consider. That applied to all sorts of education, and he would like to speak of primary education, because it was most important, and it was a matter which greatly interested him. He was very glad that Mr. Richey had put in a word for the one-teacher school. It might sound a detail, but it was not. The one-teacher school could be a very admirable school if the one teacher was allowed to have one or two pupil-teachers. It was a pity that the name "pupil-teacher" had become unpopular. Pupil-teachers were abolished simply on account of prejudice. He had seen admirably managed schools with one teacher and a couple of pupil-teachers, who were quite easy to raise in the schools.

With reference to the question of compulsion versus voluntary effort, he was not quite in agreement with Mr. Richey. He knew the dangers as well as the advantages of compulsion in other parts of India than the Punjab.

On one occasion he was touring through a very rich district, when he found the schools most lamentably attended. There would not be five boys out of twenty present. Then he went up to a poor hill district, and found the schools absolutely full. The district was looked after by a deputy inspector who had sprung from a peasant family—a Kurmi; he was a most admirable and public-spirited man, and was very much liked. He asked him what the meaning of it was; they had just left a good part, and the schools were all empty, and now, where they would expect to find the schools empty, they were full. The inspector said: "I have a way; when the children will not come to school, I beat the parents!" There were possibilities in compulsion which had to be avoided.

In conclusion, he desired to say, with regard to the education of women, it was a matter on which they would specially miss the value of the Indian Educational Service, not only as to the women, but also as to the men. They had to keep fresh the impact of Western education in India. It was Western education which India wanted, although some people said it was not.

There was at present a good deal of artificiality about Western education in India, and no doubt the dose had been too undiluted. But a frontal attack on the illiteracy of women in India would never succeed. What was desired was a lateral attack through the education of the men, and that must not be an artificial affair, but a deep-going and very true affair. He felt convinced that even if a Kemal Pasha were to arise in India and supply motor-buses for all the girls to go to school, establish fifty universities, and order all women to bob their hair, nevertheless, he would not succeed. It had to be done by making men desire that their women should be educated. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. YUSUF ALI said he would like to bear testimony to the excellence of the paper, and his agreement with most of the points raised by Mr.

Richey. He had seen some of Mr. Richey's work in the Punjab in the educational sphere. Although he had not found the name "Richey," he had found his work everywhere. When he met Mr. Richey in Simla he was able to say, "Now I have traced the man."

Mr. Richey had given them opinions on various points, with most of which they must agree. He had much too modestly made a few suggestions, but they did not go far enough. Anyone acquainted with Indian education would not doubt that the whole educational field bristled with difficulties and controversies. Beginning with elementary education, they found people who believed in a thoroughgoing compulsory system. There were others who thought they should march gradually. Then there were such questions as organization: single-teacher schools and many-teacher schools; pupil-teachers; aided schools against State schools; control of them by district boards or by smaller areas, or directly by the educational department. The question of curricula was also a thorny question: should those for boys and girls be different, or for towns and rural or agricultural areas; and how were moral or religious instruction to be dealt with? The appointment, grading, pay, and training of teachers, and especially of women teachers, claimed urgent attention. A number of other questions arose in elementary education, which were also common to other grades of education; they could not be solved merely by the opinions of experts. They had to consult the people whom the system touched: those who would take the benefits of education, or suffer from its defects. Then there were special questions connected with secondary education, which perhaps suffered under more controversies even than elementary education. As Mr. Richey had truly said, they did not really know what secondary education meant in India. The matriculation examination was in itself one of the most unsatisfactory examinations that could be imagined. (Hear, hear.) They had neglected the real channels into which the mind of India should be directed. They were not doing anything to supply the growing need which was felt day after day—the need of the student, the middle-class boy, to learn something useful, so that his career in future life could be said to owe its success to secondary education.

In university education they had even more thorny problems. They had new problems raised by the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission, which had not been adopted, except by two universities, although the newer universities were greatly influenced by them.

There were fresh questions and lines of enquiry opening up every day, and he asked Mr. Richey if it was not natural to expect that the whole of the educational field should not now be surveyed by a Royal Commission. He was not in love with Royal Commissions as such. There were many Royal Commissions which had not produced any results; there were others which had groped more or less in the dark; others again which put forward schemes based on foreign ideas and imperfectly adapted to Indian conditions. But the Royal Commission which he contemplated would be one manned mainly by Indians, not only educational experts, because

they looked at education from only the educational point of view, but also others who looked at education from the point of view of life, of the future, of the past, of their social system, and of all the different needs which arose in modern India—men who would look at university education from a broad, practical, national point of view. They wanted culture; they wanted higher education; but at the same time no country could live on mere ideal culture. They must have that culture throwing its roots deep down into every department of life. He did not like to hear people say, "We are now going to work for self-government; therefore let us have education." That was a false idea. Education should serve a wider need than politics. But, at the same time, it must be recognized that real education as opposed to education in the air must take count of every concrete fact—political, social, economic, religious, and physical—and every living movement. For his part, he would support a movement for the appointment of a Royal Commission consisting mainly of people who were thoroughly acquainted with the educational machinery and needs of India, with its social life, with its past, with its prejudices and predilections, men who would not merely make a report, but would have a hand also in moulding India's future. Of course, he would not exclude Englishmen. He had the greatest admiration for the workers who had come from England. But in the investigation of such a big question as the one before them, it was most important that they should have the decision resting mainly in Indian hands. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Lady CHATTERJEE said that she had not intended to speak on the paper, but felt that she must say a few words principally on the point of adult education, which she was sorry to find Mr. Richey had not mentioned. Unless there was a great deal done for adult education, primary education would never go forward at all. It was hopeless to think that a mother-in-law would encourage a girl to read and continue her education if the mother-in-law herself was illiterate. It was not human nature. What was needed was that adult education should be brought into the villages, and there lay a very big field for social service in India. If the large numbers of educated men and women were to take up this work in villages and make education popular in the homes, then there would not be such a great need for compulsory education. The parents, instead of having to be whipped, as in the story related by Sir Henry Sharp, if their children did not go to school, would be only too glad to send them. (Laughter and applause.) India was at that stage of political development where it simply could not wait for the time to come when the children in the infants' school would be educated. It had to be remembered that girls left school at a very early age, and they lapsed back into illiteracy. An uneducated womanhood was very dangerous in India, where the women had so great an influence in their homes. (Applause.)

Mr. TURNBULL said he desired to add a few words from the angle of his own experience of college and university life in India. They all knew that the original idea of education in India was that if India was educated at the top, the education would filter through the pores until it reached the lowest level. That theory had proved a fallacy. It had not

filtered down, and it was no wonder that the Government was frightened by the appalling difficulties of tackling the problem of education direct. After some years' experience in Indian college education, his conviction was that it was hag-ridden by examinations; secondly, there was a constant tendency to lower the standard by a mass-production of graduates; but, thirdly, English education had produced very far-reaching effects. Our education had given Indians very little in the way of a substitute for their *dharma* and religion. The result was a great deal of mental and moral confusion. A great deal of education in every country in the world, considering the time, money, and energy put into it, must be called a comparative failure. He would not say that English education in India had been a failure if one only looked at the number of very distinguished men, intellectually and morally, it had produced in recent years, and forgot the number of unfortunate failed B.A.'s and failed intermediates.

Mr. LATIFI said that at the beginning of his illuminating paper Mr. Richey had enumerated the criticisms which he had heard of our Indian system of education. Mr. Richey might have added to his list a case that had come to the notice of the late Sir James Wilson. An old Punjabi peasant complained that he was alone in the world, and had no one to help him on his land. "But what about your two sons?" asked Sir James. "Oh!" replied the old man, "one of them died last year of the plague, and the other has passed the middle-school examination." That was the attitude of the average Punjabi a generation back. If Sir James could come amongst them now he would be astonished, as those of the present generation were astonished, at the change that had come in the attitude of the Punjab masses towards the education of boys. Many causes had contributed to this result, and perhaps the most important and the most comprehensive was the time-spirit working through the medium of the tens of thousands of Punjabis who during the war came into contact with the greater world beyond the seas. Another important cause was the effort made in the Punjab to enable the various communities, especially of the rural area, to take their share in the administration of the educational department, and thus serve as centres of encouragement and uplift to their clansmen. He desired to express his entire agreement with Mr. Richey with what he said with regard to compulsory education. No system of mass education could succeed unless it was accompanied by the adoption of the principle of progressive compulsion. He also agreed with Mr. Richey that the administrative unit for compulsion should be the village and not any larger area.

Another matter on which he agreed with Mr. Richey was the apathy which was encountered in India generally in the matter of female education. He would like to make a suggestion: one way of popularizing female education among the masses was to encourage religious education. That proposal, no doubt, would be met immediately by an array of difficulties; but he was convinced that these difficulties were not insoluble. The introduction of religious education would do more to reconcile the village mother and, what was more important, the village grandmother to the schooling of the girls.

In conclusion, he desired to join cordially in what had fallen from the various speakers, including their Chairman, with regard to the work which Mr. Richey and Mrs. Richey had done for the uplift of the people in the Punjab and elsewhere. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Mr. E. TYDEMAN said he would like to hearten Lady Chatterjee with regard to adult education by a brief reference to what had been achieved in the Punjab. The two pioneers of the Punjab Primary Education Act were with them—Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Mr. Richey. That Act was responsible for a vast movement with regard to rural education. They had in every district what was known as a Rural Community Board, a purely unofficial body of those interested in the education and uplift of the people in the district, and these local Boards were affiliated with a body at headquarters at Lahore, known as the Rural Community Council. This organization arranged to bring light to the people in the villages in many ways, such as lectures, cinema entertainments, magic-lanterns, and discussions on the village green. By these means the people in the province had been largely encouraged to take to take advantage of the Primary Education Act, which had had such striking results. But the activities on behalf of adult education had not ceased at that point. In the year 1922 the Provincial Report on Education stated with some pride that there were over a hundred adult schools in the province. Last year Sir George Anderson informed a conference of Directors in Delhi that there were then in the Punjab 3,208 adult schools, with 85,000 pupils. (Applause.) The effect that those institutions had on the people in supporting and helping officials and non-officials in making a success of the Primary Education Act was incalculable. (Applause.)

Mr. J. H. LINDSAY said he was afraid he came from a distressful province with regard to education, where there were over a thousand secondary schools, and where much more was spent on university than on primary education. He wished to emphasize the importance of facing the question of taxation with regard to education. Although everybody was frightened at the idea of putting on taxation, there was no need for fear so long as the money was earmarked for primary education. When he was going amongst the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal they said to him again and again, "Put on a cess, but give us real primary education among the villages." That being so, there was every hope of success in going forward on a recognized system of taxation, earmarking the money for primary education. In Bengal they had put this idea into a Bill, and proposed to raise a crore a year by taxation, mainly on cultivators. That Bill was now before the Bengal Legislative Council.

The importance of primary education could not be over-emphasized, especially in the present political condition of the country. In Bengal today it was indeed in a parlous state. Out of about two million in primary classes only about 5 per cent. got to class four, which was the first stage at which literacy could be reached. That was a terrible figure. It meant that almost all the money spent was thrown away.

In this connection the speaker referred to the necessity of re-organizing the inspectorate. Education officials above the rank of a sub-inspector

thought it beneath their dignity to enter a primary school. The inspectorate should be split from the bottom to the top, so that some of the better brains would be available for primary schools.

With regard to girls' education he mentioned one hopeful sign, that educated young men now wanted educated brides.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have had some very valuable points put by those who have spoken, and I propose to make only one observation, in making which I shall confine myself to the limit of time I have laid down for those who have taken part in the discussion. I would introduce the subject by an apparently irrelevant reference to something of which it really forms a part. There has been going on in the world for many years past, and especially since the War, in all countries where agriculture forms an important part of that country's work, a great struggle between the country and the town. We have here today a number of educational experts and others like myself who sit at the feet of those education Gamaliels, but if this was a gathering of economists I should, I think, get everyone of them to agree with me that it is one of the most interesting struggles of the present time. The complaint of the agriculturalist is that he is not getting a fair deal from the towns; that he is being paid for his produce an amount very little larger than he received before the War, and the manufacturer in the towns is demanding a much larger price for his goods. The struggle on the part of the educationalist is part of that bigger struggle. In all agricultural countries there is a certain amount of suspicion still existing—though I am happy to hear that in the Punjab, at any rate, it is less extensive than it was—on the part of the cultivator towards the educator. That attitude is largely based in all countries on this point of view. The agriculturalist says: "It is very hard to keep the younger man upon the land. In every country there is a pull from the country to the towns. You people who wish to educate our sons make it harder, and you deprive us of their services at home when they are exceedingly valuable to us." In Europe, where this struggle is going on, the education departments suffer quite as much as they do in India. That should be encouragement to India. There are countries where compulsory education is honoured much more in the breach than in the observance. It is exceedingly hard to explain to people in this country, where the vast majority of the population have for more than three generations lived in the towns, and know of nothing except the town, and only look upon the country as a place in which to play football or tennis or to shoot, how acute this struggle is in predominantly agricultural lands. One of the problems in India is to persuade the cultivator of the value of education. (Applause.)

Sir M. M. BHOWNAGGREE, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Lecturer and to the Chairman, spoke of his friendship with the Lecturer's father, the late Sir James Richey, of the Indian Civil Service, Bombay, and sometime member of the Bombay Government. He said that he had followed with great interest not only the Lecturer's address, but what had been of equal value—namely, the discussion from so many experts. It was a very large

subject, which he knew could not be dealt with fully in the limited time at the Lecturer's disposal. The Lecturer had dealt with primary education, secondary education, and university education; but where was the question of industrial education? Education in itself was not sufficient; it was the use and applicability of the education of a nation which really mattered. He therefore would have liked to hear some indication of the stage at which industrial education could find its place in the system of public instruction in India; because the development of industries was the crying need of the country, and had been too long neglected. (Hear, hear.)

Lord Winterton had not only by his presence but by the instructive comments he had made on many of the topics dealt with in the paper proved to them the deep interest he took in this all-important subject, while others of seemingly greater consequence must be engaging his attention. He had much pleasure in asking the Meeting to tender to the noble Chairman and Lecturer a hearty vote of thanks. (Cheers.)

Mr. RICHEY: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank those who have made some very kind references to myself this afternoon, and more particularly for the extremely generous way you have spoken of my work. May I thank you for mentioning my wife's name as well. I will not detain you any longer at this late hour.

Mr. R. K. SORABJI writes:

I would like to reverse the plan of those who spoke in the discussion—I shall first criticize, and then praise the very able paper. I feel that Mr. Richey did not deal with three important M's—money, morals, muscle. The chief difficulty with regard to education in India is money. Where is it to come from? Increased taxation would be vigorously opposed, and parents will not pay for education on anything like a reasonable scale. The spirit of educational benefactors which has so blessed the schools and universities in the West is greatly lacking. I wish the paper had indicated means.

And next, and no less important, morals. The paper told us of school mottoes delightful in unmeant humour, but of no use in character-building. It is the school chapels and the tone and the principles of Western institutions which make character—which teach boys and girls, young men and women, how to play the game *straight*, to say nothing if they lose, and less if they win. The paper was silent as to how we can introduce a system of character-building into the education of India. Without that, education is vain.

And lastly, muscle. The sound body is needed to hold the sound mind. The paper hardly touched on this.

But now for the praise. I would give my greatest praise to the suggestion that education should be a reserved subject. If law and order be reserved, that a man or woman should keep himself or herself by law in order, is part of the subject. Unless the individual can control himself, the control of the community is hopeless. Education is at the base of

the whole question of dominion status and eventual home rule. I would go even further than Mr. Richey, and demand that the educational service should be put on the same level as the Civil Service. Education should not be liable to rise and fall according to the political barometer. A high-brow is a man educated beyond his intelligence. Heaven send India the best men to find the intelligence of our youth and to proportion education to it.

VILLAGE UPLIFT IN THE PUNJAB

BY MR. F. L. BRAYNE, M.C., I.C.S.

THE Gurgaon district, which was the scene of the work I wish to describe, adjoins the Delhi Province on the south and south-west, but belongs to the Punjab. It has a population of nearly 700,000 people living in 1,400 villages, which vary in size from half a dozen huts to a thousand houses or more, and are composed of all the usual Hindustan tribes of Meos, Ahirs, Jats, Gujars, Rajputs, Brahmans, etc.

Mrs. Brayne and I went to Gurgaon at the end of 1920. She was new to India and I had been away for six years. We arrived, after a failed monsoon, in a district labelled, ever since the British first took it over, as "very insecure." Influenza had recently got a record bag in the district; the Indian Army was being demobilized as fast as the soldiers' papers could be signed, and the winter rains then failed altogether. Every village we visited presented a more gloomy picture than the last. There were thousands of ex-soldiers with nothing to do and not a great deal to eat. Many people were undoubtedly on short commons. The canal only gave about 40,000 acres of crops, and the only other green fields in sight were on the wells. There was a little political non-co-operation in the towns, but it soon yielded to treatment, and we were able to devote the rest of our spare time to the study of the problems of village life.

The people were poor, desperately poor, desperately dirty and unhealthy, with no conscious desire for anything better because they had no idea that anything better was possible. The problem was not only to find remedies for the evils we saw around us, put them into practice, test them and prove their value, but to win the confidence of the villagers convince them that we were both out to help,

and could really help them, and finally make them want to help themselves.

STUDY AND EXPERIMENT

The whole problem did not present itself to us in a day, and the cure did not come to us in a year or in several years. It took seven years of study and experiment on the part of ourselves and all our fellow-workers, official and non-official, to work out what is called "the Gurgaon Scheme." It is briefly sketched in the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, and is fully described in my book, "*Village Uplift in India*," particularly the second edition just published by the Oxford University Press. Our method of dealing with the villager is dealt with in a book called "*Socrates in an Indian Village*," also just published by the Oxford University Press. Early in October last the Punjab Government published a pamphlet called "*Rural Uplift in Gurgaon*," press reviews of which I have seen. The Gurgaon Scheme claims to deal with the whole life and activity of the peasant and his family and to present a complete remedy for the present terrible condition in which he lives. At the same time, the remedy is simple and cheap and can be easily applied by the peasant himself if he can be persuaded to do so, and the methods of persuasion have been worked out in the fullest detail.

That we have "delivered the goods" in Gurgaon district has been admitted by the many hundreds of visitors from all parts of India—officials, missionaries and non-officials, ladies as well as gentlemen, Indians and Europeans—who came to see the work. Perusal of the newspaper notices of the first edition of "*Village Uplift*" and of the work itself will show that the Press is enthusiastically unanimous in acclaiming that the foundations of a new India have been laid in Gurgaon.

Briefly stated, our object in Gurgaon has been to jerk the villager out of his old groove, convince him that

improvement is possible, and kill his fatalism by demonstrating that both climate, disease and pests can be successfully fought. He must be laughed out of his uneconomic and unhealthy customs, and taught better ways of living and of farming.

PROPAGANDA

Our method is intensive propaganda, aided by laughter and often by song. Once you have gained the confidence of the villager, you can poke fun at him; and once you can use the great weapon of ridicule, the battle is won. If you will take a glance at "Socrates," you will see that the most successful form of lecture is a stream of good-humoured chaff and banter. As a friend among friends, once you are admitted to friendship, you can go anywhere and say anything, no offence is meant or looked for, and you can achieve your great object of making the villager think and argue. Once he does that, he is lost—rather saved, as very few of the old customs that impede his progress will stand the light of reason.

The secrets of our success were to deal with the whole of village life, to take the whole district as the field of operations, and to deluge the area with every form of propaganda and publicity that we could devise or adopt or afford. Uplift is a mass movement, a combined assault, and no area, no part of life, and no method of attack can be neglected.

There are several essentials in the campaign. No custom must be attacked until we have found a satisfactory substitute, or we shall merely replace one devil with seven. Every position must be assaulted from as many directions as possible—for instance, the filth of the village can be dealt with both from an agricultural and a health point of view—but religion must be left severely alone. Barring religion, however, everything in village life is fair game.

As everyone knows, propaganda will move mountains; there is no habit or custom that cannot be undermined with

propaganda, and no new method that cannot be popularized with propaganda, as long as the campaign is sufficiently intensive and continuous and sufficiently lively.

Wireless broadcasting we never had, and loud-speakers only once, but once we can have this last discovery of science, it will be worth all the rest put together. In fact, village uplift in India will only really begin when village broadcasting starts. Once or twice we had the cinema, but that was too expensive for us. In any case, our great ally, the magic lantern, is really a far better weapon for village-to-village lecturing, and infinitely cheaper and easier to work; and the cinema might easily kill it if it became too common.

"A LIVE ISSUE"

Next to the lantern come the strolling minstrels and glee singers, an indigenous institution roped in and bribed to sing our "dope." They cost very little, and hundreds of villagers will sit enthralled for hours while they tell them in song how to wash the baby, or what sort of wheat to sow! We plaster the walls with cartoons and posters, distribute leaflets, handbills and poems, organize shows and demonstrations and competitions—the Palwal ploughing championships are the best thing of their kind in India—and prizes are even given for poems and essays.

Uplift is a live issue and no one is allowed to forget it. We preach in season and out of season. Not a village or villager but knows all about our campaign and is compelled to have an opinion about it, to take sides and argue one way or the other. We got the district talking and thinking, and that was all we wanted, as the evils we fought were so obvious and the remedies so simple that they were bound to be accepted on their merits before long, if only we could get the people to discuss them. No detail of village life was omitted, no form of publicity neglected, and no village spared.

We make a great bid for the help of Youth, and the

Boy Scout, when well trained and well led, is our greatest ally. He delights to shock his parents by driving a coach and four through their pet prejudices, and his elders can do nothing but look on and smile with approval.

OFFICIAL AND NON-OFFICIAL AGENCY

To avoid misunderstanding I must here make a confession. I was the head of the district. I always worked hand in glove with the rural leaders, but once I had them with me in any new departure, I did not hesitate to use the whole of my official influence to obtain acceptance for it and to get it carried out in the villages. I expected my subordinates to help me loyally and they did so. No one knew better than they did that our only object was to uplift rural India, and no one knew better than the Indian officials and the rural leaders that we were on the right path. Had they not threshed out with me every detail of the programme and discussed a thousand times every possible objection and every possible alternative? It was their hearty approval and their close co-operation and staunch loyalty that enabled us to put our programme into such complete operation all over the district. Without the help of my official position, what we did in seven years might well have taken twenty-seven.

The advantages of being able to work out and put into practice and test, and finally confirm a complete regeneration of Indian village life in the period of one official headship of the district, are so obvious that I need hardly defend myself here. We forced the pace deliberately. We were told inside and outside the district that the squalor of the village was incurable, and, even if there were a remedy, its application was impossible. In the short time at our disposal—and we never knew how short or how long it would be—we had to disprove both statements and establish a *fait accompli* to the satisfaction both of the district and of the world at large.

SIMPLE REMEDIES

The programme itself is simple. The village must be cleaned by the villagers, not by the menial castes, and the pit is the solution of the problem. Pits six foot deep are dug by every cultivator, and there is collected—for future use in the fields—everything that now poisons the village, and one end is fitted up as a rustic latrine. The dung-cakes, so commonly used for fuel, must be abolished. Substitutes can be and are being found, and all cow-dung must go back to the fields. The houses must have windows, and so on; simple remedies for simple ailments.

The centre of the problem, however, is the uplift of the women. Without properly trained and properly respected mothers, you cannot have properly brought-up children. The women must be taught to make their homes comfortable and bring up their children properly. They must be made worthy of respect, and the people must be taught to give them the honour they are due. Unnecessary drudgery, such as the flour-mill and the dung-cake, must be eliminated to give them time to look after the children, to make and mend their clothes, and to tidy and brighten the home. Thus and thus only shall we have the children brought up as good citizens and worthy of the future we hope to give to India. Train the woman, and the village will uplift itself. Neglect her, and we are ploughing the sands. The best teacher of the child is its mother. Let it learn uplift at its mother's knee.

THE DOMESTIC SCHOOL

The training of the girls presented difficulties, until the villagers recognized that the village school was just as much open to the girls as to the boys. With the well-known high standards of the Indian village, the girls could safely be sent with their brothers; and the next problem speedily arose, how to teach them the domestic sciences. For that we had to found a special School of Domestic Economy, where village women, teachers' wives and other relations

were taught the rudiments of hygiene and sanitation as well as sewing, knitting, cooking, and bringing up of children, and then sent back to teach in their village schools. At present they teach the little girls only, but it will not be long before they are in charge of the infants class as well.

The Domestic School aims at teaching all that a village mother should know, and so popular has it become that the wives of the rural gentry now insist on being admitted for a short course, not to enable them to earn a living as teachers, but to enable them to run their homes better and help a bit in the village. Could we have a more promising sign of the times?

The other special school, known as the School of Rural Economy, trains the male teachers and also the Village Guides, an institution of which you have read in the report of the Royal Commission. Our hope is that every official who comes in contact with village life will, before long, be compelled to go through a course at this school, and for future recruitment of rural officials none will be taken who have not graduated in this most necessary training. When everyone who visits the village is inspired with the same ideals and preaches the same gospel, our attack on the villager will be irresistible.

THE LADY SUPERINTENDENT

So important is the uplift of the women, and such progress was made in Gurgaon, that it became necessary to employ a special Lady Superintendent to co-ordinate, organize, and develop this side of the movement. Miss E. M. Wilson, an English lady of high courage and ample qualifications, was engaged, and she is in sole charge of everything connected with women and infants' welfare work, including the health visitors and health centres, the training of midwives, the Domestic School, and the co-educational work going on in the village schools.

This appointment has been a rare success; it has caught the imagination both of the women and of the men. The

women have complete confidence in Miss Wilson, and are as keen as she and all of us are on their own betterment. The lady superintendent, however, is not a cheap institution. There are five essential qualifications: maternity, midwifery, nursing, education, and physical training, and the incumbent must be qualified in as many as possible. Miss Wilson holds diplomas in four of them. The women's work, generally regarded as so difficult, has been perhaps our greatest success, possibly because the women are so keenly alive to the interests of their children that, once they trust us, they are ready to grasp at anything which may relieve their present condition of suffering and ignorance. The foundations were laid by the devoted work of Mrs. Brayne, and the way in which she stood for hours in village after village inspecting the babies and advising their mothers soon won the confidence of the village women.

AN INTENSIVE CAMPAIGN NEEDED

People say the East is changeless. It may look so from the outside and *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*, but since the war opened up the world to the peasant soldier and modern science annihilated time and space, the Indian villager is changing very rapidly indeed. India—at any rate, Northern India—is ready for a general assault upon all its bad old ways. A five years' intensive campaign would see the beginning of the end of child marriage, the open well, the filthy village, the dung-cake, the wearing of jewellery by children and men, the excessive use of it by women, of wasteful agricultural finance, and of all the uneconomic and unhealthy customs we were brought up to speak of with bated breath. I say this deliberately and after years of discussion and experience. I have raised just as hearty a laugh against all these customs from crowded audiences in colleges and large cities of the Punjab and United Provinces as I have in half the villages of my own district.

The slogan has hitherto been "hands off Oriental customs," but when our whole system of education and of administration, and our whole life in India is one big attack on Oriental habits of thought and action, surely it is better for us to form definite objectives and try and mould the changes into profitable directions, instead of trying to ignore the fact that the whole fabric of Eastern life has been undermined and is crumbling before our eyes. Much of the change is for the better, but some is for the worse. Dare we shut our eyes to it, instead of trying to use our influence to assist in directing it?

Such are the very briefest outlines of the objects and methods of the Gurgaon Scheme. It is a mass movement, and loses much of its force if applied on a small experimental scale or to only a part of village life. It is a general attack, a large-scale offensive, and not a series of trench raids, that is going to roll back the forces of dirt, squalor, and ignorance in village India. The details will vary from district to district, but the main lines are, I think, what have been laid down at Gurgaon during the last seven years.

AN ALL-INDIA TASK

Should this work be extended over the whole of India? I am certain of it. We are pledged to democratic institutions. India is a land of villages, and our voters must always be predominantly peasants. At present the peasant's horizon is bounded by the next meal or the next harvest. He is sunken in debt and the slave of dirt and disease. He is obsessed with the struggle for existence, while that existence is made infinitely difficult and complicated by a mass of unhealthy and uneconomic customs in which he can conceive no possibility of change or improvement. How can he exercise his vote with intelligence and discrimination, until he has been lifted out of the slough in which he is at present sunken? Village uplift will not only teach the peasant to understand his own interests, but

will also make him ready to vote for, work for, and pay for his own betterment.

ANSWER TO CRITICISMS

There are three main lines of criticism of the Gurgaon Scheme. First the personal equation, and the difficulty of securing continuity, secondly finance, and thirdly the population problem.

The third is easily settled. The main end of the Gurgaon Scheme is not to increase produce—that is only an incident of the campaign in a poor district—but to raise the standard of living, and no rise in the standard of living has ever yet been accompanied by an abnormal rise in the birth-rate. The “uplifted” villager will never be submerged by an increase of population. We do increase produce and we stop waste, but we teach how to spend as well. We do not replace silver ornaments with gold, but with mosquito-nets and warm clothes. The mere increase of wealth is no goal of village uplift; the villager’s whole outlook and manner of living is changed. We relieve the mother of the drudgery of grinding the corn, not that she may loaf about the village in idleness, but because we have already taught her to devote more time to looking after her children.

The other two problems go together, and depend upon the agency to which we entrust this vast work. Are we going to regard uplift as a hobby for enthusiastic officials and their wives to dabble with in their spare time, or do we conceive it as the most important duty—after the maintenance of law and order—of the Government of a village-dwelling country? Do we regard village uplift as a stunt, or do we recognize it as the essential forerunner and accompaniment of a Government based on peasant suffrage?

DEPARTMENTALISM INAPPROPRIATE

For myself I have worked long enough at this vast business to be quite convinced that it cannot just be tacked

on to the duties of the district officer. He already has more work than he can do, and is already slipping out of touch with the villager owing to the multitudinous calls upon his time at headquarters. Moreover, the work, besides being of unlimited extent, requires special qualifications and special training.

Nor do I think that it is possible so perfectly to co-ordinate all the present departments of Government that this work can be left to them alone. Had this been possible it would have already been done, as there is nothing new in the details of the Gurgaon programme. The only new thing is the co-ordination of effort, or rather the popularization and application, by a specially trained staff of propagandists, of the many benefits which the various departments of Government have in store for the villager. The uplift worker is, in fact, the village publicity agent of all the departments of Government. He tells the villager in his own language of the good things Government has discovered for his benefit, and shows him how to avail himself of them. He finds out what the villager's trouble is, and suggests a remedy. He is not a specialist, but has a general working knowledge of the results of the work of all the specialist departments, and this he passes on to the villager as required by the particular problem he is trying to solve for him. The uplift worker is the interpreter of the good intentions of Government for the betterment of the villager.

The villager has little use for specialists. Just as all the threads of Government activity emanate from one source at the fountain head, so when they reach the village must they be all collected together again and presented to the villager as a connected whole. The villager will never appreciate the details and ramifications of departmentalism; the only way of helping him is to send him people like himself, who look at village life as one big whole and can advise him generally about the many problems of his life.

Besides, the work is too vast to be anything but a "whole-time" job. There is an immense amount to be done besides

preaching and demonstrating from village to village. Work has to be inspired and co-ordinated from district to district; district workers must be trained, and there must be training establishments within the district for the village workers and the schoolmasters and the schoolmistresses. There is research to be done, cinema films have to be made, and village newspapers organized not only for men, but for women and even for children. Every fair must be flooded with every kind of propaganda. Districts will require help in designing and printing cartoons and posters and in making lantern-slides. Above all, village broadcasting must be organized.

PROPOSED SPECIAL AGENCY

There is no doubt whatever in my own mind that if village uplift is going to be carried out on the universal scale that is necessary to prepare India for self-government, it will have to be entrusted to a special agency, with its own staff, its own training institutions, and its own money. It is a special kind of work demanding special training and special qualifications, and it dovetails into the work of every department of Government, just as the existing departments already dovetail into each other.

In the Punjab the nucleus of this new agency already exists in the provincial Rural Community Board and the district Rural Community Councils. The various officials of Government already have their hands full. The district boards have their statutory duties and their statutory limitations. These new rural councils have filled a gap and are making good, and, inspired and directed by the special uplift staff, will easily and naturally develop into the village uplift agency.

Not that the establishment of such an agency will absolve the district officer or any other official from his primary duty of doing all in his power to uplift his fellow-men. Just as the Royal Commission on Agriculture laid it on every official to help the co-operative movement, so it is

and ever will be the bounden duty of everyone, official or non-official, to help forward the great movement of village uplift.

FINANCE

The financial problem will solve itself, if we create a special uplift agency. The villager is an excellent taxpayer, but nowadays he is getting critical, and when he sees his village as dirty, his crops as poor, and his family as unhealthy as ever they were, he is beginning to wonder where his taxes go, and so far from suggesting that he should pay more, he and his elected representatives are sometimes inclined to suggest that he should pay less. Give the villager his own special helper, living and working in the closest touch with him, tackling his everyday difficulties and problems, and not only tackling but succeeding in solving them—and Gurgaon has proved that success is certain—and he will gladly pay whatever is needed to finance the uplift campaign. Gurgaon is poor enough, but it demonstrated the truth of this again and again. The villager does not lack intelligence; convince him that you are out for his betterment, and that you can deliver the goods, and you will never lack for funds.

ORGANIZED SUPPORT

The question next arises whether, if Government has established a special agency to co-ordinate, organize, and inspire this great work of rural uplift, our duty has been done. I think not. There is room for private effort and very ample room. There is much interest being displayed both in India and in England at the moment, in the welfare of rural India, and there is a very widespread desire to help, but no one knows quite how to set about it. If we could organize some sort of association that could head up all this philanthropic enthusiasm and turn it to proper account, invaluable assistance could be rendered to India.

Apart from arousing interest and disseminating informa-

tion, the collection of money is extremely important. Pioneer work is always difficult to finance. Governments and local bodies work by budgets carefully calculated long in advance, and new and experimental work can rarely claim a place in the estimates of future expenditure. There is a very real need for an organization which could help experimental work till it has sufficiently justified itself to be included in official budgets. The Carnegie Trust in England has recognized this need, and makes special provision for the assisting of pioneer work. Two of the principles governing its policy are: (1) "The Trustees' purpose rather is to provide the initial expenditure for the efficient inauguration of projects which are likely to have a permanent material value"; and (2) "new projects of a pioneer order take precedence of old-established schemes, the value of which is generally recognized, and which, therefore, can legitimately look for support from the general public or are the objects of statutory provision."

This is my idea of the function of an Indian Village Welfare Association. It would not relieve Government or any local body of a penny of their proper expenditure. It would finance promising experiments and give a start to work which otherwise might never have a chance. As soon as the work had made good and proved its value, the Association would drop out and leave Government or local bodies to finance it. A typical instance of the manner in which the Association would work can be seen in the way the Carnegie Trust has helped rural community councils in England with initial grants for a term of years.

The encouragement that such an Association would give to the workers in India would be beyond all calculation, and out of all proportion to any financial assistance it could render to the actual work. To realize that they had at their back an organized body of friends and supporters both in India and England would be an immense stimulus both to officials and non-officials working in this great field.

There is already work of the kind I have described waiting

to be helped. There is Gurgaon with its many institutions and its many experiments, and there are the rural community councils in the Punjab, which, as I have said, might easily be expanded into a great rural uplift agency. In fact, there is ample ground for the Association to start on in the Punjab, and it would probably be advisable for it to confine its labours at the outset to establishing the work in Gurgaon and the Punjab and Delhi Province. One well-cultivated crop is worth many scatterings of seed, and before spreading to other parts of India it would be well to make a success of one place first, and that a place that we know is thirsting for our help. Once "uplift" has taken firm root in the North it will soon spread over the rest of the country.

There are branches of the work where the Association can provide immediate help. Village broadcasting must be established, and there is a big field for travelling cinema shows. If they make good as means of uplift—as undoubtedly they will—the Association will soon be relieved of them, and its funds released for further pioneering. An even greater opening for the immediate attention of our Indian Village Welfare Association is the women's welfare work. This sort of work is and always will be hard to officialize, and offers a perfect field for unofficial enterprise. The Lady Superintendent at Gurgaon is even now being financed from public subscriptions raised spontaneously by the people of Gurgaon on the eve of my departure from the district as a proof that they were determined to carry on the uplift work. But this fund will not last for ever, and it would be a great thing if the women's welfare work could be made the special object of such an Association as I have outlined. I am far from suggesting the pauperization of the Indian villager, and those who know him will agree with me that he does not want it either. The villager will pay all right, but he must first be convinced that he is being asked to pay for something worth having, and he must be given a lead and he must be organized.

I have pointed out the immediate need for such an Association and suggested some of the splendid opportunities for service that await it. There is no doubt that we could do an immense amount of good by organizing ourselves to give a lead in this vast work of rural uplift, and to demonstrate in a practical shape our goodwill towards India. There is a very general desire for rural uplift work in Northern India, and the presence of an Association strongly supported in India and England would put heart into all those who wanted to get on with the work, while the fact that money was available, in however small quantities, for approved enterprises, would often bring about the starting of these very enterprises.

I do not wish to claim that Gurgaon uplift is the only possible scheme for the regeneration of rural India. I do claim—and in this I am supported by the many visitors to Gurgaon, the Press, and the very considerable correspondence which the writing of a book about it has produced—that the Gurgaon Scheme is a complete and logical whole, and does provide a satisfactory and practical remedy for the existing state of affairs. In this paper I have endeavoured to explain its principles and practice, and to point out how I believe it can be extended to a far larger area than the Gurgaon district, and how the difficulties which have been suggested from time to time can be overcome.

Gurgaon is only a demonstration. If the work has any value at all, it is as an indication of what it is our duty to do for the whole of India. One thing is certain. We hold India in sacred trust, and whether as officials or as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, it is our solemn duty to leave no stone unturned to secure the uplift and betterment of her village population. If, as I have dared to hint, and as has been directly suggested in the Government pamphlet on the subject, the new India has begun in Gurgaon, the task now before us is how best and quickest to establish it firmly there, and then to extend it throughout the length and breadth of that great country.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING was held on Monday, December 10, 1928, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., when a paper was read by Mr. F. L. Brayne, M.C., I.C.S., on "Village Uplift in India." The Most Honourable the Marquis of Linlithgow, K.T., presided.

The following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., The Right Hon. Lord Winterton, M.P., The Right Hon. Lord Lugard, G.C.M.G., Lord Sinha, The Dowager Lady Minto, The Hon. Miss Gertrude Kinnaird, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Reginald Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.S.I., and Lady Lawrence, Lady Dane, Lady Hirtzel, Lady Lyttelton, Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, Sir William Owens Clark and Lady Clark, Sir P. Mitter, The Right Hon. Sir Horace Plunkett, K.C.V.O., Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Ganen Roy, Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, C.I.E., C.B.E., Mr. C. M. Baker, C.I.E., Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. W. Rajwade, Mrs. F. L. Brayne, Mr. and Mrs. C. F. Strickland, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. M. A. Rahman, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mrs. Farquharson, Commissioner and Mrs. F. Booth Tucker, Mr. Scott Bremner, Mr. George Pilcher, M.P., Miss Corfield, Rev. Dr. H. W. Stanton, Mrs. Martley, Rev. A. H. Brayne, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Lindsay, Mr. Lanka Sundaram, Mr. A. P. Das Gupta, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Miss M. Sorabji, Miss L. Sorabji, Mr. Henry Howse, Mr. P. Henry, Dr. A. Shah, Mrs. W. G. Martley, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mr. F. J. Richards, Rev. H. Halliwell, Mrs. Herron, Mr. T. D. Kansara, Mr. H. O. Boger, Mrs. Collis, Mr. and Mrs. P. J. H. Stent, Mrs. J. A. Richey, Mr. T. V. Desai, Mr. W. L. Gray, Mr. W. T. Bechan, Mr. J. J. Nolan, Mr. M. L. Metcalfe, Mr. Arnold Lupton, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Miss K. C. Barnard, Mr. G. T. Boag, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, before we proceed with the business of the afternoon I am quite certain that you would desire that I should express the anxiety that all of us feel on account of the health of His Majesty the King-Emperor. In no part of His Majesty's dominions will that anxiety be more really or deeply felt than in India.

I am very grateful to the East India Association for having given me the opportunity of taking the Chair this afternoon. Having seen something of the work of Mr. and Mrs. Brayne, I am persuaded that it is to the advantage of rural India that the methods devised by them in their efforts to promote the welfare of the villagers should be widely

known. That those methods are incapable of improvement Mr. Brayne himself does not suggest, yet no one who has seen the results achieved can doubt that the scheme is full of promise. The progress recorded in the paper has been attained within a period of eight years. If those efforts that have brought about these beneficent changes be continued with vigour unabated and over an ever-widening area for the next twenty years, the beneficent results will, I believe, become permanent. If those efforts are discontinued tomorrow, in ten years' time no trace of the work so far accomplished will remain. To make the future safe it will be necessary to persist until the leaders of the village, women as well as men, are those who from childhood have known the new and better ways. Continued effort over a prolonged period of time is, I am convinced, essential. (Hear, hear.) Some people tell us that the villager is happy in his lot and that true kindness lies in leaving him alone. No doubt habit and ignorance of better things help him to face his life with all its difficulties in a spirit of greater resignation than might be possible in other circumstances, but that the peasant enjoys his difficulties I for one do not believe. Do devoted parents suffer no anguish when child after child is taken from them by the cruel hand of a painful disease? Does the young mother, in a home that is in some cases surrounded by conditions intensely unhealthy, endure no wretchedness or pain at the hands of an ignorant neighbour who happens to style herself a midwife? Does the devoted father of a family relish the spectacle of a home broken up by the loss of his working bullocks? Is it by choice that poor humanity leads a precarious existence in which the slightest buffet of fortune, failure of the rains or the vagaries of some moneylender, can shatter in a moment and for ever the little cup of happiness? I do not believe that, and no one, I think, does. Give the Indian peasant the opportunity of enjoying better things and better health and you will find him very ready to appreciate them.

In the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, over which I had the great honour to preside, we tried to make plain our view that there is the closest relationship between a desire for better living in the villages and any substantial improvement in agriculture. It is clear that the extra effort on the part of the individual cultivator required to enhance the outturn is not likely to be forthcoming unless the cultivator is urged forward by an intense desire for a higher standard of living. I believe that that conclusion is sound, and it is immensely important. It means that village uplift as well as being good for the peasant is good business for India. I commend it to those who now or in the future may have responsibilities of government. It bears closely upon a problem which is certain, in my judgment, to present itself with growing insistence as the years pass, that of providing a sufficiency of food for the ever-increasing population of India.

It is greatly to be hoped that the public in Great Britain may not

forget the heavy responsibilities they bear towards India. Let them think of India and her future with hopefulness, and let them think and speak well of their Indian fellow-citizens. For many years their interest will be vital for India's good, nor is the time at hand when Indians will cease to put a high value upon the labours of those of our countrymen who can show qualities of kindness, of skill, of enthusiasm and of self-sacrifice in the service of India and her people. (Applause.) It is because from personal observations I know that Mr. Brayne and his wife are among the number of those who are prepared to do service and make self-sacrifices that I introduce Mr. Brayne with confidence to this important audience. (Applause.)

Mr. Brayne then read his paper.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said he was sure that all those who had served in the Punjab would have heard with great pleasure the lecture on the Gurgaon scheme by one who had made it such a success. From his knowledge of Gurgaon and its sturdy tribes, who had provided 16,000 fighting men in the Great War, he was able to follow Mr. Brayne's description of how he had accomplished this very wonderful work of village uplift. There was, however, one matter as to which he did not quite agree with the lecturer—namely, that the scheme was the first act in the drama of village uplift. From his forty-two years' recollection of the Punjab he would prefer to say it was the fifth of a series of acts by which the British administration had gradually effected the emancipation of the Punjab peasantry from a state of semi-servitude. The first stage was the Land Alienation Act of 1901, which secured the peasant against expropriation by the moneylender. The second stage was the Co-operative Credit Act passed five years later; it was supplementary to the Land Alienation Act, and it had achieved a success in the Punjab which was simply marvellous. There were now some 18,000 credit societies in the Punjab nearly all rural, whereas eighteen years ago there were only 3,000. These societies provided loans to the peasant at reasonable rates and saved him from the clutches of the usurer. The third stage was the Act passed by the Government of the Punjab in 1919 to make primary education, in rural and other areas where the people desired it for boys, compulsory. That too had proved a wonderful success in the Punjab, and had been copied by other provinces in India, though so far with no very substantial results. The fourth stage was the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, over which the Chairman had so ably presided, which he was convinced would be readily accepted in the Punjab, and would do much to promote rural prosperity. The fifth or final stage, which would crown all the others, was the scheme of village uplift which the lecturer had outlined. It had been said with some truth that, like all reforms, the scheme had been received with official apathy. That had been the case with most new schemes: for instance, the Land Alienation Act was opposed by the trading and capitalist class, and had but lukewarm support from the Punjab Government;

the co-operative credit movement had been opposed by the money-lenders, and not only did they put up a strong opposition to it, but they had for a time the support of the subordinate judiciary. The scheme for village uplift might have been criticized in certain quarters and looked on with suspicion in others; but it stood a much greater chance of success than any of the other reforms referred to, because all classes of the community without distinction by caste or creed were equally interested in the improvement of the villages. The scheme therefore started with everything in its favour. From his experience of administration he thought that official support would be more readily forthcoming if the scheme were presented not as a new departure, but as the logical and essential development of a consistent policy. He entirely agreed with the lecturer that if the scheme was to be successful it should have a separate organization with a practical enthusiast like the lecturer at the head. If the co-operative trading movement had been left to the Collectors or to the Revenue Department to develop, it would not have met with the marvellous success it had achieved. He therefore hoped they would all exercise such influence as was in their power in support of the lecturer's contention that his scheme should receive the strong support of the Government and should be started as a separate organization. (Applause.)

Commissioner F. BOOTH TUCKER, speaking from forty years' experience in India, said he was acquainted with the life of the villagers as probably few Europeans had been, and he could heartily endorse what the lecturer had said with regard to the matter. While the villager asked for explanations when a new scheme was introduced to him, he was not a difficult man to deal with. The Salvation Army were interested in the co-operative credit village bank movement, and they had formed a central bank. In one case a village had come to them for a loan of 500 rupees for the purpose of buying a field, offering to repay it in two harvests, which they did. They then asked for another loan of 700 rupees to build houses, which was granted and which was repaid in the same way. The Salvation Army had established three villages, two of which at present had a population of over 2,000, and they were self-supporting concerns.

Mr. C. F. STRICKLAND said that he had perhaps had the opportunity of actually seeing Mr. Brayne's work at Gurgaon more fully than anyone present. He remembered the district twenty years ago, and again just before Mr. Brayne went to it, when a more spiritless, unenterprising crowd of peasants could not be imagined. All that had been changed in eight years by Mr. Brayne. Similar efforts had been made elsewhere, especially by the Rural Community Councils, but in no district so effectively. Co-operators had done their best and had formed Better Living Co-operative Societies in Gurgaon and elsewhere, but it was really the function of a special organization to promote rural welfare. He wished to emphasize the agricultural aspect of Mr. Brayne's work. Inspired by him, the villagers had

undertaken the enclosure of pastures, the afforestation of bare hill-sides, the introduction of new crops, the substitution of waterwheels for the old uneconomic drag-rope well, and above all the use of good bulls. Mr. Brayne had brought in 700 pedigree bulls which had altered the entire appearance of the cattle in the district.

The full scheme of rural welfare could not successfully be carried through by a district officer. Some men lacked the enthusiasm or the driving power; all lacked the time. Moreover, uplift required a large amount of money, and some forms of it did not give a cash return. The villager could not at present be expected to tax himself for objects of health or the welfare of women. Government should provide some of the money, but not all, and he hoped that a man of great wealth might come forward to endow a welfare association on the lines of the Carnegie Trust.

It must, however, be remembered that enthusiasm alone was not enough for welfare work; the people engaged in it must be fully trained. The untrained enthusiast was a danger.

LORD WINTERTON said he had seen something of the work which had been done at Gurgaon, and expressed his entire concurrence with the remarks of Mr. Strickland, who, he thought, had crystallized the arguments which had been put forward with regard to Mr. Brayne's scheme. He thought that some of the speakers had not quite realized the point at issue. Nobody denied that Acts had been passed in the Punjab, some of them in Sir Michael O'Dwyer's time, some before it and some subsequently, to improve the position of the people; nor did anybody deny that good work had been done by the Salvation Army. But the experiment at Gurgaon was unique, inasmuch as it was the first occasion upon which any officer of the Government had, by his personal efforts, associated himself to such an enormous degree with the welfare of the people and had achieved, with the assistance of the people whom it was his duty to govern, such remarkable results. He agreed with Mr. Strickland that they must not allow enthusiasm for the great work and the chances of its being followed elsewhere to blind them to the basis upon which alone success could rest. One was the personal equation of the man at the head of the district. It would not be easy to find, either among Europeans or among Indians, persons with exactly the same qualities as those possessed by Mr. Brayne. The second basis was the question of finance, which was, in fact, the core of the whole matter. He supported Mr. Strickland's suggestion that they should try to induce some wealthy man to come forward and find part of the money. He much commended the work done by Mr. Brayne, and said that it would be an excellent thing if people interested in India would go to Gurgaon and see what had taken place. As a farmer, he had been much impressed by the statement of Mr. Strickland with regard to the 700 pedigree bulls, which was a larger number than there were in the whole of the Province of Madras.

SIR PATRICK FAGAN: My Lord, I listened to the lecturer's very sug-

gestive paper with peculiar interest because it is just forty years ago since I made my first acquaintance, in the very early years of my service, with the Gurgaon district. I worked there for nearly two years, during part of my time as deputy commissioner. In the light of that experience, now of course somewhat out of date, I am disposed to think that the lecturer has given rather too dark a picture of the economic condition of the district. But however that may be, it is certainly the fact that as regards the virility of its population, the security of its agriculture, and the general standard of living, it is distinctly behind those other prosperous tracts in the Punjab. It is for that reason perhaps that it is an appropriate area for the inception of a great enterprise such as the lecturer has so eloquently described.

Doubtless his description, his suggestions and his anticipations, as well as the contents of his remarkable book on uplift in India, will provide material for the exercise of that faculty of destructive criticism with which the pessimist, official and non-official, is generally amply endowed. But, after all, the world is moved by the live optimist; and Mr. Brayne, I take it, is a live optimist of the most vigorous and enthusiastic type, though in his paper he is fully alive to the great difficulties and limitations which at present and must for some time to come surround the immensely important work of the uplift of the rural masses of India.

As we all know, projects and visions of rapid and early political and constitutional development at present occupy—some may be inclined to think obscure—the horizon of India. Whatever may be the right view, it is certainly true, and the lecturer has wisely emphasized the fact, that the indispensable accompaniment, if not indeed the essential preliminary, of any such process must be a widespread and far-reaching uplift, moral, social and economic, of the vast rural population which alone can form the foundation of any sound development of self-government in India.

There are at the present time evident signs that in the Punjab, and I doubt not in other parts of India also, the rural masses are groping after a better and a fuller life; groping, it may be, blindly, vaguely, instinctively, but still groping. That attitude is, I think, largely due to the inspiration received by the very numerous returned Indian soldiers who during the War and later have had enlightening experience of foreign countries and of foreign ways of thought and life. What is urgently needed is co-ordination and guidance by means of an agency imbued with an ideal of social service and a sense of social responsibility. Such is, I understand, the fundamental principle of the scheme advocated by the lecturer.

Time is not available for examining its details, though very numerous and important questions present themselves for consideration and discussion. As regards agency it is, I think, perfectly clear that it will be quite impossible, as the lecturer himself has insisted, for the district officer to undertake personally the charge of rural uplift

operations in addition to the already more than sufficiently heavy burden of his ordinary official duties, of which by far the greater portion, if not all, is inevitable. But even so it is clear that though not in personal charge of, and not personally responsible for, uplift work, he must necessarily be in the closest possible touch with it. To me, personally, it is a marvel that Mr. Brayne should have found time to do all he did while preoccupied, as he doubtless was, with the civil administration of a district such as Gurgaon.

The provision of the liberal finance which will certainly be needed for rural uplift work on an extensive scale is another large question. Additional local taxation of a miscellaneous kind will not, I think, be found to be practicable. What appear to be needed are the means and munificence of an Indian Carnegie.

But be the difficulties of the task what they may, the present juncture in India is one which calls, and calls loudly, for widespread, organized and co-ordinated effort in the directions and on the lines which the lecturer has so persuasively and eloquently put before us.

Sir JAMES MACKENNA said he had derived great pleasure from listening to the lecture. The most valuable thing, from his point of view, was the constructive suggestion of the Indian village welfare associations. There were numerous other societies already at work in India, so that the ground had been well prepared for an advance along the lines of the uplift scheme suggested by the lecturer, which had been so successfully carried out by him and his accomplished wife in Gurgaon.

LORD LAMINGTON, in thanking Mr. Brayne for his very live lecture on a very important subject, said they had certainly learned a great deal that afternoon, not only from the lecture, but also from the other speeches to which they had listened. He trusted that the meeting would be a stimulating agency for the adoption of some such scheme as had been indicated in the paper, which might well be the means of increasing the general interest in this country as well as in India, and also possibly might be the means of obtaining financial support, which was so very essential. The meeting was a noteworthy one and he trusted would redound to the benefit of the whole population of India.

Mr. R. K. SORABJI said that he would not waste time praising the admirable paper, and the excellent work Mr. Brayne had done. Village uplift was a great need, but no voluntary agency could do it. In his opinion the District Officer, and he alone, could carry on work such as Mr. Brayne had described. He was the man whom everyone trusted and looked up to, and he alone could give the lead which the villagers would follow. The District Officer should be set free from files in order to be able to spend more time in getting into touch with the people and urging them to improve the villages. He disagreed with Mr. Brayne as to the expense. The expense would be considerable. People in India, as a whole, had not yet learnt to be public benefactors for nothing. Here and there a man might bear the cost

if the village were to be called after his name. A possible way of raising money might be to have village schemes, on the lines of the garden cities in England, where people invested their money and received interest. Civilians would have to be trained in order to enable them to spur on the villagers in all the methods Mr. Brayne had described.

Mr. ARNOLD LUPTON said he had only been in India for four months, but he had heard a great many papers at meetings of the Association, by far the most valuable of which was the one to which they had listened that afternoon. He had also read a large number of statistics. Mr. Brayne had done a vast amount of good work in India, and if there were a thousand men like Mr. Brayne in India it would be an entirely new country in another twenty years.

Mr. BRAYNE thanked the meeting for the kind remarks which had been made about his wife and himself, and for the very encouraging speeches which had been made with regard to his work and the possibility of its extension throughout the whole of India. It had been suggested that possibly the work in connection with village uplift might lead to neglect of other work, but he denied that other work had ever suffered thereby. The duty of a magistrate such as himself was to maintain law and order, and crime quite frequently could be prevented by going into the villages and forestalling it. If magistrates sometimes could turn their backs on their offices and courts and get into the villages, he thought a large number of crimes would never be committed, because they would see the quarrels coming and induce the leaders on both sides to settle them amicably. The uplift of women was one of the most vital parts of the Gurgaon scheme, and that in itself must have a great effect on the peace of the country. Just as better housing and social work has cured the drink evil in England, so uplift would cure the quarrelling—whether communal or other—and litigation that was now the curse of India. When the homes were happy and comfortable the men would be less anxious to quarrel, and once they had the women and children moving about with their menfolk as they did in the villages of England, the chances of sudden disturbances would be greatly reduced. Whatever the difficulties, whatever the obstacles, they must now and there determine to carry on this great work of rural uplift.

Lord LUGARD, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman and lecturer, said that we were greatly indebted to Lord Linlithgow for taking the Chair at this meeting, since no one could be more fitted to judge of the essentials of village uplift than the President of the Indian Agricultural Commission. The task of that Commission was a truly colossal one, and its report would be of great value to India. It was generally understood that rather than leave his work incomplete the Chairman had been content to forego high office in England. Lord Lugard felt that he would be voicing the unanimous wish of those present in congratulating the lecturer on the support he had

received from the Under-Secretary for India and the former Governors who had spoken, and in wishing him success in the valuable scheme of work he had inaugurated in Gurgaon. He echoed his wish that it should be extended to the whole of India. Personally he thought that the secret of success lay in enlisting the hearty co-operation of the *Panchayets* (village councils), and (as we had found in Africa) the extension of the influence of the Village School to the Community. On behalf of his audience he tendered thanks for the most interesting lecture to which they had listened.

The CHAIRMAN, in reply to the vote of thanks, said that he hoped that the paper and discussion that evening would be another brick in the structure of village improvement proposed by the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture. The Report, which extended over 700 pages, had been most kindly received by the Press and the public; but a good reception of the Report, though welcome, was not sufficient for its authors. They would look back upon their work together with final satisfaction only if it brought real benefit to the Indian cultivator.

Sir LOUIS DANE writes: I regret that I was prevented by a chill from attending the meeting, especially as I am much interested in the subject of the paper, village uplift, and in a way was responsible for its being read. About eighteen months ago the son of an old Revenue Assistant, knowing that I was interested in the question, sent me from Gurgaon some of Mr. Brayne's pamphlets. While I was wondering how the matter could be furthered, Commissioner Booth Tucker of the Salvation Army, which has done so much for uplift generally and for the criminal tribes in particular, wrote to me and suggested that the Association should take steps to promote the movement on general as opposed to mission lines only.

My reply was to send the pamphlets to show what was being done and how undesirable it was to steal Mr. Brayne's thunder when we might be able to help him. It was then decided to ask Mr. Brayne to write a paper, and the present lecture is the result. In the meantime his scheme received the blessing of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, so that the Association is moving under good auspices.

Mr. Brayne was fortunate in being able to work undisturbed for some years in a district which is rather out of the way of the tides of communal excitement, and contains many aboriginal races amongst whom it is less difficult to start such a crusade. He would also probably admit that the way was paved for him by the devoted labours of the Baptist Mission during the past half century at Paliwal, where Miss Fletcher's schools at Salampur have done so much good amongst difficult girls in turning them into good wives and mothers. The Mission also does much for village betterment generally. The District Commissioner is still the father and mother of his district in

the agricultural Punjab, if he has the time and inclination to develop that side—perhaps the most important really—of his duties, and Mr. Brayne has grasped his opportunity. It is to be hoped that now all will do their best to keep the ball rolling. Without this general effort it is more than probable that the movement will die out, as previous attempts at betterment have. There was the attempt of Mrs. Flora Annie Steel at Katur and Ferozepur, in 1876-82, which promised so well, but was perhaps rather in advance of its time. Another similar movement was started in the Faridkot State, 1909-14, by Sirdar Diyal Singh Inan, the Superintendent during the minority of the Raja. This was called the Neki Pracharak, or the Do Good Association, and for a time it worked wonders. Crime went down, drunkenness died out, and village sanitation, women's education, and the care of mothers and infants were diligently preached by Neko Kars, or good doers, from amongst the people themselves. Unfortunately, in the intrigues and jealousies from which Indian States suffer, the Superintendent's policies and the Superintendent himself, who had been perhaps too enthusiastic, were swept away when the Raja came of age, and the clock was set back. His case is a warning.

Without the official interest of the District Officers, as Mr. Brayne admits, it will be impossible to give the scheme generally a good start, and to ensure its continuous working for the first decade or so. The East India Association has done what it could to help the good cause. We have had two papers on the work of the Salvation Army amongst the criminal tribes read in 1919 and 1926, and those interested in the question of village uplift will find how closely their system parallels Mr. Brayne's. Then there has been the recent most interesting paper by the Rev. Fr. Van Scheuren, on the work of the Belgian Jesuits amongst the Sontals, which proceeds on similar lines. These are avowedly based on religious propaganda, with the object of conversion, while Mr. Brayne's is free from the difficulties connected with such movements. This is why it can be commended as an example for general use in agricultural districts.

HISTORICAL SECTION

SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD—I

(1736—1791)

BY LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., F.R.ECON.S.(LOND.)

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"Cow Protection in India."

IN this and the succeeding papers I propose to reconstruct on authentic lines the life and work of Sir Thomas Rumbold,* who was Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, from 1778 to 1780. Eminent historians like Colonel Wilks,† James Mill,‡ and Colonel Love§ rank among those who unconsciously, if not deliberately, rendered a disservice to the cause of historical scholarship and accuracy. Sir Thomas Rumbold's career was undoubtedly stormy, especially during the period of his administrative control of the Fort St. George and after, when a Bill of Pains and Penalties was brought in the House of Commons by Mr. Dundas on May 3, 1782, and abandoned on December 3, 1783, during which period, and till his death in 1791, he continued to sit as a Member of Parliament. Sir Thomas' indiscretions—they were called, during his trial, grave acts in contravention of the covenant he entered into with the Court of Directors of the East India Company and against their explicit orders—were not negligible, but the wholesale calumny heaped upon him by his contemporaries, and later by the historians, even though to a lesser extent, was totally unwarranted, and seems to have been greatly exaggerated, without reference to historical antecedents and certainly without grasp of contemporary detail. It is really unfortunate that certain authentic documents escaped the notice of such eminent

* The Rumbold family was famous since the death of this unfortunate first baronet. Ninth in descent from him is the Rt. Hon. Sir Horace George Montagu Rumbold, Bt., P.C., G.C.M.G., M.V.O., the present British Ambassador to Berlin.

† "Historical Sketches of South India," (1817), vol. ii.

‡ "History of British India," edited by H. H. Wilson (1858), Book V., chap. iv.

§ "Vestiges of Old Madras" (1913), vol. iii., chap. x.

historians. Even Marshman originally missed them when he wrote his "History of British India."* But a posthumous vindication of his character† by his aged daughter, the manuscript of which volume was placed in his hands just before the publication of his "History," made him go into the subject, however cursorily, and issue an appendix repudiating the mis-statements of Wilks and Mill. In the following pages it is hoped that all the available historical material has been brought to bear upon a proper appraisal of the career of Sir Thomas Rumbold.

Thomas Rumbold belonged to a family which distinguished itself in the service of the Crown during the seventeenth century.‡ He was the son of William Rumbold, an officer in the naval service of the East India Company, who died second-in-council at Tellicherry in 1745. Of his two brothers, William, the elder (b. 1730), entered the Company's military service and died on August 1, 1757, at Fort St. David, after a brilliant career. His younger brother, Henry, died early at sea.§

Rumbold was born at Leytonstone, Essex, on June 15, 1736. Having lost his father at the age of nine, he was subjected to much hardship during his early career. A light-hearted squib became popular during his election campaign for membership of Parliament for East Shoreham, and gained greater currency during his trial before the House of Commons. It was responsible for the statement that he was a waiter at White's Club before he joined the Company's service.|| Mention was made of this also in a contemporary journal¶ and accepted by Colonel Love as authentic.** But there is conclusive evidence for the fact that the squib against Sir Robert Makreth, M.P. for Castle Risney, a fellow servant of Sir Thomas Rumbold in the employ of the Company and his agent during the parliamentary proceedings against him, was transmuted into our familiar one as a slogan for his

* Published in 1867 by Longmans.

† "A Vindication of the Character and Administration of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bt.," by Elizabeth Anne Rumbold (1868).

‡ This is not generally known to, and much less recognized by, historians. In this connection see the "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society," London, for 1892, pp. 145-165, for the "Notes on the History of the Family of Rumbold in the Seventeenth Century," by Sir Horace Rumbold, Bt., G.C.M.G., F.R.HIST.S., H.B.M. Minister at The Hague.

§ "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. 49, pp. 397-399.

|| "History of the White's" (1892).

¶ *European Magazine* for May, 1782.

** "Vestiges," III., pp. 148-149.

impeachment.* "Dorothy Rumbold was probably in somewhat straitened circumstances after her husband's death, but there is nothing to warrant the belief that her poverty was such as to reduce her to seek for her boy the menial employment traditionally attributed to him at White's Club.† In a petition addressed to the Court of Directors by Rumbold in 1751, when he was just turned fifteen, he states that he had "been educated in Writing and Accounts and humbly hopes himself qualified to serve your Honors abroad," and this was followed by a certificate from the master of the school where he studied. On his appointment as a clerk in the service of the Company on January 8, 1752, his mother became security for him with "Henry Crab Boulton, of the East India House, gentleman, to the extent of 500l." Further, in 1757, Miss Elizabeth Rumbold, his aunt, became security for H. Southby, a relation of the Rumbolds, as "free merchant" in the sum of £2,000. All this conclusively proves that Rumbold, whatever his straitened circumstances, was never actually compelled to be a waiter at the White's.

Rumbold sailed towards the close of January, 1752. Soon after his arrival in Madras he changed the civil for the military service. In 1753 he held the rank of lieutenant,‡ served under Lawrence at the taking of Trichinopoly, accompanied Clive to Calcutta, was present at its recapture in 1756, and was for an act of bravery made an aide-de-camp by the future victor of Plassey,§ and superseded most in the Bengal Council at Clive's recognition of his merits.|| Wounded at Plassey,¶ he reverted to the Civil Service.** He returned home on furlough during the years 1762-1763. Sailing back to

* "The Real Facts concerning Sir Thomas Rumbold," p. 6. Printed for private circulation; available in "British Museum Biographical Tracts" (1874-1892), No. 10803, e. 18.

† *Ibid.*, p. 5.

‡ Love: "Vestiges," III., p. 141.

§ Miss Rumbold: "Vindication," p. xv. Having been promoted to the rank of Captain, Rumbold agreed that his name be struck off the list of covenanted servants. "Madras Public Consultations," March 20, 1759; "India Office Records," Range CCXL., vol. 17, p. 28.

|| "Defence of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Baronet, stated by his Counsell Mr. Hardinge in the House of Commons" (1782), Part I., p. 7. "British Museum," No. 583, h. 13.

¶ Rumbold applied for leave on medical certificate in his letter dated Calcutta, the 28th December, 1758. Entered in "Madras Public Consultations," May 15, 1759; *loc. cit.*, pp. 131 and 147.

** George Stratton was appointed President and Governor by the Madras Council on September 30, 1776. "Madras Revenue Proceedings," September 30, 1776, "India Office Library," Range CCLXXIV., No. 18, pp. 333 ff.

India, he was appointed Chief at Patna, and sat in the Council at Fort William from 1766-1769. Returning home again on grounds of ill-health, he entered Parliament as Member for Shoreham. He was a director of the East India Company for nearly five years. His services were much valued by the Court of Directors, and he was named as the successor of Warren Hastings when the latter's recall was contemplated in 1773. On receipt of news in England about the revolution in the Government of Fort St. George, and the suspension and imprisonment of Lord Pigot, the Governor-President, § Rumbold was appointed Governor. He sailed in the *Bessborough* on January 11, 1777, and arrived in the Madras roads on February 8, 1778. Then followed an eventful career. "He had the disgusted nation to conciliate, an exhausted revenue to repair, a defensive to form against Hyder Ali's hostilities, which he was also to avert if he could."* A scheme for the reorganization of the revenues was set on foot, and certain drastic steps were taken towards the same effect. He was obliged to fight Hyder Ali single-handed. But in all that he proposed and carried out he had the practically unanimous support of the Madras Council.† Certain remarkable military achievements made his administration memorable. Pondicherry, the stronghold of the French, capitulated on October 17, 1778. Despatches announcing this success were sent home in H.M. Sloop *Cormorant* on November 2, entrusted to William Rumbold, his son, who was also "charged with the French colours taken at Pondicherry to be laid at His Majesty's feet."‡ In a letter, dated Fort St. George, October 31, Rumbold solicited of Lord North some mark of distinction from the Crown in reward for his services.§ A Baronetcy was conferred on him on March 23, 1779, Mahé surrendering only a few days earlier.

Ill-health compelled Sir Thomas Rumbold to hand over charge to John Whitehill on April 6, 1780, and he sailed home on the following day. His conduct as Governor of Madras aroused misgivings on the part of the Court of Directors, and in a belated despatch of January 11, 1781, they ordered the

* Hardinge: "Defence," p. 7.

† In the succeeding papers we will deal with the individual acts of his administration which were subject to the calumniated scrutiny of Dundas in the House of Commons. Proceedings against Sir Thomas were abandoned later.

‡ "Madras to England," of the same date, vol. xiv.

§ "MSS. of the Marquis of Abergavenny," No. 200. See p. 23 of Appendix VI. to the "Tenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission."

dismissal of Sir Thomas and two members of the Madras Council, Whitehill and Perring. He entered Parliament as Member for Yarmouth, Isle of Wight. His arrival in England furnished the opportunity for charges of oppression, corruption, and contravention of the Company's orders. A committee of the House of Commons was appointed to "inquire into the cause of the war in the Carnatic and of the condition of the British possessions in those parts," and this resulted in the publication of a voluminous report.* The conclusions of the committee were undoubtedly hasty. A document containing thirty-seven clauses was drawn up on April 25, 1778, exhibiting charges mostly against Sir Thomas and Peter Perring.† On April 29, 1782, Dundas ushered into the House a Bill of Pains and Penalties against both these servants of the Company. On May 3 of the same year a Bill to restrain them from leaving the kingdom was brought in, and the taking of evidence at the bar of the House of Commons was commenced on January 23, 1783.‡

Sir Thomas prepared and published in part his own answer to the charges brought against himself by the Secret Committee and those contained in the general letter of the Court of Directors dated January 10, 1781.§ Peter Perring himself published an answer to the charges as far as they concerned him.|| On January 23 and February 13 respectively, speeches for the prosecution were made by Bearcroft and Cooper.¶ Hardinge** and Erskine for Sir Thomas, and Piggott and Scott for Peter Perring, defended. Sir Thomas Rumbold prepared an elaborate and reasoned brief for the minute defence of his administration.†† The hearing of the case was adjourned on May 30, 1783, after engaging the attention of the House for twenty-two days. A great deal of

* "Second Report of the Committee of Secrecy" (1781).

† This and the other documents dealing with the proceedings were brought together and preserved in the India Office Library under the title of "The Case of Sir Thomas Rumbold and Peter Perring." Another copy of this is to be found in the British Museum.

‡ "Minutes of Evidence taken at the Bar of the House of Commons and the Proceedings of the House" (1783) in *Ibid.*

§ "An Answer to the Charges exhibited against Sir Thomas Rumbold in the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons and in the General Letter from the Court of Directors of January 10, 1781," by himself.

|| See in "The Case of Sir Thomas Rumbold and Peter Perring."

* The originals are preserved in "British Museum Addl. MSS.," No. 28, 161.

** Quoted *ante*.

†† "Briefs for the Defence of Sir Thomas Rumbold," "British Museum Addl. MSS.," Nos. 28, 159, and 28, 160.

evidence was shown in the minutes which proved to the hilt the utter hastiness of the "Second Report of the Committee of Secrecy." Dundas abandoned the Bill on December 3, 1783.* Sir Thomas was elected M.P. for Weymouth in 1784, and sat for that borough till his death in 1791. A vindication of Sir Thomas Rumbold's character was attempted by Edmund Burke in 1785, even though he was responsible for certain irresponsible remarks a couple of years earlier. He declared :† "The Right Honourable gentleman whose conduct is now in question (Mr. Dundas) formerly stood forth in this House as the prosecutor of the worthy Baronet who spoke last. He charged him with several grievous acts of malversation in office, with abuses of a public trust of a great and heinous nature. In less than two years we see the situation of parties reversed, and a singular revolution puts the worthy Baronet in a fair way of returning the prosecution in a recriminatory Bill of Pains and Penalties, grounded on a breach of trust, relative to the very same part of India. If he should undertake a Bill of that kind, he will find no difficulty in conducting it with a degree of skill and vigour fully equal to all that have been extended against him."

Sir Thomas Rumbold died in 1791 at his seat of Woodhall Park, Hertfordshire.

* "The Real Facts concerning Sir Thomas Rumbold."

† "Parliamentary History," XXV., pp. 183-186.

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

THE ORIGIN OF CASTE

BY STANLEY RICE

THE origin of caste is admittedly lost in obscurity, and the best reasoned explanations of the most profound scholars remain only plausible conjecture. The "Aryan" school naturally rely upon the Aryan scriptures and upon the word "Varna," meaning colour. Caste is therefore an institution designed to keep the race pure; the Aryans disdained to mingle their blood with the Dravidian inhabitants, who are frequently referred to as "dark," and they took effective steps to prevent it by investing the whole institution with a religious interdict. The three higher castes were "twice born," and wore the sacred thread; the lowest of the four was allotted to the original inhabitants, who submitted to the conqueror. Indians themselves give more prominence to the occupational side of the system. A Brahmin writer, Mr. Ramaswami Sastri, says:

"According to us (*i. e.*, Hindus) it is the result of a divine grouping according to actions and tendencies. . . . It has reference only to the initial endowment at birth, which can be augmented or lessened by social or individual well-doing or ill-doing." He is speaking not as a scholar but as a propagandist; his aim is not to show how caste arose but to defend it as "the main atmosphere of cultural resistance" and the most unifying element in Hindu society. It is clear, however, that he leans towards the occupational theory, as is proved by his contention that the "Hindu race is one and entire and Aryan." If that be so—and he claims to be speaking for Hindus generally—the Aryans would have had no need to defend themselves against men of their own race, and therefore caste is "not based on ethnic separateness." Dr. Slater, who in his book, "The Dravidian Element of Indian Culture," makes out a strong case for South Indian influences, is not satisfied with either theory. He points that out in either case North rather than South India should be the special home of caste—on the Indian theory because it has been more highly Aryanized, on the European because it has been more subject to invasion.

But it is notorious that caste "is much stronger, much more elaborate, and plays a much larger part in social life in South India than North India." And it is exactly that part which was sheltered from invasion by the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea where caste "reaches its highest development." He therefore inclines to a combination of the two theories and believes that caste was evolved somewhat after this manner: In early, and indeed in all, civilizations there is a tendency for occupations to become hereditary, and as each art slowly became the exclusive occupation of certain artisans, they jealously guarded the secrets of the trade, as is occasionally done in India to this day. And since sexual maturity comes earlier in a tropical climate, boys and girls are mated at a time when they themselves cannot be trusted to choose. But since the selection falls upon the parents they would naturally choose one of their own craft. Magic and religious ceremonies assist to build up the exclusive caste, so that "marriage outside the caste becomes one of the things that are not done." The Aryan invasion therefore was not the cause of caste, but modified it in two ways, by strengthening (1) the tendency to associate caste differences with differences of shade of colour; and (2) the tendency for castes to be graded in a fairly definite scale of social precedence. The prohibition of interdining follows the prohibition on intermarriage since feasts are the accompaniments of the three great stages of human life, and the ordinary private entertainments of the West are by no means so common in India. The outcaste class arose as a natural result of occupation, and being extended to various forms of manual labour, justified itself by adopting unclean habits.

The explanation sounds plausible and would satisfy most people, but a more critical examination detects many flaws. In the first place it assumes that caste arose only after the society had become highly developed, as is shown by the division of labour into various skilled, some of them highly skilled, crafts. It goes further back no doubt than the "Aryan" theory, and it may be argued that at any rate there is nothing to show that caste ought to be relegated to an even earlier date. But a more serious flaw is that the whole argument is based on Western conceptions and does not take sufficient account of religious sanction. It is economic in basis, though it allows a certain influence to ethnic considerations. Nor does it satisfactorily account for the strength of caste customs at the present time. There have been other people among whom the division

of labour was precisely similar, crafts are almost equally hereditary and secrets are jealously guarded, but they have not introduced caste except in a modified and quite indefinite form. We might loosely call the miners of England a caste as Dr. Slater in effect does, but that does not invest them with the rigid rules of India. Dr. Slater recognizes this and proceeds therefore to strengthen his case by referring to the inertia of the tropics which prevents a man from seeking more than one occupation, to sexual maturity, the parental choice of brides, and so on. But, after all, why would a parent naturally choose a bride from the families of men who follow the same craft? In using the word "naturally," Dr. Slater is apparently enunciating a general principle; what the Indian is supposed to do is what is generally done, not only in primitive societies but always and at all times. But is it? There is a certain tendency among Anglo-Indians to mate within a special service; the civilian marries a civilian's daughter, the Forest Officer a Forest Officer's daughter, and so forth; but partial as it is, it is due to the special conditions of Anglo-Indian life. It is no doubt observable also to some extent in the far more complicated conditions of English life; but the only deduction to be made is that men can only mate with the girls they meet in any society where choice is free, and that at most it is but a tendency to a practice in which the exceptions are far more numerous than the examples. The secret of the craft is not entrusted to the female, nothing is put in jeopardy by union with a woman belonging to another guild. Nor is it very clear why the parents should be more likely to choose from their own craft any more than the young people. In ordinary intercourse the parents would meet all sorts and conditions, but as happens today the men of a particular calling would have more in common. Hence the children of a particular craft would be more likely to meet others of that craft, which is the cause of the tendency observable in England and just alluded to. For if the parson's daughter is brought up in the atmosphere of the Church and the most frequent visitors at her father's house are the clergy, the chances are that she will marry a curate. Thus the argument from early puberty and parental choice would seem to have but little validity, and the inclination to marry within the craft has been shown to be at most a likely tendency. That does not explain satisfactorily the rigid rule of exogamy and endogamy by which the caste is bound. And yet it is the essence of the whole argument, for it is contended that interdining follows naturally upon

it. Granted that that be so, we are still faced by the awkward facts that a higher caste may not accept a drink of water from a lower, even on a casual occasion, while a lower caste may not handle the food which his betters are to eat, whether in private or in public.

Dr. Slater seems to be on firmer ground when he contends that caste cannot be referred solely to racial distinctions. The Portuguese who invented the word were no doubt struck by the extreme care which was taken to keep the stock pure, and the Sanskrit word "varna" has naturally suggested the racial hypothesis. But the Rig-Veda has nothing to say about caste, with the exception of the famous passage in Book X., which is admittedly later than the others and of a "supplementary character." Yet caste, as Dr. Slater points out, not only exists but is actually stronger in the Dravidian South and West notwithstanding the natural barriers. The "Aryan" theorists are therefore bound to make the assumption that the institution was invented by the Aryan invaders after they came to India to preserve the purity of Aryan stock, that it then penetrated beyond the Aryan colonies and was taken up enthusiastically by the Dravidians, who, like so many converts, have become "*plus royalistes que le roi*." That is by no means an impossible assumption, for customs have been known to survive in the country of their adoption when they have weakened or perished in the country of their birth. But it assumes something else. It assumes that the Aryans, who would appear from the Rig-Veda to be chiefly warriors and possibly pastorals, had a markedly higher culture than the inhabitants. That is a large assumption, and it is contrary to the teaching of early history. The nations who have settled down to the arts of peace tend to become enervated and to fall a prey to the poorer but harder races opposed to them. The history of Persians and Babylonians, of Greeks and Persians, of Arabs and Romans all tell the same tale, but India itself furnishes sufficient examples. It cannot be contended that Mahmud of Ghazni, Mohammed Ghorî or Timur represented a higher civilization than the country which had known Asoka, Samudragupta, and Harsha. Nor can it be said that the great adventurer, Zahir-ud-din, who had lost his ancestral domain and for long was a wanderer and an outcast, brought into India a higher civilization than he found there. And when at last his empire was so rudely shaken, it was again by a hardy race of mountaineers, who subsisted largely by plunder and measured themselves against the accumulated resources of

the Moghul Empire. In most, if not all, the cases cited it is not suggested that the hardy victors were devoid of civilization; on the contrary, we know that Persians and Greeks and Arabs, to say nothing of the Indian invaders, were all highly cultured peoples; but the peoples they overcame were also cultured, and it was the very development of their culture that by degeneration into luxury led to their undoing. It is more reasonable therefore to assume that the early Aryans found in India a civilization which in many respects was equal to their own, and the contention is borne out by quotations from the Rig-Veda which describe the Aryans as having subdued the castles, overthrown the cities and cut off the wealth of the inhabitants.

Since then we must assume something, there seems good ground for holding with Dr. Slater that the Aryans found a system resembling caste already in force amongst the Dravidian inhabitants and that they adopted and modified it to suit their own purposes. But this only carries us a stage further back. What was that system and how did it originate? Reasons have already been given for rejecting the too facile grounds on which the Dravidian theory is supported, and we must therefore look elsewhere. Now when primitive customs are in question the one safe rule is "*Cherchez la foi*." It is as infallible—neither more nor less—as the time-honoured rule which in other matters bids us seek for the woman. If, therefore, we can find a solution by following the religious path, we are more likely to get at the truth than by trusting to economic or purely rational date. Such a solution is possible, though from the nature of the case the theory cannot be proved any more than any other theory.

The Dravidians were and still are well skilled in magic. Numerous first-hand instances could be given of the belief in charms and amulets, of the efficacy of mantras, of devices for keeping off evil spirits such as the placing of a bar of iron at the entrance to the house, of cures for snake bite such as tying straw round the wrist. Dr. Slater points out that the Vedas, while showing that magic was well known to the Aryans, regard the Dravidians as specially skilled in it, and without going further into the question records his belief that magic was a feature of Dravidian culture. It is at least significant that in the Atharva Veda, which is the latest of the four and must have been composed or collected long after the Aryans had had time to be steeped in the indigenous culture, charms and incantations are a prominent feature and have taken the place occupied in the others by

hymns of praise and ritual direction. Nor ought we to overlook the fact that the cult of the village deity, so marked a feature of the South as Bishop Whitehead has shown us, is usually regarded—and probably with truth—as the survival of a non-Aryan worship. The superstition which is closely allied to magic or quasi magic and plays so large a part in village worship has frequently given rise to an entirely false estimate of Hinduism in foreign countries, where superficial people are apt to confound the true philosophic religion with the primitive cults and to class the results as gross idolatry.

These observations are only intended to supply the background; they prove nothing directly. But magic among primitive tribes is often found in conjunction with totemism, and a people which ascribes such powers to charms and incantations may well have adopted the principle of the totem. It is necessary to bear in mind that we know hardly anything of the Dravidians except what we can glean from Aryan writings, for even the quite characteristic Dravidian architecture belongs to a much later date, and they themselves have left little or nothing in the shape of literary remains. But when the Aryans arrived in India the Dravidians were already established in "cities" and "castles" and we know otherwise that they had developed an oversea trade; they were therefore distinctly advanced and had probably long outgrown the totem stage, if it ever existed.

"If it ever existed." What grounds have we for this enormous hypothesis? The totem has been defined to be "the object, generally of a natural species, animal or vegetable, but occasionally rain, cloud, star, wind, which gives its name to a kindred, actual or supposed." Your totem may be the crow, or the snake, or the frog; it does not seem to matter much what. But whatever it is, it is held in some kind of reverence, which may or may not amount to a prohibition against killing that particular species, for the custom seems to vary a great deal. The "degree of 'religious' regard for the revered object increases in proportion as it is taken to contain the spirit of an ancestor or to be the embodiment of a god," and socially the totem, as found in Australia, has a very distinct influence on marriage customs and particularly on the practices and limitations of endogamy and exogamy. But a further development of the idea is found in Samoa, where there are "customs of burying and lamenting dead animals which are regarded with reverence by this or that 'family' or 'clan,' and the animals which once were sacred on their own account are

now regarded as the vehicles of the gods belonging to 'family' or 'clan'."

Hitherto almost exclusive attention has been paid to the Aryan word "varna" or colour, which has been taken to be the key to the idea which the Portuguese, following the same line of thought, called caste. Sufficient stress has not been laid upon the Tamil word "kulam," which signifies a "clan" or "family," and as an Indian friend pointed out, suggests a common ancestor, after the pattern of Jacob and the Israelites. The fact that the word is Sanskrit and not Dravidian is not a serious objection, for it is well known that the languages of India tend to become Aryanized, and although Telugu and Canarese are impregnated to a much larger extent than Tamil with Sanskrit words, there is nevertheless a distinct Sanskrit element in the latter, and it is quite natural that in the evolution of Hinduism from primitive conceptions to profound metaphysical ideas, which were expressed in the Sanskrit language, the Dravidian term would give place to the more elegant Aryan word, especially as the caste system became transferred by the Aryans and finally emerged in a totally new and perhaps Aryan form, as the Anglo-Saxon "sheep" became French "mutton" when it appeared as food for the higher classes.

Here then is a clue which, if followed up, may lead us to the desired religious origin of caste. The custom in Samoa of revering animals as vehicles of the gods has been mentioned, and there is no doubt that animals play a considerable part in the ancient Indian mythology, both as vehicles for the gods and also as incarnations of the deity. Thus Garuda is the vehicle of Vishnu, who is also guarded by the serpent; Siva rides upon the Bull of Nandi, Hanuman is the monkey, and Ganesha the elephant, while Vishnu has appeared as a tortoise, a fish, and a boar, even if we exclude the avatar of Narasimham. These are evident traces of totem worship; the analogy with Samoan custom is obvious, and the inference is further strengthened by the known inviolability of the cobra, the bull, and the monkey—an inviolability which is shared by the peacock. What may be the exact degree of reverence in which the kite and the elephant are held, I do not know; it is not so obvious—at any rate to the European, who kills cobras without mercy as dangerous reptiles, slaughters cattle for food, and only refrains from killing monkeys from sentiment, since the wounded monkey behaves so much like a human being that to kill him savours of murder. Nobody wants to kill the kite and few people get the chance in the case of the

elephant, which moreover is strictly preserved. Peacocks, of course, are fair game, if by shooting them you do not offend local sentiment. The sacredness of the kite may be illustrated by a curious custom at Tirukazhikundram, near Chingleput, where every day a Brahman lays out food for the birds and every day two—exactly two and no more—come from nowhere and take it, as I can personally testify. The veneration for the monkey is conspicuous at Alwar Tirunagari in the extreme south, where he has become so tame as to be a regular nuisance, and again at the Tirtham, near Tirupati, and on the way to the great temple where he pesters the pilgrims, snatching bananas out of their hands and head cloths from their heads. Doubtless there are more cases in plenty; let those be presented which are first hand. In leaving the point, we may note in passing the analogy from Greek religion, where Zeus is associated with the eagle, and in the character of a bull seduces Europa; Hera is accompanied by the peacock, and Athene by the owl. This is at least significant.

We are now to consider whether there is any connection between the sacred character of these animals and totem worship, or something akin to it, in the conditions of ancient India. Dr. Oldham, who has been at great pains to discuss serpent worship in India and to establish its connection with the worship of the sun, remarks:

"Who was Garuda? We find from the Mahabharata that the Garudas inhabited one of the provinces of Patala. . . . A list of forty-eight Garuda chiefs is given, and it is said that only those are mentioned who have won distinction by might, fame, or achievements."

And he thus answers his own question:

"Garuda, or the eagle, was therefore the totem of one of the Solar tribes of Patala. . . . Garuda is described as tearing the bodies of the Yakshas and devouring the Nishadas; also as destroying the elephant and tortoise which represent Solar tribes." Krishna, he points out, is distinguished by the auspicious sign "Srivatsa," which is also the sign of the Garudas, and therefore the adoption of Garuda as the vahanam of Krishna and as his ensign in battle is only a figurative way of saying that Krishna led into battle a tribe of warriors whose totem was the eagle or kite. Similarly it may be argued that the army of monkeys which Rama led to Ceylon and who it will be remembered are essentially southern, represent a tribe whose totem was the monkey, and hence their leader, Hanuman, was *the*

monkey and is always so represented in painting and sculpture. The same argument would of course apply to the squirrels. It is possible that a similar line of reasoning might account for the elephant head of Ganesha, the serpent hood of Vishnu and his animal avatars. The serpent hood may no doubt be placed in the category of Vahanams, but the others would seem to rest upon such obscure foundations that it would be unsafe to base any theory upon them. The explanation usually given of Ganesha's head is that the elephant is regarded as a type of sagacity; that seems too simple and too modern to be the true one. I do not pretend to have solved that particular point, only to have indicated a direction in which research might be made. Dr. Oldham gives no reasons; he states the fact, probably because he considered that no proof was necessary, partly perhaps because as he was investigating the worship of the sun and the serpent, he was not directly concerned with the point. But all that we know of totem worship suggests that he is right. In Australia, we read, the aboriginal tribes are divided into sections of phratries which again are subdivided into totem clans. In some parts it appears that the phratries have no names, the original plan having been superseded by the greater importance of the totem clans. Thus phratry "A" will contain the tribes of the Crow, the Snake, the Lizard and the Eagle-hawk, phratry "B" those of the Wolf, the Owl, the Bat, and so on. In a savage state of society, which remained unprogressive either in culture or in numbers, this arrangement would still hold good; but amongst a vigorous and energetic people it is bound to have become modified. The spirit of nationality or rather of tribal unity would assert itself, and so in time would be formed kingdoms or principalities like those of Israel and Judah, separate in themselves, but claiming descent from a common ancestor. Mr. Andrew Lang has advanced the hypothesis that the phratry, far from being a segment of a larger group, was itself formed as the "result of an alliance of two groups, already exogamous and intermarrying." Thus he would build up from below, and by an extension of the same principle the phratries thus formed would tend to coalesce into a single tribe which owned the same totem.

We are now dealing with a time long anterior to any written record. In the course of centuries the arts were developed; cities and towns came into being; tribes coalesced into nations or territorial units; religious ideas became more elaborate and wars more highly organized.

Cultivation on something like scientific lines took the place of the primitive idea of burning the jungle which still persists among aboriginal peoples. Consequently the old notion of the family totem died out, and the totem of the tribe now became emblematic, so that armies marched under the standard of the eagle or the monkey, just as at Barnet the Star of the De Veres was opposed to the Sun of Edward of York. But though the family totem died out, the idea remained. The religious sanctions were not lost, but the tribe now tended to crystallize into families or clans on occupational rather than on totemic lines. Occupations tend to be hereditary, and also to congregate round a centre. That this happens in England today—that Manchester is devoted to cotton and Yorkshire to wool, Northampton to boots, and Sheffield to cutlery—is perhaps largely due to the elaboration of modern industrial life; but the tendency is noticeable even in London, where Fleet Street is the home of journalism, and where in other places particular crafts congregate. Obviously the men of any given craft find it convenient to have others in social proximity so that each may help the other, and so we find in India also where weavers' and goldsmiths' streets may now be due to caste, but also serve the same ends as do the London streets. Thus the Wolves tended to become weavers, the Owls carpenters, the Hawks blacksmiths. In other words, the caste was not the direct product of occupation, it pre-existed it, but was adjusted later to suit the new conditions. It may be objected that this does not account for its rigidity; you cannot expect all Owls to become carpenters, so that the totem clan exactly coincides with occupation. That is of course quite true; to imagine otherwise would be contrary to all human experience. Hence the word "tended." No doubt some of the Wolves took to carpentering, and some of the Owls to weaving, and by slow—possibly imperceptible—degrees as the clan lost its totemic character the Weaver Owl would become recognized as a weaver and virtually became a Wolf; that is to say, that the castes did readjust themselves during an uncertain period of time, as they settled down upon occupational lines. When once they were so settled they became static within themselves, and no longer admitted candidates from other clans. But rigidity did not bar subdivision, and in this sense evolution continued and continues. Dr. Slater points out as one of the facts which favour the occupational theory that "new castes tend to arise in consequence of changes in methods of industry," and in an earlier chapter

gives an instance of the subdivision of castes on these lines.

A further objection may be made that castes tend to split but never to amalgamate. No doubt at the beginning men must have come together to form a caste, but the caste once formed was rigid; if therefore caste had its origin in the totem clan the association was ready-made and it is contrary to caste custom to argue that it was fluid. The Owls therefore would be carpenters which might split into sub-castes, but would not have admitted outsiders into the carpenters' guild. The objection itself involves the assumption that the totem clans observed the same rigid rules as the later institution, that the transitional period was comparatively short, and that we are justified in applying modern rules to ancient times. It may be regarded as certain that totemism was always closely connected with marriage laws or customs. The subdivisions correspond very roughly to families though not necessarily closely related by blood, the phratries to the caste which was made up of these "families," and as was suggested earlier, the combination of phratries led to the formation of the tribe. Now it is somewhat significant that in Australia there is only one tribe in which marriage is allowed within the totem clan; the usual rule in totemic societies is that one phratry should marry into another phratry; that is to say, though the analogy must not be pushed too far, one caste should marry into another caste. This then is the very antithesis of Indian custom, the essence of which is that caste should marry within caste. And if the analogy could be carried to that length no doubt it would seem to be fatal. But human institutions do not work like that; they proceed by evolution, and not by fitting a cut-and-dried scheme into a new case. What therefore is more important for our purpose is that in this totemic system of marriage without the totem but within the phratry we can perceive the germs of endogamous and exogamous limitations which are still a feature of Hindu marriage. It would not indeed be safe to assert anything more definite. In the great majority of the totem tribes of Australia a totem family must marry into a totem family belonging to the opposite phratry, but the practice is not universal, and we cannot argue that what happened or happens in Australia must necessarily agree in all details with what happened in pre-historic India.

(To be continued.)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

REPORT ON THE CONDITIONS AND PROSPECTS OF BRITISH TRADE IN INDIA. By H.M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India and Ceylon. (*H.M. Stationery Office.*) 3s. net.

(*Reviewed by A. L. SAUNDERS, C.S.I.*)

POLITICAL discussion is seldom optimistic; in the case of Indian political discussion in particular the prevailing note is that of rhetorical gloom. Between the "bleeding to death" of anti-Government writers, especially those of British race, and the "lapsing into anarchy" of reactionary die-hards, the future of India is usually painted in lines of earthquake and eclipse. It is a relief to turn to a report marked by practical common sense and business calculation; the relief becomes greater when the result emerges as indication of material and growing improvement. Indian poverty is not to be denied, but trade steadily increases, the financial situation is stable, the public debt diminishes, and, best of all, the working-class cost of living grows steadily less. The percentage of this last over July, 1914, was 73 in 1923; it was 54 in 1927, and 47 in the year under report.

That the public financial position of India is satisfactory may possibly be connected with the fact that the technique of financial management is seldom the concern of her politicians. An exception occurred when the Bill for creation of a Reserve Bank to take over the control of currency and credit and reform the monetary and banking machinery of the country was, for reasons entirely apart from finance, smothered by the Assembly. India has escaped currency crises of a serious character, and her rulers have refused to listen to inflationist sirens. In the matter of debt she enjoys exceptional blessings. "If the recent rate of progress is continued," said Sir Basil Blackett in his final Budget Speech, "our unproductive debt should vanish altogether in about twelve years." To us Europeans who can hardly bear to look at our National Debt figures this state of things seems idyllic, a return of the Saturnian kingdom. The result is seen, more prosaically, in the prices of Indian stocks. The $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Indian Government Rupee Loan, for instance, has risen from 57 in 1923 to 76 in the current year.

The foreign trade of India has, the report tells us, made steady progress. One item in particular gives a sidelight on the internal security of the country. Bullion imports have fallen. "The decrease in the imports [of gold]," says the Currency Controller, "during the last two years, as compared with the pre-war imports, is very striking." That means security and confidence. The Indian public is ceasing to hoard; it invests. Another import that has decreased is cotton textiles. This is due to the develop-

ment of the Indian cotton industry. It is not because of Mr. Gandhi's boycott. In that no one but the mahatma himself ever believed, though there were those who found it a useful slogan. Britain, it is satisfactory to observe, keeps her proportion of India's external trade. The only foreign country which has acquired a substantially larger share is the United States. This Mr. Ainscough ascribes principally to the superiority of American salesmanship. His remarks are pertinent, and deserving of close study. But effective as American methods are, they are only applicable to certain classes of goods, and it would be hardly advisable for British firms to copy them exactly. For dealing with the Indian masses there should be no attempt to supersede the Indian retail trader, whose careful shrewdness and intimate knowledge of his connection will always be indispensable to any popular distribution on a large scale. He wants knowing; he is not exactly pro-British, much as he values security, and he can stand on his dignity, but if tactfully approached and handled he may be an agency of the utmost value.

Aerial navigation has received special attention, and the account of its development is specially interesting. There has been progress also in railway construction. But the great railway problem, the one that above all others would affect trade between Britain and India, is not mentioned. It never is in official reports. Two great countries—two only—with no insuperable natural obstacles to overcome, maintain their isolation from the railway systems of the world. They are Britain and India. The Channel Tunnel would be child's play to modern engineers, and the Seistan desert no great obstacle. The objections are believed to be military, but during the war our Army had good cause to lament the unborn tunnel. The lack of a means of entering India by land might yet be regretted when too late.

Mr. Ainscough and his Department are to be congratulated on a valuable and fruitful report.

THE WORKING OF DYARCHY IN INDIA, 1919-1928. By Kerala Putra. (Bombay: *D. B. Taraporevala, Sons and Co.*) 4 Rs. (6s. 6d.). 1928.

(Reviewed by SIR H. VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.)

The author of this book claims to have been saved from political partisanship by much observation of the proceedings of the Central Legislature of British India and of one Provincial Council. His claim is supported by various extracts from newspapers which are printed on the paper cover, but not by certain passages in the book itself, more especially in the chapter headed "Political Conditions." More than a page, for instance, is devoted to quoting Sir Valentine Chirol's account of the tragedy of the Jallianwala Bagh, while not a word is said about the violent rioting, destruction of property, and murders of Europeans which preceded General Dyer's action.

It would be a waste of time to discuss Kerala Putra's account of the working of Dyarchy and of the present constitution of British India. These subjects have been more briefly but clearly and adequately dealt

with by the authors of "*India : The New Phase*" (Westminster Library). They are now receiving careful investigation from the Simon Commission and the various committees of the Indian Legislatures. Whether the general verdict will be as favourable as Kerala Putra anticipates remains to be seen. His proposals for the future are briefly these :

He considers that the powers of the Secretary of State must be largely curtailed. What is taken from the Secretary of State must go to the Legislative Assembly. He will still possess effective power in matters affecting Imperial and foreign policy, and to a less extent in "vital changes affecting the constitution." But he must no longer control the internal policy of the Government or interfere with "the daily matters of administration." The Governor-General will continue to represent the British Crown and Cabinet in relations with the Native States and neighbouring Powers. But in his capacity as the chief governing agent he will be responsible to "the Indian Legislature"—presumably the Legislative Assembly, as Kerala Putra has no use for the Council of State. The Central Government in British India must have a Prime Minister and Cabinet dependent on a majority in the Legislative Assembly.

In the provinces there must be unitary governments removable by and responsible to the Legislatures. This means provincial autonomy ; but the power of the Central Government must remain unimpaired over "a vast variety of subjects in view of India's peculiar social, political, and racial structure." There are to be no second chambers in the provinces, as the Council of State at headquarters has, in our author's opinion, been a failure. He lays down, however, that "where provincial jealousies are great, and the particularism of nations in formation or already in existence is so keen as in India, the most essential thing, if political unity is to be preserved, is to maintain a powerful Central Government." But what he fails to realize is that the Central Government which he proposes would, in India as she stands today, be an eminently weak and variable form of government, quite unable to maintain its authority even for a year without the whole backing of Great Britain.

Nor does he see that from its establishment one result would follow which he is particularly anxious to avoid. Let us quote his words : "No one in India wants a weakening of the Executive power of the essential Services which have done so much to establish a united administration over so vast an area. The power of organization, the executive efficiency, and the methods of administration which the Indian Services represent are among the most valuable assets, and constitute the basis on which every future Government of India has to be raised. The greatest credit is due to the British people in having provided India with this strong and durable administrative foundation. No less is the credit of having developed Provincial Services, mainly Indian in personnel, but deriving their administrative tradition from the all-India Services, which were essentially British in character. It is the existence of these two bodies—one thoroughly British in principle and mainly British in personnel, and the other deriving its inspiration from the superior Services, but manned

entirely by Indians—that makes the progressive realization of self-government possible."

Exactly! But as India now is, no impartial person can doubt that were the changes previously recommended by Kerala Putra to become law these essential Services would deteriorate very rapidly indeed. On this point there can be no doubt whatever. The safeguards which he proposes for them would prove quite illusory.

Kerala Putra's observations on the franchise and on communal representation show that he is fully aware of the great difficulties involved in the settlement of these questions. The representation of the untouchable classes is another difficulty. He apparently contemplates no change in the control of the Army, but is not explicit on this point. But in an India which is often swept by waves of communal or political agitation, and is depicted as ripe for the introduction of a full-blown parliamentary system, the control of an army which is not, and never can be, proportionally representative of her various races and peoples is a question of primary importance. It cannot be left in a corner.

There is no use in proposing for India a constitution which will not effectually function. What constitution will function is the problem which Sir John Simon and his colleagues are laboriously endeavouring to solve. With that real and genuine co-operation which consists in a willingness on each side to grasp realities and understand opposite points of view, difficulties would greatly lessen. But, in any case, they would require most patient and dispassioned investigation.

COW PROTECTION IN INDIA. By L. L. Sundara Ram, M.A., F.R.ECON.S. (LOND.). (Mint Street, Madras: *The South Indian Humanitarian League*.)

(Reviewed by S. N. MALLIK, C.I.E.)

This is the first volume of the writer's interesting monograph on the problem of cow protection in India. The publication of the volume is opportune, especially in view of the tremendous importance which the problem has gained at the present day. Not one day passes by without some hitch between the two prominent communities in India—the Hindus and the Muhammadans—and in every one of these serious social aberrations the cow question figures prominently along with the one of Music before mosques. Mr. Ram's contribution to this age-long question is mainly educative, in that a dispassionate study based on original sources is offered us in this book.

Mr. Gandhi summarized the whole question in a memorable sentence, "The cow is a poem of pity." Surely the cow question is not such a really unsolvable one. All that is wanted is an earnest desire on the part of the educated and the religious-minded of both these communities to see the bearings of the problem in its proper perspective and without any bigotry, and an endeavour to clear up the prejudices of the masses. Mr. Ram's study in this volume is a thorough attempt towards a *rapprochement*

between the two communities. Writing as an orthodox Brahmin, Mr. Ram has the courage to declare on the basis of religious texts that cow protection is not the hegemony and the particular privilege of the Hindus, in that ancient Hindus were not unknown to eat beef and prescribe cow and bull sacrifices. Again, on the Muslim side, he shows in a clear manner that cow sacrifice is not an essential tenet of Islam. On the other hand, he endeavours to gather evidence, however meagre, that the Prophet and the Muslims in general endeavoured to prize the cow as a very valuable asset in agriculture, and that in the mediæval age Muslim sovereigns, including even Aurangzib, endeavoured to meet the Hindus half-way, and promulgated ordinances for cow protection throughout the Empire. The chapters on the Muslim Outlook and the History of Cow Protection in India are worthy of serious perusal.

The second volume of Mr. Ram's monograph dealing with the economic side of the problem is to be expected with great interest, as it is the side of the question that should be borne in mind by every serious-minded son of India for whom the polemic, theological, and historical ground has been cleared up with admirable thoroughness in this present modest volume.

The get-up is a fairly decent one for the Indian Press, and the volume would have gained much by the preparation of an index, which is wanting in the present edition.

GENERAL

STALKY'S REMINISCENCES. By Major-General L. C. Dunsterville. (*Jonathan Cape.*) 7s. 6d. net.

Discussing (on the first page of this autobiographical sketch) his family name and its origin, General Dunsterville remarks that the anagram into which it can be converted is "Never sit dull." After reading the book, most people will agree that it is a most apposite summary of the General's life and character. The story it tells is of a life passed, as so many lives are passed, almost entirely outside Britain up to the day of retirement. Officers of the Indian Army appear every four or five years for a few months at home, and disappear again, and few but their own immediate relatives know anything about the conditions under which their lives are lived. A book such as this is for that very reason of the highest value. General Dunsterville has succeeded in what might seem to be an impossible task. He has, without saying a word which might hurt any single individual of the thousands he met during his service, given a wonderful picture of Indian Army life as he saw it during the last forty years. The soul of discretion in his references to others, he is the acme of candour in his references to himself. "In those hectic years from 1890 to 1894 I freely burnt the candle at both ends, having hard work all the day, and social pleasures amid the gaieties of Lahore that kept me up most of the night. . . . At that cheerful and reckless period of life I do not think any income would have been large enough for me" (p. 108); "I don't want to go out to dinner, but once I get there I never want to go home

again" (p. 118); "I had no money, but I seldom have had, and there are ways of getting round that difficulty" (p. 216), are merely a few specimens taken at random to show the spirit in which the book is written, a spirit of frankness so complete that it silences censure before it is uttered.

Naturally we would expect so lively and energetic a character to see the humorous side of life, and we are not disappointed. Some of the General's stories deserve to become classics. The Chowdry's earnest query, "Please, sir, is tombstones Mess Guests?" (p. 72), is hard to beat, but is perhaps exceeded by the Babu's attempt at a "permanent shooting pass" for an Indian officer: "Jemadar Punjab Singh has permission to be absent from his quarters for the purpose of playing hunting with himself for ever."

It must not be thought that there is no serious side to this book. General Dunsterville has much of great interest to say about the foundation and difficulties connected with the management of the U.S. College at Westward Ho! immortalized by Rudyard Kipling in "Stalky" (pp. 199 and ff). His few remarks on Russia (pp. 146-8) are based on a profound knowledge of the language and people. About India and its political problems he is very reticent until the last few pages of the book (pp. 287-291), when he allows himself some reflections which are well worth the serious attention of any student of Indian problems.

The whole book is the reflection of a vigorous and compelling personality, shown at its best in the strange and romantic expedition with which General Dunsterville's name will for ever be linked in the word "Dunsterforce."

THE MIND AND FACE OF BOLSHIEVISM. By René Fülöp-Miller. (*G. F. Putnam's Sons, Ltd.*) 21s. net.

(Reviewed by STANLEY CASSON.)

This book will remain for many years the standard work upon Bolshevism if only because it is the first really impartial account that has yet appeared. Its great importance as a study of Bolshevism is that it tackles the problem from a purely objective and scientific standpoint, and not from the point of view of a person whose whole mode of life is already dedicated to a social structure that is either identical or opposite. What Mr. Fülöp-Miller's real views on social philosophy are we never really discover—and this is the chief merit of the book.

Modern writers on Bolshevik Russia treat the subject much as Europe treated Turkey in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—as a terror to be feared and an amazing phenomenon to be examined. Hence in those days as now countless earnest travellers set out for these strange lands ready to see portents and prodigies and to record almost fabulous tales. The Turks then, as the Russians now, saw that they were not disappointed. But the pathetic fact remains that there is no European work of the sixteenth or seventeenth century (when the Turkish Terror was most formidable) which gives us the smallest inkling as to the real life of Turkey, simply because the traveller always started out with the certainty of his own

superiority and the essential righteousness of Christianity. Perhaps one man alone, that wise ambassador Busbecq, found the heart of Turkey. So now Mr. Fülöp-Miller has found the heart of Bolshevism. And a strange and barbaric heart it is. We learn more from Mr. Fülöp-Miller's account of Bolshevik porcelain factories for the production of propagandist tea-sets, from his description of the amazing public statuary and the nightmare-drama that represents one (though not the present) phase of Bolshevism. Ten years is a long time, and the Bolsheviks have had just as many political and social changes during their period of control as we have had during a similar period. The author illustrates these changes by a wealth of evidence (of which the photographic is one of the most important) which covers every phase of social activity.

The most interesting general conclusion that emerges is that Bolshevism is based upon what is most characteristic of all Russian qualities—the capacity for mass-action and mass-feeling, which itself is the oldest of the national characteristics which distinguish Russia from most Occidental countries. This unusual quality is itself derived from the long history of serfdom which moulded the people into a more or less undifferentiated mass and kept them free from the more modern social developments and changes. Revolution has merely adapted to its ends this strange aspect of society in Russia and moulded the spirit and outlook of a serf-life into a very convenient and suitable "mass-action" and "mass-theory" which underlies the whole movement. The subordination of the individual comes easily to the Russian because it is what he has been accustomed to do all his life. Bolshevism is a change of masters and an appearance of freedom because the masses are encouraged to think that it is they who are in control; masses, as such, can easily be made to believe in what, after all, is a government that is not wholly out of tune with the life to which they are accustomed.

This book is thus a profound psychological and social study of a movement which must be examined historically and scientifically rather than tested by the political tenets and beliefs to which other countries have for centuries been habituated. No one interested in modern Russia can afford to leave this book unread.

THE RELATION OF INDIAN STATES AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

By K. M. Panikkar. (*Martin Hopkinson.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR RICHARD BURN, C.S.I.)

The appointment of the committee presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler to examine the relationship between Indian States and the Crown and the economic relations between those States and British India serves as a reminder of the importance of the States, particularly at a time when the administrative system of British India is also under consideration. Mr. Panikkar's book thus appears at a time when a study of the subject should be particularly valuable. Unfortunately the author has allowed himself to become possessed by the idea that the Government of India, with the

sanction of the British Government, have constantly been actuated by a desire to limit and control the authority of the rulers of the States in a purely arbitrary fashion. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

The nature of the relations between the rulers and the Government of India has always been difficult to define in general terms, and the problem has sometimes been obscured by applying terms used in Western public law. Neither Parliament nor any legislative power in India at present makes laws to affect the jurisdiction of princes over their subjects within their States. Nevertheless, the Government of India, under the British Government, has exercised and still exercises control over foreign relations and military affairs, and over the way in which the princes exercise their authority to ensure a reasonable security for their subjects and the absence of injury to the interests of British India.

Mr. Panikkar argues from the terms of the treaties, engagements, and grants relating to the States that three classes may be distinguished—viz., those the rulers of which, owing to the terms of their early treaties, enjoy full and absolute sovereignty; those who, though treaty States, enjoy jurisdiction and legislative powers, only under supervision; and thirdly, those whose rights are based on grants, and he appears to argue that the Government of India must be content to sit with folded arms regardless of what is done or left undone by rulers of the first class. Such a contention cannot be accepted, and is indeed not generally put forward by the rulers themselves.

In his limited space Mr. Panikkar has not been able to trace the history of the relations, which clearly shows how the status of the East India Company itself changed from that of one of a number of petty powers in India to that of suzerain over all. He omits to mention the disastrous results of the policy of non-intervention attempted at the close of the eighteenth century, which by 1817 had produced forces of 150,000 armed men with 500 cannon in Central India, whence they made constant incursions into British India. Recent affairs have shown that a return to non-intervention would have disastrous results to the subjects in both the States and British India. Mr. Panikkar himself admits that the position of State subjects is not entirely acceptable to educated Indians in British India.

Sir Harcourt Butler, speaking with long knowledge of Indian States, recently expressed the opinion that the standard of administration has advanced and is advancing, and that too much should not be made of occasional and exceptional lapses. The chiefs themselves are anxious, not so much regarding interference by the Government when lapses occur, as to the method in which this should be done. And they are still more concerned because they feel that their position is being affected by the changes in the constitution of British India, and they do not contemplate with satisfaction the transfer of such control as is now exercised by the Government of India to legislatures in India, or to Indian officials responsible to such bodies. Mr. Panikkar briefly mentions the Chamber of Princes which was constituted by the King's proclamation of 1921 as a permanent body which the Viceroy might consult on general matters

affecting the States, or affecting those territories jointly with British India and the Empire. It is not concerned with internal affairs of individual States or the relations between individual States and Government. Mr. Panikkar is vague as to the future. He does not describe how far the Chamber has been acceptable to the Princes, or discuss the question whether their discussions have been fruitful; he thinks that development of the institution, after exclusion of the large number of chiefs in his third class, is desirable.

Apart from the distorted representation of the motives of Government in their dealings with the States, the book is marred by a number of mistakes and omissions. The quotation from M. Chailley at pp. 110-11 is not that writer's opinion as is suggested here, but the complaints of interested persons regarding interference. M. Chailley himself adds (p. 261 of his book): "To pleadings of this sort the British Government has, unfortunately, but too good a reply." The Nawab of Rampur should be mentioned as recipient of the G.C.V.O. (p. 76). Ajmer is in British territory, not in a State (p. 78). The account of affairs in Manipur in 1891 omits mention of the murder of the Chief Commissioner of Assam and other persons (p. 93). There are numerous misprints, and the index is hardly adequate, but the bibliography contains a useful list of works.

FAR EAST

RECENT BOOKS ON CHINA

(*Reviewed by* BRIG.-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.)

It may be of interest to note first the International opinions we find expressed in some of these Far Eastern books under review. Count Sforza and Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt look at many of the well-known problems discussed from quite different angles from each other, or, it may be added, from the point of view of any British writer.

Count Sforza is, of course, well known as at one time Minister for Foreign Affairs in Italy, also as Italian Minister at Peking during a period of great importance—1911-1915. He was, as he reminds us, the last Foreign Minister but one to present his credentials to the last Chinese Emperor, or at least to the last Emperor of the Manchu dynasty. In addition, Count Sforza was in Peking as a youthful diplomat immediately following the Boxer Rising of 1900, and he revisited China and the Far East in 1927.

In Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt we have a well-known American journalist, traveller, and author of the highest standing. As a nephew of that great President, Theodore Roosevelt, Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt may be reckoned to be imbued with at least some of the wide views of his famous relative. In his breadth of vision of European affairs Theodore Roosevelt in many ways far exceeded that of any American President who for the last half-century has occupied that unique position.

L'ENIGME CHINOISE. Par Comte Sforza. (Paris: Payot.) 18 fr.

Was it worth while to write this book? asks the author of it in his preface. From most readers who follow the carefully weighed opinions expressed therein we think the answer will be that it was. *L'Enigme Chinoise*, written in French by an Italian diplomatist, is one more stimulating study of that extraordinary riddle, and, as already stated, Comte Sforza is well qualified for the task he has set himself. His style is perhaps less that of a writer of books than of an essayist. This book might be a collection of short essays upon various matters of peculiar interest connected with the present state of China. In some ways Comte Sforza's style is reminiscent of that of the late Earl of Cromer, when the latter was discoursing of men and matters Oriental, though we cannot expect quite the profound knowledge of the Oriental mind possessed in such a marked degree by that great Pro-Consul.

Like Lord Cromer, Comte Sforza has few illusions about the danger to their own countries of the free play in them of the semi-Westernized ideas of foreign educated students. Still less has he any doubts about "Nationalism" gone astray (pages 197, 198, 199). The "Nationalist" catechism set out in full on page 199 is a document which should be carefully studied by all readers anxious to understand the frequently quoted from but far less frequently read "San M'in" of Sun Yat-sen, though this is to anticipate.

In Chapters I. to IV. the author traces in outline the various links which foreign nations have, it may almost be said, forged for their own undoing at the hands of China—links which, unless gradually forged afresh threaten to render almost impossible their entire intercourse—political, economic, and social. In Chapter V. follow references to the surprising power of a new and ever-spreading vernacular press. In a later chapter come some distinctly pessimistic remarks upon the future of Shanghai, to all intents and purposes the economic capital of mid-China. To traders interested in the commercial importance of this extraordinary city built on the mud of the Whang-pu Comte Sforza is not particularly reassuring. Though the subject-matter of the chapter is more or less novel it might have been better handled.

Then come inevitable chapters upon the Customs, Salt, and Postal Services. Though these subjects are worn somewhat threadbare, they are of such vital importance to China's financial credit as well as to foreign investors that Comte Sforza's comments will be read with interest.

Chapters XII. to XIV. as well as pp. 193, 194, 195, merit special notice, for they discuss in detail and with knowledge not always available the future effect of Christianity in China—its spread or its ultimate rejection. Here is one of the world problems of tomorrow. There are those who look for the regeneration of China—indeed of the East in general—by means of other and purely material influences, and they may, of course, be right. Few persons with the necessary experience will be likely to deny that there are already in China other influences than Christianity which in the end will help to bring civilization and an altogether higher standard of social

life to China and the East in general; but can the 400,000,000 souls in China, as well as the 150,000,000 of their contiguous Russian neighbours, continue to repudiate Christianity and thrive morally and socially? There is no denying the magnitude of this question. It has lately been asked by an astute American observer who has returned from visiting Russia, "whether this break with spirituality in Russia and the attempt to establish a purely materialistic basis of life is fundamentally contrary to human nature" or, "will human nature, in the long run, assert itself in this as it is asserting itself in (Russian) economic life?" Herein lies one of the main problems of the future situation in China.

Final chapters describe the positions of the various Great Powers in China (p. 108), and are of special value as expressing the matured opinions of a writer well versed in European as well as in Asiatic diplomacy. So many writers upon China, especially American authors, have little, if any, knowledge of the interplay of European politics upon those of Asia.

In Chapter XVII. readers will find a very interesting account of the life led by Germans who no longer hold extraterritorial rights in China. In the following chapter Comte Sforza tells once more how Bolshevism first gained a foothold in the country, also how the U.S.S.R. carries on almost identically the Imperialist policy of pre-war Russia in Manchuria and Mongolia. The world is apt to forget the very material gains of the U.S.S.R. since the Great War by the seizure of Mongolia and the new rights acquired in Manchuria under the lately signed Chinese Eastern Railway agreement between China and Soviet Russia.

Discussing the policy of Japan towards her now awakened but leaderless neighbour, Comte Sforza wrote before, it should be noted, the typical happenings at Tsinan Fu.

Of the political wisdom of America in China our author evidently holds a high opinion (pp. 164, 165), though quite in what way it has so far shown itself to be worthy of commendation is not clear.

By no means the least valuable portion of this book is to be found in Chapter XXIII. Here are reprinted eleven "documents," all of very real value to serious students.

THE RESTLESS PACIFIC. By Nicholas Roosevelt. (*Scribners.*) 12s. 6d. net.

"Now that distance has been annihilated in the Pacific," writes Mr. Roosevelt, "and East and West stand cheek by jowl in Asia, a violent earthquake in Japan, or a typhoon in the China Sea may change the course of history in America." He might well have said in the world including America, for in these days the world is nothing if not international. Mr. Roosevelt continues: "The East, instead of being a region apart, is closely bound up with the politics of the world, and is directly affected by events in Europe." Finally, to point the moral to his compatriots, Mr. Roosevelt emphasizes, "Heretofore we Americans have been guided by sentimentality and ignorance, and have cherished illusions with surprising obtuseness and tenacity. We have complacently assumed that our fiat could remake the world, and

that we had a mission to 'reform the heathen.' Our tasks remain and our ideals are unfulfilled. The problem which we face is how to make these ideals effective."

Here we have examples of the author's outspoken style, and Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt is nothing if not outspoken. Our author is equally frank in criticizing other nations, as will appear later, but it is the frankness of one who has done his best carefully to study his subject. Mr. Roosevelt has obviously been at pains to inform himself at first hand about the numerous questions he mentions and the policies he criticizes in his book. Whether we agree with him or not most readers, be they British, Japanese, Dutch, or Russian, can learn something fresh about their own Asiatic foreign policies from studying Mr. Roosevelt's point of view.

In more ways than one, in more ways perhaps than he intended, the author has written a book well worth reading. If the opinions therein expressed in any way interpret American official opinion or the opinion of "plain" Americans upon the problems of the Pacific, they afford a striking interpretation of the ever-growing tendency to Imperialism throughout the United States of America. Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt probably considers himself as good a Republican as any of his fellow-countrymen, whether they come from the Eastern, the Middle Western, Western or Southern States, but nothing could be more Imperialistic—however unconscious—than some of his utterances upon America's Far Eastern policy, as he would shape it. Take for example one such. On p. 7 Mr. Roosevelt writes: "To Americans these questions of the Pacific have ceased to be purely academic, for the United States has been forced by geographical circumstances" (is this not the age-long cry of Imperialism?) "to play an important—perhaps a determining—part in this conflict of interests in the Pacific. Not content to make the Pacific coast her territorial limit, and to develop through the Golden Gate and other ports a flourishing trade across the Pacific, the United States has annexed Alaska and Hawaii, and established naval bases in Guam, the Philippines, and Samoa. The American people, to use a phrase of H. H. Bancroft, the historian of the West Coast, 'have plunged into the sea.' Henceforth their destinies will be affected by developments in the imperial ocean."

And to quote one more example (p. 205): "Our prestige," says our author, "will rise or fall according to our conduct in the Philippines, and with our prestige will rise or fall our influence in the East. America's interests in the Pacific are thus intricately interlaced. If our idealism is to be made practical, it must be supported by a consistent policy in which right will rest on fact rather than theory and, if challenged, will be supported by might."

If this is not Imperialism the reader may well ask what is. If confirmation of this tendency were needed we have it clearly and concisely supplied so late as in April, 1928. Speaking in his own State of Maryland, Mr. Ritchie, the Governor, gave utterance to these striking words:

"The nation," said Mr. Ritchie, "does not want Imperialism in terms of Empire, but the dollar is already acquiring it in terms of power. The

dollar may not dream of political Empire, but it does dream of markets. Our interests in other countries is largely interest in markets. Imperialism can be economic as well as political, and as dangerous in either case."

To British readers a chapter which will naturally appeal is that in which the author discusses "Britain the Conservator" (Chapter XI.). As everywhere in his book, Mr. Roosevelt endeavours to be eminently fair. But there are naturally certain statements open to challenge. Speaking of Shanghai and British trade in the Yangtze Valley, he remarks: "Everywhere in China the interests of British commerce have been fostered by governmental aid." Has this been the universal opinion of British merchants at Shanghai during the last decade?

Referring to reciprocity between Great Britain and the United States of America over the open-door doctrine (p. 142)—one of the few points where the two policies really harmonize—Mr. Roosevelt comments in a manner refreshingly frank on his own country's lack of co-operation with Great Britain in China.

Other chapters which should appeal to the reader possessing somewhat more than a nodding acquaintanceship with the problems of the Pacific are those entitled "Holland's Treasure Islands" (Chapter XII.) and "America and Americans in the East" (Chapters XIV. and XV.).

The stake of the Dutch in a peaceful Pacific is a matter frequently overlooked in any summing up of Far Eastern problems. In this chapter it is carefully outlined. As the author remarks: "Dutch inability to defend the Indies forces them to depend on Singapore for help in case of attack"; which, like American interest in the new naval base referred to in Chapter II. (pp. 24 and 25), should undoubtedly tend towards ultimate peace in the Pacific.

Another movement of the very greatest importance to which reference is made, one not always remembered by foreigners, is that known as "the Chinese Renaissance." What this may eventually mean to China as a regenerating influence no man can yet say. "Had the young Chinese," writes Mr. Roosevelt, "devoted half the amount of energy to considering constructive methods of improving the Chinese government that they have given to their denunciation of the foreign treaties, they would have hastened the realization of their aspirations for a China freed from foreign influence."

In this connection it may not be without interest to ask ourselves which of two Chinese names very well known today is likely to be remembered longest. One is that of Sun Yat Sen, erratic and unstable dreamer of dreams; the other that of Hu shih (Hu suh) the intellectual, the chief promoter of "the Chinese Renaissance."

Distributed throughout the various chapters of "The Restless Pacific" are many pithy remarks at times pregnant with meaning. For one at least (p. 238) room should be found:

"Intellectually," remarks Mr. Roosevelt, "most of the educated Orientals are more than the equals of the whites. But intellect alone is not enough to make a good leader. Most important is character—those

instinctive qualities of devotion to duty, of loyalty to a cause, of capacity to resist criticism, and to do the right thing regardless of personal consequences. Whether it is that these, being more highly cherished in the West, have been more developed among white men, or whether there be more subtle reasons, the fact remains that Occidental leadership, or its Japanese counterpart, is essential for progress and modernization."

Seldom has one of the causes of the present chaotic condition in China (July, 1928), been more concisely summed up. It is to a very great extent to the entire lack of men of character to guide the Chinese nation that much of its present condition is due.

CHINA AND ENGLAND. By W. E. Soothill, M.A. OXON., HON. M.A. CANTAB. (*Oxford University Press.*) 7s. 6d. net.

This book is the result of a course of lectures given at the request of the Oxford University Extension Lecture Committee by W. E. Soothill, Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford. Both of mission and educational work the Professor of Chinese at Oxford speaks with authority.

"I have spent," he writes in his preface, "nearly half my life in their midst (the Chinese), and most of my life in their service. That they have fallen once more on a period of disaster, and that their leaders have failed in the difficult task of guiding their great race into the peace and prosperity which the people deserve, calls for much patience and unflinching sympathy."

Much as we may agree with the latter paragraph, if we of the British race continue merely to proffer "patience and unflinching sympathy" without expecting any friendly return of these sentiments, are we acting in the best interests of China's inarticulate millions?

In his earlier chapters the author deals with the days when China first came into contact with the West. As he rightly emphasizes, "To understand the present, it is necessary to know the past," a remark which some latter-day writers upon "things Chinese" might well take to heart. That this early contact did not always run smoothly we know. Why this was so, one little incident of those days serves to show.

"In 1759," writes Professor Soothill, "Mr. Flint, the first Englishman known to have learnt Chinese, went north with a petition to the Emperor pleading for the amelioration of the oppression of foreign traders. He was expelled the country for his temerity, the Chinese writer of the petition was executed, the Chinese Superintendent of Trade dismissed, and the English merchants severely beaten."

In Chapter IV. (pp. 51 and 52) we find some frank speaking upon the position of missionaries in China so far as concerns extraterritoriality. "American missionaries," says the author, "through whose influence chiefly so many Chinese students have been educated in America, many at the expense of American missionary societies, have been the principal foreign protagonists for the abolition of the law of extraterritoriality."

They have visualized modern China as if it were under the direction of Chinese who have been trained in America. They have seen only the Chinese student who has been trained in the liberty, fraternity, and equality of the Declaration of Independence, as understood by the richest and most automobilized nation on earth. . . . There are, of course, among these American students many fine men, steady and silent. But others of them have joined the ranks of those who still refuse to look at the native root of China's woes, preferring to fix their unwavering gaze upon a few specks on the foreign leaves." Nor are American missionaries the only offenders. There are, as all are aware who have travelled in the interior of China, devoted men and women missionaries whose sole aim is the propagation of Christianity in its highest and best form. But there has in the past been too much political propaganda mixed with the teaching of a certain type of missionary, unconscious though it may have been.

In Chapter XI. we have yet one more pronouncement upon the Revolution, the fall of the Manchu dynasty, and the inception of the so-called Republic. Of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, Professor Soothill remarks: "Dr. Sun Yat Sen, grieving over the backwardness of his country, devoted his life to the overthrow of the Manchu Government, and as a destructive force his life may be described as successful." But this, the author elsewhere allows, is by no means the only epitaph the Kuomintang party allow him. Whatever foreign opinion may say about this extraordinary man, European doctor of medicine, entirely familiar with Western thought and culture, at one time pro-British to a degree, yet who ended his astonishing career upon a vehement and bitter note of anti-foreign declamation, he still remains the idol of the Chinese people who today accept Dr. Sun's "Three People's Principles" as the Magna Charta of modern China.

Of this political textbook the reader will find a summary in Chapters XII. to XIV. Whether the equally famous will, said to have been signed by Dr. Sun Yat Sen before his death, is genuine or not readers must inquire elsewhere. What is of profound interest to any one endeavouring to understand Chinese mentality, or it may be to find a possible avenue of escape from the present chaos in China, is to be told that this extraordinary political textbook is the *only* avenue, for this is what millions of Chinese believe. What must any foreigner think? Is it a case of *Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*? Or as Professor Soothill puts it (p. 179): "A book of similar quality, displaying such ignorance, rancour, and self-contradiction, would not cause a feather's ripple in the West. But in the Far East such a book, by such a man—China's Gandhi-cum-Lenin—is treated with the utmost seriousness. . . ."

WEIGHED IN CHINA'S BALANCE. By Paul King. (*Heath Cranton.*)
10s. 6d. net.

As might have been expected from a writer so well equipped for the task as Mr. Paul King, this judicial summing-up of China's grievances against the encroachment of the West has a special interest of its own.

At the very end of the book, in *L'Envoi*, the author for the first time informs the reader that the views therein recorded are not his own, which to the reviewer who had hoped that he was imbibing straight from the fountain-head seemed at first somewhat of a paradox. In any case, Mr. King's intention in writing this book cannot be better summed up than in his own words (p. 231) in *L'Envoi*:

"China is very old, but she is also marvellously young, and every day and hour may shift the scene towards a happier issue for her and for us. Let us hope and work for this.

"All through these pages I have repeatedly explained that the views therein recorded and described are in no sense my own."

Of the fourteen chapters most are concerned with showing the effects upon Chinese mentality of the clash of Western encroachment on its religious side. The last two chapters contain descriptions of the "disillusionment of the Great War" as the Chinese saw and still see it. Then comes the brief reference to Dr. Sun Yat Sen's "Three People's Doctrine," and to his comments on "the Russian Revolution," also to the Kuo Min Tang or "Nationalist" party. Of this latter Mr. King remarks (pp. 221 and 222):

"In order to win favour for their new Internationalism the Kuo Min Tang are inflaming native opinion somewhat one-sidedly and prematurely against what *they* call Imperialism. Their pronouncements and arguments are well worth examining, and in some aspects win both the sympathy and the assent of foreigners who, like myself, admire, understand and esteem what is best in China. But a great deal of their propaganda is not only negatively un-Chinese, it is actually more anti-Chinese than anti-foreign, being a hash of Western Socialism, Jacobinism, and other doctrinaire stuff that is quite alien to the fundamental principles of Chinese ethics and modes of government."

Of interest to readers not familiar with the inner teachings of Confucius and Lao Tzu are Chapters II. and III. Mr. King endeavours to unfold and explain the philosophy of both these great sages. What can hardly fail to strike any Christian student of Confucian philosophy who is meeting these maxims for the first time is the fact that they were enunciated 2,500 years ago—some 600 years before the birth of Christ—and that we still repeat many Confucian maxims as our own highest ideal of Christian virtue. Is it that our boasted civilization can carry us no further?

In adjusting his scales Mr. King makes no attempt to burke facts which many foreign writers on China are content to ignore. Speaking of missionary work (Chap. IX., pp. 134 and 135), he writes:

"Boys' schools of native origin were, of course, common enough all over China, but setting up girls' schools was another matter. Oriental views about women are (or at least were) quite unlike our own, and this should have been taken thoroughly into account before starting schemes to educate Chinese girls. . . . There was quite an idea, in connection especially with girls' schools, that the pupils would go home at intervals and spread the light of the Gospel in their dark heathen environment.

This was making considerable demands on little Chinese maidens, and the plan did not always work out according to the missionaries' hopes, as there was apt to be some confusion between what they meant to teach the children and what the children actually learnt, thanks to the foreign lady's partial ignorance of the language, misuse of tones, and other deficiencies. Then, after the little girls had absorbed impressions, which would have horrified their kind instructress had she realized what was happening (everyone is aware how children unconsciously distort things), let us try, with a sort of rueful amusement, to guess at the kind of gospel the little Chinese maids probably disseminated in their home circles."

But for Mr. King there still remains hope for a better understanding, and this he finds (p. 228) in the Student Christian Movement which some five and twenty years ago was organized in China.

That there are two sides to every question we are most of us aware. In presenting the Chinese side of this very debatable question, whether the West has or has not failed in its duty to China, Mr. King has at least been scrupulously fair.

THROUGH THE MOON DOOR: The Experiences of an American Resident in Peking. By Dorothy Graham. Illustrated with photographs by the author. (*Williams and Norgate.*) 215. net.

(Reviewed by MRS. FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.)

With sight and sound keyed to the highest pitch, Dorothy Graham, in private life Mrs. James Bennett, wife of an author who has devoted himself to Chinese subjects, passed light-heartedly up and down the streets of Peking a year or so ago. She lived beyond a moon door, and through the aperture—by its form it suggests perfection—envisaged the city which has exercised so strong a fascination over its inhabitants, both Eastern and Western, for many years.

That she leaves us this record is good. Peking seems like to change greatly during the next few years; already the tiles of its monumental buildings are being sold by avaricious guides to casual globe-trotters; and the distinctive life of a Far Eastern capital is changing rapidly for the monotony of a city great only by virtue of its past. With Dorothy Graham, however, the reader will once more experience the varied sights and sounds of Peking as it has been, and will hear of many of those amusing customs which have been the savour of life behind its colossal walls; nor does, so far as I know, any other so vivid a recital of these matters exist.

It is a pity, however, that Miss Graham does not confine herself to describing the sights and sounds that she has observed so closely beneath those incredibly blue skies. In approaching questions of legend and history, she is not so happy.

On page 166, for instance, she says: "in the same sanctuary abides Wên Ch'ang, God of Writing . . . back in mythical days Wên Ch'ang was the one who worked out a system of ideographs that would express human thought on paper. He found inspiration for his brush strokes by tracing

the footprints that birds had marked in the damp sand." This statement is in accord with neither fact nor fancy. The legendary individual who lived before the dawn of history and, inspired by bird tracks, invented writing, is Ts'ang Chieh; while the actual person who was after death created Wên Ch'ang, patron saint of literature, is said to have been a man named Chang Ya of the T'ang dynasty, A.D. 618-905. No erudition is needed to ascertain these details, as both individuals are mentioned in "A Chinese Biographical Dictionary" by Professor H. A. Giles, under numbers 1991 and 2301 respectively. On page 1, again, Miss Graham states: "To Peking we started, where—as Li T'ai-po has written—men called down the dreams of sunset into stone." I do not know what writing by the famous T'ang poet she has in mind, but I do know that the poet himself, who died A.D. 762, had long turned to dust when in A.D. 1420 the Ming Emperor moved his capital to the north, calling it Pei Ching (Peking) or Northern Capital, and proceeded to transform "sunset dreams to stone." When Li T'ai-po was alive the site of what is today Peking was but a frontier post called Yu Chou, and was where the devastating An Lu-shan rebellion had its rise.

It is a thousand pities that writers who are as talented as is Miss Graham should, albeit unconsciously taking advantage of the fact that nine-tenths of their audience are uninstructed in Chinese history, ignore historical accuracy. The Chinese names, too, are given without a thought, so at least it appears, of any recognized transliterative system.

The book, however, has great charm. Those who know Peking will find it a pleasant reminder; those who do not will gain a vivid impression of the principal city in the district Obedient to Heaven.

CHINESE BIRTHDAY, WEDDING, FUNERAL, AND OTHER CUSTOMS. By Mrs. J. G. Cormack. Third edition. (Luzac.) 15 illustrations. 8s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by N. M. PENZER.)

The fact that a third edition of this work has been necessary since 1922 is sufficient evidence of its success, and we can say without hesitation that the success has been well deserved, for it is brimful of most interesting information. But in saying this we make censure justifiable in the absence of any index. In previous editions an index might well have been considered unnecessary, but now that the work runs to over 200 pages such an excuse can no longer hold. The student of comparative religion, folklore, demonology, etc., has not the time to read all the books he consults, and many a fine work has been disregarded for an inferior one merely because it has no index.

The present reviewer has offered up many a silent prayer of thanksgiving on discovering a good index, and this excellent little work is worthy of one, as he hopes to show in the very brief remarks which follow. The work is divided into sixteen chapters, of which the first half deals with the birth,

wedding, and funeral customs. The second half is devoted to the description of the most important festivals and the influence of the spirit world. As we read through the first few chapters we find the authoress has set herself the task of recording in due order all the mass of intricate ritual observed on the occasions of the three main events of the life of the Chinaman. It has not been part of her object to give comparisons, to trace the influence of Buddhism as shown in the customs described, or to point to a Mongolian origin in this ceremony, or to an ancient Taoist belief in that one.

It is here that the student will make his notes as he reads. He will find, for instance, the colour red to persist throughout any ceremony of importance. It is the colour of joy, of life and good luck. We find it as much in evidence as at the Holi Festival in India.

The use of iron to frighten away evil spirits in the birth chamber finds its echo throughout the world (see "*Ocean of Story*," vol. ii., p. 166 *et seq.*); while the use of paper figures of all kinds in funeral ceremonies at once reminds us of the *ushabtis* of the Ancient Egyptian. It is interesting to note that Marco Polo gives us details of these paper figures, as he also does of the little houses built by the roadside along the route of the funeral procession.

These and many other most interesting observances should all find their place in an index, thus more than doubling the value of the work. Space will not permit any further discussion of the work, but we feel that sufficient has been said to show that Mrs. Cormack has made valuable addition to our knowledge of the customs of one of the world's most interesting peoples.

JAPAN

THE PILLOW BOOK OF SEI SHONAGON. Translated from the Japanese by A. Waley. 1928. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 6s. net.

The translator, one of the foremost scholars of Chinese and Japanese, first delighted us with an "English Version of Chinese Poems," and has since given constant proof of high attainment in these studies and in Far Eastern art. The best known of his works is perhaps the translation of the Japanese Arabian Nights, entitled "The Tales of Genji." The present volume is a volume of reminiscences of the same period as these "Tales of Genji" (about A.D. 1000) which give a fascinating picture of Japanese civilization of that period. The reader obtains a most extraordinary insight into the mind of Lady Shonagon and her highly cultured society. It is a matter of regret that the Western world has not the advantage of such literature at an earlier date, and in fact that we have nothing to equal a diary so witty and refined at that period in our literature. Mr. Waley has done more than given a mere translation—he has given necessary notes, a most difficult performance which every reader will heartily welcome.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1929

QUESTIONS FOR THE SIMON COMMISSION

I.—LAW AND ORDER

BY RAPPORTEUR

IF there be safety in the multitude of counsellors, the Simon Commission should be in small danger. The problem of India's future offers special invitation to students of politics in the vastness of the field, its stormy and exciting history, the varied characteristics of its peoples, the profundity and spirituality of its thought, the likenesses and unlikenesses of its civilization to that of the West. The relation of Britain to India seems sometimes to recall the man who held the wolf by the ears, and who could not hold on, but could not let go. England is depicted by her own and foreign nationals, sometimes as a providential guide and deliverer, sometimes as a conscienceless bloodsucker. In such pronouncements we find, more than in almost any other political discussions, a looseness of thought, a fondness for abstract formulas, an obscurity of phrasing and sometimes a positiveness of assertion which are due, on the Western side, to distance and lack of intimate experience; on the Eastern, largely to failure to assimilate European ideas, especially those of politics. It is not easy to eliminate these sources of error by the usual forms of discussion. Articles, essays and speeches mean the utterance each of a single thinker; they lack the instant criticism of associates equally well informed, equally well disposed, but each bringing to bear the pressures, slight but steady, that check deviation and keep direction constant.

It has seemed to some, therefore, that an Indian Study Circle comprising men of different experience and schools of thought, but all acquainted with Indian conditions interested in India's future and desirous of her welfare, might make useful contribution to the solution of the questions now before Sir John Simon and his colleagues by meetings and conversations of a friendly and informal

character at which such questions could be explored, in general and in detail, without dogmatic assertion or claim to authority. The subjoined attempt at expression of the ideas handled at the first meeting is given without reporting speakers' names. The general subject was that of Law and Order in India as affected in the past and likely to be affected in the future by political developments accomplished or impending. The names, it is repeated, are not given, but it is no breach of this rule to say that the speakers were all men of long Indian experience.

Law and order—that must of course always be the primary and fundamental requisite. “Good government,” said a British Prime Minister, “is no substitute for self-government.” That is partly an obvious platitude, partly a doctrinaire fallacy. Government must reach a certain standard of goodness, or there is an end of organic civilized life. When it has attained that stage, the necessity of self-government grows ever more insistent in comparison. Self-government in Russia at present does not enable her people to live. On the other hand, the better administration of the Germans was not enough reason for continuing them in power in Belgium. We may dispense in India with a measure of British efficiency provided we do not lower the buoyancy of the ship of State below the Plimsoll line. Would that be the result of dispensing with an All-India Civil Service and Police on present lines? Or can these last be articulated with a Ministry responsible to an elected representative body, not entirely free from anti-European feeling and chafing at any restraint on its powers? Let us consider further.

First it must be remembered that law and order are not, as sometimes spoken of, one and indivisible. You can have order, even effective and admirable order, without law, and in the East and over the greater stretch of history you usually do. Oriental despots may be credited with maintaining order, even when, perhaps especially when, they regard law as an abomination. Law is one method of ensuring order, but not the only one, nor is it the way the Indian masses would approve were they consulted. When a man whom everybody knows to have committed a hideous crime, who has been denounced by his accomplices and has himself confessed, is acquitted by the Courts on the grounds that general report is not evidence, that accomplices are not to be believed unless corroborated, and that a confession may not be accepted unless purely voluntary, the Indian peasant regards the result with bewildered

dismay. He knows how a Raja, how even a usurping Nawab would deal with such a case. But we cannot put back the clock, nor is it desirable that we should try to do so. Order, and justice between man and man, have to be maintained by juridical, not despotic means. But the former of these methods is the creation of the British and of them alone. They themselves only learnt slowly, painfully and hesitatingly, in the course of many centuries to regard the supremacy of law as an axiom of Government. It is but yesterday in comparison that the form of law, the outer shell, has been introduced into India.

The seed has fallen on favourable soil, the intellectual fertility of India has ministered to its luxuriant growth. But as for the spirit—that is another matter. How far much of the Indian mind is from assimilating the inner soul of law without which its rules and formalities can only strangle a nation's life may be judged from a single incident. A leading newspaper, having offended a certain Indian party, has been subjected to persecution by multiplicity of legal proceedings, both criminal and civil, the same complaint being lodged over and over again on the same ground in district after district where the paper has circulated. This points to a defect in the law, but still more does it point to a defect in the mentality and morals of the organisers. The form of law may be employed, but when worked in that spirit it becomes a mere mask for indefensible tyranny, all the worse for not being that of an identifiable ruler.

No advocate of Indian self-government proposes that law should be administered on other than Western lines. That principle cannot be given effect to without a substantial British element. Can that be retained in autonomous or nearly autonomous provinces? Certainly not in the present shape of organized All-India Services, the I.C.S. and Police, largely British in composition and wholly British in tone. Various adjustments were considered by our debaters and admitted to be impracticable. A British element can, of course, easily be obtained in any form of administration. British officials are largely employed by Indian states. Ours is an adaptable people; we have ranged the world too long not to be, and the search for employment by educated men in this country is now very keen. But any kind of Britisher, on any terms, will not do. The "ruling race" theory will not stand that strain. To put it plainly, the employment of inferior Britishers, not controlled and directed by colleagues and brother-officers, not members of

a Service, without traditions or *esprit de corps*, would do nothing or less than nothing to preserve that temper of administration which we have found to be essential if law, and not arbitrary will, is to govern. It is conceivable that the British should be dispensed with altogether; it is not conceivable that they be retained with enough authority to ensure the predominance of Western ideas, but not enough to impair the complete supremacy of office-holders working on non-European, nay, often on anti-European, lines. The same dilemma presents itself in other departments of Government, but only in the cases of the Army and the Law does it become vital.

These considerations have not escaped our shrewd constitution-makers. Their solution has won considerable acceptance. Give Law and Police to the charge of the Central, not the Provincial Governments, either directly or by the method of overriding control. Mr. Gokhale in his "political testament," entrusted to H.H. the Aga Khan and published in *The Times* of August 15, 1917, advocated "practically autonomous" provinces, but reserving to the Government of India, with an official majority in the Imperial Council, an overruling power to be exercised in emergencies. Mr. Montagu aimed at "a series of self-governing provinces and principalities, federated by one Central Government." With him Lord Chelmsford felt that "we should aim at the fullest measure of popular autonomy in the provinces, combined with a strong Government of India." One may note in passing that, here and elsewhere, the adjective "strong" is used as the antithesis to "elected" or "representative," but we are not now dealing with the question of the Constitution of the Central Government; that will come later.

For the present the solution we are offered is to remedy the defects of autonomy by dispensing with autonomy. Law cannot be administered or order maintained by sporadic swoops from above in emergencies. If the Central Government are to have responsibility for law and order, they can only discharge it by their judges, their magistracy, and their police. If they have those, there is no provincial autonomy or anything remotely resembling it. A point of this kind can be brought out in detailed discussion; it can be, and is, evaded or missed in individual pronouncements.

Here it was observed that we are treating the Government of India as something unique. Federal systems in which a Central Government keeps a hand, more or less close, on the constituent states, are common enough and

work well in practice. Let us consider them in detail. The three greatest Powers of the world are federal organizations. They are the United States, the German Commonwealth, and the British Empire. A fourth Great Power, Russia, has a federal name—it calls itself a Union of Republics—though it seems to be rather closely centralized in actual practice.

The working of the police and judiciary in these countries was compared, but without carrying our problem much further. In the first place, friction between central and state administrations is by no means unknown, and is occasionally serious. But there is a much more important element of unsuitability for our purpose. In all the three Great Powers mentioned the subordinate states are real organic sub-nations; in the United States and Germany they were the primary elements in the constitution. There is nothing to correspond to them in India.

Of course, a true federal system in India is possible; nay, more, it actually prevails over one-third of the country. Some political thinkers would actually solve India's problem on these lines. Constitute self-governing states for the whole of India, British as well as Feudatory, under an Imperial Protectorate. They must, however, be real indigenous institutions, the Nawab Nazim in Bengal, the Mahrattas in Bombay and the Central Provinces, the Nawabi in Oudh, Ranjit Singh's dynasty in the Punjab, and so forth, all on the old lines marked out by India's history through the ages. It is a possible system, but it is hardly desirable, and most certainly it is not compatible with representative institutions. The provinces of India have neither the Western nor the Eastern elements of nationhood. They have less even than India as a whole, for that has some community of civilization. Comparison, then, with other nations constituted on a federal basis affords no solution of our difficulties.

As remarked before, we are not attempting a final conclusion. One definite result emerges. If law and order, the control of the police and judiciary, is to be handed over to the provincial assemblies, the consequences must be faced. Control by the Government of India is no solution, neither is that by the Provincial Governor; the I.C.S. and Police Service cannot continue in their All-India form. The spirit of provincial nationality does not exist. Dyarchy will not work. The advantages of self-government are admitted; it is possibly the only solution of racial strife. But there is nothing to be gained by refusing to face the consequences.

INDIA'S THREEFOLD PROBLEM

A NON-PARTY QUESTION IN BRITISH POLITICS

BY L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, C.B.E.

(Foreign Minister of Patiala)

THE problems of India, fortunately for that country, have never been considered primarily from the standpoint of British party politics. In their handling of these problems, Conservative Governments have differed slightly from Liberal Governments, but the differences have proceeded perhaps as much from changing personalities as from any widely differing angle of approach. The present reformed Constitution in British India is generally associated with the name of a Liberal Secretary of State; but his work would have been impossible but for the foundations laid by a Conservative predecessor and for the enthusiastic co-operation of a Conservative Viceroy. Nor did the first Labour Government in any way depart from this healthy tradition of continuity. Indeed, its handling of the difficult situation in British India which marked its term of office, not only won for it the confidence of those who differed from it politically, but, in addition, came as a profound surprise to that section of extreme opinion in India which had hailed its advent as the coming of the millennium.

The real truth is, of course, that all three parties have fundamentally the same interest in Indian affairs; and it is an interest which belongs to British men and women as such, independent of the political party to which they happen to give their adherence. This interest in the last resort resolves itself into a series of simple propositions. First, everyone who has thought about the matter believes that it is for the ultimate good both of India and of Britain that the connection between the two countries should be maintained and indeed strengthened. Secondly, there is a general wish to see British India contented and prosperous, happy at its continued inclusion within the British Commonwealth, and working out its political salvation along sound lines. Thirdly, there is a feeling that the present discontent and uneasiness which characterize British Indian politics are not altogether healthy and contain elements of impatience, of racial distrust, and of an unwillingness to face

facts, which together suggest a doubt whether Britain's pledge regarding the progressive realization of responsible government in that part of India under her direct control is being worked out along quite the most suitable lines. Finally, there is the question, very acute in these times of industrial difficulty at home, of maintaining Britain's share of Indian trade in the face not only of world-competition, but of legislation, actual and threatened, of a discriminatory character.

It is along the lines of these four propositions that any Government which is returned to power as a result of the forthcoming elections may be expected to approach the present situation in India. Of themselves, however, they do not get us very far; they omit certain essential factors, and they need to be brought into relation with the real elements upon which that situation depends.

No one in Britain, of course, questions the validity of the pledge which Britain gave to British India in 1917. As a result of that pledge, whichever party has to take action upon the report of Sir John Simon's Commission will feel itself obliged to accelerate, and not to retard, the progressive realization of responsible government in British India. It is conceivable that the Administration in power might in certain circumstances decide that the steps hitherto taken to further this realization were not, after all, the most suitable; and that some other one of the several possible lines of approach had better be tried. It might, for example, be considered that while devolution in favour of the Provincial Governments ought to be pursued, circumstances required the retention, in the hands of the Central Government, of supreme authority within the spheres of action still reserved to it. It might even be thought wise to break up the present unwieldy British-Indian units of provincial government into areas more manageable in size, more homogeneous in population, offering greater opportunities for the cultivation of that civic spirit which is the real antidote to communal outbreaks and, incidentally, facilitating a future all-India Federation between British India and the Indian States. It would be open to any Government not merely to consider these and similar measures, but to carry them out. The situation in India still admits of them. No Government, however, could go back upon the pledge of 1917; it could only take new—and in its opinion more efficacious—methods for giving effect to it.

So much will generally be admitted. But this is not the

sole, or perhaps even the most important, element in the problem which will confront the new Government. It is vital to realize that as a result, partly of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and of the interest to which their working has given rise, and partly of strong, and in certain respects skilfully conducted, publicity, there has grown up a habit of mind, not only in those persons whose task it is to govern India, whether from Whitehall or Delhi, but also among the people of Britain, which looks upon Indian problems as though there were one factor and one only to be taken into account—namely, British India. Infinite difficulties have already been caused by this limited outlook, which is largely reflected both in the official mentality and in the popular press. For India is a parallelogram of forces; and if we even grant, for the sake of argument, that British India ought to stand for two of the sides, there still remain the other two to be accounted for, unless the balance of forces is to be overthrown. One of these sides is Britain and the other is the Indian States. The factors which together make up the Indian problem are three and not one; and to try and solve the problem of British India by isolating it artificially from the other two elements involved is scarcely more useful than "writing on sand with a saltspoon." Indeed, such an attempt is worse than unprofitable, it is purely dangerous; and it is largely because we as a nation have not kept in the forefront of our policy a determination to be just to Britain and just to the Indian States, as well as just to British India, that the situation in British India itself today is so difficult. We have allowed the left wing politicians to believe that they and their aspirations are all that matter in India; we have made over spheres of power and of influence which have encouraged the recipients to trespass upon the rights of other people; we have convinced many Indian Nationalists that our policy towards themselves is based upon no sort of principle, but is the direct result of the pressure which they themselves, through organized endeavour, have been able to exert upon us. Concession has followed agitation as the day the night. What wonder, then, that the political leaders of British India have concluded that there are no lengths to which their efforts, if sufficiently strong and sufficiently skilful, cannot compel or persuade us?

This hand-to-mouth policy really satisfies nobody; for it has no finality except with the end of the British connection. There is every reason to believe that we in Britain are the most to blame; and our main error lies in the fact

that we never made plain the relative position of ourselves, of British India, and of the Indian States, in the scheme of things Indian. In regard to all these matters, it is high time to clear up the position ; and whatever Government is called upon to assume the responsibility of dealing with India in the immediate future, must assuredly do so.

To take up an apologetic attitude about the position of Britain in India is useless. We are not intruders ; we have as much right to be in the country as any of the other communities who in their day held place and power which has now slipped from their grasp. Our record will compare favourably with that of any of our predecessors along the majority of lines ; and it is upon the foundation of the Pax Britannica and of the Western education that we ourselves introduced, that the present Nationalist movement in British India has been erected. To ignore the position which has been built up in India at the cost of valiant and devoted endeavour, in the hope that by doing so we may perchance conciliate irreconcilables, would be poor service, not merely to the Empire, but to India herself. For this position is among the essential factors of the situation ; and much of the difficulty of present-day politics in British India arises from the fact that certain sections of Nationalist opinion seem unwilling to allow Britain any part or lot in the future which she alone has made possible for the country.

Such unwillingness probably proceeds in no small degree from the hesitating attitude which many of our own spokesmen have adopted upon this important point. To lay stress upon our obligations, considering the relationship in which Britain stands to British India, is no more than right and proper ; we are pledged to the logical consequences of the development of those aspirations which we ourselves have fostered. But just as the Nationalist movement in British India would never have assumed its present shape but for our presence in India during the past, so does it seem unlikely that the goal that movement contemplates can ever be attained without the continued influence of Britain, in some measure at least, in the India of the future. It is towards the determination of that measure that the best constructive thought of both countries should be directed. Speculation as to whether Britain will give up India, or India go outside the Empire, are both alike for the present as far removed from reality as the mathematical abstract. The problem has to be solved, not by a process of alternate agitation on one side and of concession on the

other, but by sitting down together and thinking out the real needs of India, which necessarily involves a consideration of the rights and duties of all three of the parties whose interests the final solution must take into account.

Thus far, we have considered but two of the three elements which go to make up the problem of India—namely, British India and Britain. The third element, the Indian States, constitutes a factor of scarcely less importance—indeed, in many respects “Indian India” holds the key of the situation. Yet for years together, remarkable as it may seem, Britain and British India have been content to behave almost as though the third side of their common triangle did not exist. From this attitude harm has already resulted. Its continuance may easily prove disastrous.

Neither historically nor politically can the recent neglect of the Indian States be justified. The relationship which subsists between their rulers and the British Crown is, in the majority of cases, more than a century old. While the foundations of centralized administration were being laid, the States were our powerful allies or our doughty antagonists; but when once they had entered into their treaties and engagements with us they never looked back. The treaties vary in detail one from another, but share in common one important characteristic. They are in the nature of contracts by which, at the price of handing over its foreign relations and its right of war-making to Britain, each State is guaranteed in its internal and external security. The extent of a once-complete sovereignty which still resides in a particular State can only be determined by examining the actual engagements; but in every case the British Crown has, by the very nature of the bargain, certain ultimate rights of intervention to suppress grave disorders which may spread. These treaties the States have faithfully observed.

At the time of the Mutiny the vast majority of the States stood like rocks, and were the sole support of our crumbling Raj until reinforcements arrived. Our Western organization, in fact, proved inferior in point of stability to their ancient polities; and the masses in British India who had benefited most from our rule, showed no greater disposition to move a hand's turn to support an enlightened administration than their ancestors, who in times past had watched dynasty succeed dynasty and empire fall to empire with truly Oriental detachment. Had it not been for the great princes we were lost indeed. Again, when the last war broke out, the States of India knew no hesitation. All

their resources were at the service of the Empire ; and their instantaneous rally at once kindled and kept alive the war spirit of British India.

The power which they have so freely placed at our disposal in the past is still with them. The territories of the States comprise between a third and a half of all India, and stretch across every communication-line of strategic importance. Their subjects number more than seventy millions, and include some of the finest fighting races of the Empire. The martial tradition is still alive and active among them. The influence of the great princes extends far beyond the confines of their immediate dominions, and is a factor of importance throughout British India itself. Moreover, certain recent developments have operated to increase rather than diminish the political power of the States. For many decades it had been the policy of Britain firmly to discourage any consultation, correspondence, or joint action among them ; but when in 1921 the Chamber of Princes came into existence the States were for the first time able to speak with something like a common voice. They are now fast acquiring the consciousness of a corporate existence, and are beginning to realize, at long last, the true proportion of their stake in the future of India. It is significant that in the course of the last session of the Chamber of Princes the assembled rulers took the unprecedented step of throwing open their deliberations to the Press, and subsequently proceeded to carry without dissent, after firm and dignified support from prince after prince, a resolution declining to consider any proposals for an adjustment of relations between the States and British India which did not assume the maintenance of the British connection.

The attachment of the princes to the Throne and to the Empire is indeed one of the most encouraging features of the present situation in India. In combination with their material resources and their political influence, it promises to introduce a much-needed element of stability into the politics of the country. They have no desire whatever to interfere with the political progress of British India, but they hold a point of view which British India and Britain alike would do well to consider.

It is important to remember that the present attitude of the Indian princes is of gradual growth, although circumstances which need not be detailed have operated to prevent the fact being generally appreciated in this country. They have always prided themselves on standing

firmly to their treaty-relationship, and were for long content to occupy themselves with their domestic affairs, while leaving their external interests in our hands. But they have gradually come to realize that this is not sufficient to safeguard the position and secure the influence which—fortunately for Britain—it has ever been their joy to place at the service of the King-Emperor. They have found that the balance of affairs has declined against them; and in their view the fault is ours. They hold that while they have observed the treaties, we have not; not because we did not intend to do so, but because we fell into the habit of thinking that the interests of the States must always in the last resort give way to the interests of British India; and, further, because we did not realize that under the treaties certain rights, and certain rights only, vested in the Crown, while the residue remained with the States.

They are prepared to show that, particularly in the days before the Chamber of Princes came into existence—at the time, that is to say, when there was no possibility of joint consultation among the States—things were done by the Government of India which, however benevolent in themselves, or however advantageous to British India, ought not really to have been done at all. For their own part, they believe that the trouble lies in the fact that the Government of India does two separate things—it governs British India and it is the agent of the Crown for the purpose of the treaty relationship between the Crown and the States. It has thus been able, in their view, to put pressure of various kinds upon the States in order to oblige them to do the things which, in its other capacity of the executive government of British India, it happened to want them to do.

This condition of affairs was sufficiently unsatisfactory to cause complaint when the Government of India was British in composition; but now that there is a large British-Indian element the States feel that their chances of getting justice when their interests, particularly their economic interests, happen to conflict with those of British India, are remote in the extreme. Their recent experiences in connection with the high protective tariff which British India has adopted since 1920, is cited by them as a case in point. They say that the so-called grant of fiscal freedom to British India by parliamentary convention has, owing to the circumstances of geography, placed the States at the mercy of the politically powerful group of British-Indian manufacturing interests. The States do not like protection; they

are agricultural in the main, and desire to buy in the world market—preferably the British market. But what they strongly object to is the arrangements under which the proceeds of an enhanced tariff, to which their assent has not been invited, levied at British-Indian ports upon articles intended for consumption by the subjects of the States, are swept into the British-Indian exchequer. They are convinced that this position can only have arisen because Great Britain for the moment entirely forgot the very existence of the Indian States as a separate part of India.

The result of their experience in this and a number of kindred matters is that they desire to put forward for the consideration of His Majesty's Government a series of proposals which they believe will both safeguard the rights guaranteed to them and also ensure that they arrive at a stable understanding with the other two partners in the joint concern—Britain and British India. They suggest that all matters of common concern to India as a whole should be discussed and determined not, as at present, by British India alone, but by a federalized Executive representative of Britain, British India, and the Indian States. They urge that the existence of "Indian India" as a political entity separate and distinct from British India should be adequately recognized, and secured by the institution of machinery separate and distinct from the machinery which governs British India, to manage the relations of the States with the Crown. The link between the two sides of India would be the Viceroy, representative not only of the Crown but of Britain. Finally, they desire the establishment of a Supreme Court, which in all justiciable matters shall be competent to decide impartially between British India and themselves.

They claim that by some such machinery as this it would be possible for British India to proceed along the path of responsible government in her own affairs; for the States to enjoy the rights secured to them under treaty; and for Britain to remain in India in the manner in which the best interests of the country require, while at the same time adequate provision can be made for economic development, for improvement in communications, and for all those lines of progress, common to British India and to the Indian States, which the interests of India as a whole seem to postulate.

Whether these proposals are as feasible as they are suggestive remains to be determined. But they have at least

the merit of synthesizing all the three factors of the Indian situation, which is more than can be said for the policy adopted by the British Government in 1919. It has now become clear that even in its policy towards British India Britain cannot ignore the position of the Indian States; and this for two reasons. In the first place, the pledges given to the States, which have been reaffirmed times without number, and have been sanctified by chivalrous blood shed in the service of Britain, are every whit as sacred as the pledge given to British India in 1917. In the second place, no solution of the Indian problem holds any promise of justice or of stability which does not take into the fullest account the existence of two separate Indias.

It would seem to follow that the Indian States, as well as Britain and British India, must be called into consultation before any action is taken upon the report of the Parliamentary Commission. The States have made it amply apparent that they will help and not hinder; they have expressed their unequivocal attachment to the British connection, as well as their readiness to join in building up an Indian Federation. If only because their stake in the Empire is so great, and because their interests, economic as well as political, march so closely parallel with those of Britain, it is not easy to see how the Government which is put in office by the elections of 1929 can afford to dispense with their aid when seeking a solution of the tripartite problem of India.



A FEUDATORY STATE OF WESTERN INDIA

BY V. V. RAJWADE

THE subject of Indian States and their people has, of late, been much discussed in the Press. But there is an intermediate class between the Princes and the people—namely, the States under other major States, commonly known as the Feudatory States—an inquiry into whose relations with the superior States also makes an interesting study.

The rights which the feudatories enjoyed at the time of the British occupation were guaranteed to them by the British Government, subject, of course, to the suzerainty of the major States that claimed supremacy over them. The degree of subordination of a feudatory to its suzerain differs very much in each case, depending, as it does, upon the tenure, tradition and antiquity of a feudatory.

All the feudatory States are under the political control of the British Government, who, for the proper enforcement of the guarantees, has reserved to itself the right of deciding certain important questions concerning them, such as recognition of succession and granting of permission to adopt. In exercise of its right of paramountcy, Government has also to adjudicate disputes between a suzerain and its feudatories.

The feudatories include States with varying degree of sovereignty from almost full-powered Chiefs to those with very limited powers. Because the feudatories of one State are not entitled to certain powers, it does not necessarily follow that the feudatories of any other State are not also entitled to exercise those rights. No general rule can be laid down in this respect. Each case must be decided on its merits. The question depends upon the tenure, origin, past history, and also perhaps upon the size and importance of a feudatory. Take, for instance, the case of the feudatories of Kolhapur, a State in the Deccan, Bombay Presidency.

The feudatories of Kolhapur occupy a peculiar position. Some of them are the descendants of the ministers of the state created by Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire. They had a great and glorious past. They came into existence even before the establishment of Kolhapur as a separate principality. They exercise independent civil

and criminal jurisdiction, though recently limited, in their domains. Nowhere can an analogy of their relations with Kolhapur be found except in the relations which subsisted between Satara* (lapsed in 1848) and its feudatories, who have consequently come directly under the British Government.

Furthermore, the feudatories of the same State are not all alike. But the tendency of the British political officers has been to make them all conform to one type, and certain distinguishing features of individual cases are often ignored. This is well illustrated by the case of Ichalkaranji, also a feudatory of Kolhapur. Government has recognized two main classes of feudatories: first, those from whose internal affairs the superior state is excluded by the terms of the guarantee; and, secondly, those in whose case there is no such stipulation. Ichalkaranji, really speaking, comes under the former class; but it has been treated as if belonging to the latter.

Ichalkaranji is a guaranteed feudatory under Kolhapur, with an area of 240 square miles and a population of 60,366 according to the census of 1921. The average annual revenue for the past five years is Rs. 4,53,251 (£34,000). The Chief, who is also a first-class Sardar in the Deccan, is an educated and enlightened ruler.

One of the most important features of Ichalkaranji Estate is that it did not originate by a grant from Kolhapur, under whom it has now been placed. With the exception of only one small village out of about ninety villages belonging to Ichalkaranji, all its possessions are grants from Shahu Raja of Satara and others.

Another distinguishing feature of Ichalkaranji is that it holds all its territory under a special tenure known as *Inam* (free grant), without any obligation of service. All other feudatories of Kolhapur hold their estates under a military tenure known as *Saranjam*, with incidence of service attached to it. On a thorough investigation of Ichalkaranji's tenure, Government passed the following order in 1848, recognizing the special feature of Ichalkaranji Estate:

The documents now laid before Government sufficiently define the tenure under which the Chief of Ichalkaranji holds his Estates, as simple

* It is necessary to mention here that Kolhapur represents the junior branch of Shivaji, the Great; and Satara represented the senior. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was a struggle for supremacy for about two decades between the two branches, which ended in a peace treaty in 1730. During the troublous times of the civil war, some of the old ministers of the State remained under Kolhapur, while others joined Satara.

Inam. No conditions of service are attached, and the sanads [instruments of grants] are in the ordinary form of *Inam* grant.

Thirdly, Ichalkaranji has never rendered any service under Kolhapur, which is a very important test in determining the subordination or otherwise of one State to another, but which was ignored in Ichalkaranji's case. Though Ichalkaranji owed its origin and rise to Ghorpades of Kapshi, who are subordinate to Kolhapur, the relations of master and servant between Kapshi and Ichalkaranji practically ceased since Ichalkaranji's alliance by marriage with the family of the Peshwa (Prime Minister of Satara) in 1713. Thereafter, through the Peshwa's influence, Ichalkaranji took up service under Shahu, and consequently also under the Peshwa. The question whether Ichalkaranji served under Kolhapur or not has been dealt with by Captain Graham, Political Agent at Kolhapur, in his Report No. 470 of 1848, where he admirably summarizes the position thus :

... But in all the conflicts and struggles for dominion and independence, there is no mention made of the Ichalkaranjkar fighting under the banners of Kolhapur, though often enough to be found arranged in the opposite ranks.

The dispute between Kolhapur and Ichalkaranji is of very long standing. During the time of the Peshwas, Ichalkaranji was under their protection, being in their service and that of Satara, and they used to intervene on its behalf against Kolhapur's aggressions whenever necessary. And the British Government, who succeeded the Peshwas, also extended the same protection to Ichalkaranji, guaranteeing its rights and possessions against molestation from Kolhapur. The relevant article of the treaty of 1826 between the British Government and Kolhapur giving a guarantee to Ichalkaranji runs :

The Raja of Kolhapur engages never to molest . . . Narain Rao Ghorepuday, Echulkurunjeekar, in the enjoyment of (his) lands and rights according to ancient custom (Aitchison, vol. vii., p. 289).

The engagement not only guarantees Ichalkaranji's possessions, but is, in effect, an undertaking by Kolhapur not to interfere with the rights of Ichalkaranji according to "ancient custom." To use Aitchison's terminology, the superior State is excluded by the terms of guarantee from interference in the internal affairs of its feudatory. And in fact, until very recently, Ichalkaranji exercised full civil, criminal and revenue jurisdiction in its territory independently of and without any interference from Kolhapur.

During the next few years after the treaty of 1826, the

question whether Ichalkaranji was at all subordinate to Kolhapur was much discussed. Ichalkaranji contended that, owing to its special features, it was not dependent on Kolhapur. On the other hand, Kolhapur urged that Ichalkaranji owed its origin to Ghorpades who were subordinate to it, and that most of Ichalkaranji's possessions were situated in the territory assigned to Kolhapur by the treaty of 1730. In 1835, Government decided that Ichalkaranji was independent of Kolhapur. But in a subsequent inquiry instituted at Kolhapur's request, it was held that Ichalkaranji was subordinate to Kolhapur.

Government enforced its decision under threat of sequestration. The then Chief of Ichalkaranji protested, but had to submit to Government orders, and reluctantly accepted Kolhapur's supremacy in 1847, under certain conditions agreed to by Government, which secured to Ichalkaranji full internal autonomy and the right of direct correspondence with the Political Agent at Kolhapur. Thus, even after the adverse decision, Kolhapur's supremacy over Ichalkaranji was but nominal. Ichalkaranji enjoyed, as before, full revenue, civil and criminal powers, including also the power of life and death without interference from Kolhapur, and subject only, like all other Southern Maratha Country States, to the general supervision of the Political Agent at Kolhapur. Though the agreement was afterwards unjustly abrogated, its conditions indicate with sufficient clearness that Kolhapur had had no right to interfere in the internal administration of Ichalkaranji. As regards Ichalkaranji's powers, the following order of Government passed in 1848 is worth quoting :

The Right Honourable the Governor in Council [of Bombay] is not disposed, as you [the Political Agent at Kolhapur] would seem to recommend, to limit the power of civil and criminal jurisdiction exercised by the Chief of Ichalkaranji, but is pleased to confirm it altogether as long as the Estate is held in *Inam*.

The arrangement under the agreement referred to above continued for some time. Later on, in 1862, a fresh treaty between the British Government and Kolhapur was concluded, by which, *inter alia*, Government's right of supervision over the higher feudatories of Kolhapur was re-affirmed ; but the criminal powers of the feudatories were limited to offences involving imprisonment of seven years, more serious offences being required to be committed for trial to the Political Agent at Kolhapur.

Ichalkaranji was mentioned in this treaty, evidently through oversight, along with other feudatories. Really

speaking, Ichalkaranji ought not to have been included in this treaty, because its relations with Kolhapur had already been regulated by the agreement previously mentioned. Ichalkaranji being then under a minority, no protest could be made on its behalf.

At the time of investiture of the present Chief's father in 1874, it was brought to the notice of Government that the provisions of the treaty of 1862, so far as they affected Ichalkaranji, were inconsistent with its previous agreement, and that Ichalkaranji's inclusion in the treaty must have been through some mistake. Thereupon Government decided that the treaty of 1862 was to be interpreted, with regard to Ichalkaranji, subject to its then existing agreement. But one effect of the treaty of 1862 was that the father of the present Chief was invested with only limited criminal powers as defined therein. It should be remembered that the higher criminal powers were retained by Government to itself in exercise of its right of paramountcy, and not on behalf of Kolhapur, to whom they never belonged.

During the last half-century Ichalkaranji has suffered a great diminution in its powers. At the time of the present Chief's adoption in 1876, Government, without any justification, abrogated Ichalkaranji's agreement under which it enjoyed special rights and privileges, apart from other feudatories of Kolhapur. Though the agreement was cancelled, the guarantee given to Ichalkaranji by the treaty of 1826, it is to be noted, was and is still in force.

But in spite of this, Government sanctioned in 1893, under certain conditions, Kolhapur's proposal for transfer of High Court powers in civil cases, and subsequently also of residuary jurisdiction in criminal cases over Ichalkaranji along with other feudatories. Separate stamps and State seals—insignia of separate entity—which were in use in Ichalkaranji since its establishment were, a few years ago, abolished; and new ones with Kolhapur marks were substituted. In 1906, the official designation of "Chief," which Ichalkaranji rulers enjoyed for more than a century, was changed to *Jahagirdar*, a change not only detrimental to the prestige and dignity of Ichalkaranji, but also providing an incorrect description of its tenure, which is simple *Inam*, unlike a *Jahagir*, which is held on military tenure. His late Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur set up a rival candidate to dispute an adoption made by the present Chief in 1917 with Government's previous sanction. The right of holding succession inquiries of *Inamdars* (alienees)

under Ichalkaranji is challenged by Kolhapur, a right which Ichalkaranji has been exercising for centuries, and which is a part of the general revenue administration over which Ichalkaranji has even now absolute powers. Kolhapur has also made a proposal to Government for transfer of general supervision over its feudatories, including Ichalkaranji, which at present vests in Government under the treaty of 1862.

The moral is clear. Ichalkaranji has been losing its ancient cherished rights one by one, and if the transfer of supervision is effected, as proposed by Kolhapur, Ichalkaranji will be reduced from a position of practical independence to that of entire subjection to Kolhapur. It would be a small consolation to argue that the guarantee of the British Government still continues intact when the rights as recounted above have been curtailed and further reduction is threatened. Cases like this really deserve sympathy and consideration, and call for a special treatment which their peculiar features demand.

THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

BY J. F. W. VAN DER MEULEN

Late Director of the Department of Education and Public Worship in the Dutch East Indies

UNIFICATION in theory, differentiation in practice! This might very well be the conclusion arrived at by those who make a merely cursory acquaintance with the system of education actually existing in the Dutch East Indies, and who are also aware of the endeavours of the Dutch East Indian Government to remove wherever possible, both in legislation and administration, the differentiation between the races. I shall endeavour in a brief elucidation of the principal lines of that system of education to make it clear that unification is not lacking and that the differentiation is a result of the chief requirement of effective education—viz., a sound pedagogical plan.

If the fact is borne in mind that within the extensive territory of the Dutch East Indies numerous native peoples, differing in language, customs and religion, live side by side, and that over that Archipelago are scattered a few hundred thousands of Netherlanders and a few millions of Chinese, it will be easily realized that, for the young children of the various groups at least, one uniform school would be very unsuitable. From the very beginning the necessity has been recognized of teaching these young children in the language which they speak at home. The danger of this principle being disregarded was especially small, because when the Government in the course of last century took the extension of native education energetically in hand it had not at its disposal some thousands of Netherlands teachers by means of whom it could open schools in all parts of the Colonies to instruct the native youth in the Dutch language. On the other hand, much had been done, especially by the Missions, in studying the native language, so that the Government could command a sufficient number of competent instructors for the training of teachers, both Europeans and natives, capable of using the native languages as a vehicle.

Here we see immediately a sharp contrast with what, for

example, America did in the Philippines, where teaching in the English language soon became the first item on the educational programme.

When, in the beginning of this century, the opening of elementary schools even in the smallest villages of the interior was recognized as essential, in order thus to combat illiteracy, the necessity of teaching in the native language became even more obvious. This recognition naturally led to the acceptance of a working plan for the opening, within a certain number of years, of tens of thousands of schools with a simple three-year curriculum, where, either gratis or for a small fee, instruction would be given to the children of the *deessa* population—a population, however, which had still to be convinced of the utility of schooling for their children. Such schools could necessarily only be staffed with teachers recruited from the immediate vicinity. Moreover, in the villages these teachers had to act as advisers in many affairs outside the school. For this reason also it was necessary that intellectually and socially they should not stand too high above the inhabitants of the village.*

The principle of giving instruction in the native language applies not only to these village-schools, it has also always been observed in native schools in more important towns, usually referred to as standard schools, which in a five-year curriculum go through a more extensive programme and prepare the pupils for various technical schools.†

In addition, however, to these schools where instruction is imparted in the vernacular, Native and Chinese pupils have always had facilities to obtain instruction in the Dutch language. A thorough knowledge of that language, however, was only attainable for those pupils who were admitted to the schools for Europeans. For the benefit of those who are ignorant of conditions in the Dutch East Indies, it may be useful to mention that, unlike the rule in force in certain other Colonies, the term Europeans includes all the members of any family the head of which is registered as a European. As a result, the "Europeans" include, technically speaking, a great number of persons of mixed blood.

Since, as has already been explained, the principal object in view was not the greatest possible extension of the Dutch language, the admission of native and Chinese pupils to the European schools afforded an adequate solution, as long as

* At the end of 1927 the village schools numbered 14,188, attended by 1,018,560.

† At the end of 1927 these elementary schools numbered 2,621, with 361,669.

the need of such education was confined to a comparatively small number of the non-European part of the population. That need, however, has very rapidly increased in the last few decades. Among the prominent members of that section of Dutch East Indian society, the conviction has gradually gained ground that for an adequate education the knowledge of a European language is indispensable. Further, as a result of the vigorous development of agriculture and industry and of the Government works and services, a demand arose on all sides for native employees, also in places where the knowledge of the local dialect or the Malay language was insufficient. These two factors have brought home the necessity of a speedy extension of Dutch instruction to Native and Chinese pupils. At the same time, these circumstances opened an opportunity for embarking upon such an extension without creating the danger that the majority of the pupils would, after finishing school, not be able to find employment compatible with their higher education. Nevertheless, also in the Dutch East Indies nowadays voices can be heard against too rapid an extension, which might lead to the creation of an "educated proletariat."

It would lead me too far here to go into the history of what the Government has done to meet this problem of supplying the rapidly increasing demand for Dutch instruction. I will only state that the present educational system fully recognizes the important difference between the methods to be followed in teaching pupils in their own language and in a foreign language. For this reason there exist now for primary education in the Dutch language three different types of schools, known as the European, the Dutch-Native, and the Dutch-Chinese schools.* These schools have a seven or eight years' curriculum, and prepare the pupils for the secondary schools, to which they are admitted irrespective of race.

It was seen that the unification idea has been realized at a stage where this is considered possible, whilst before that stage is reached a differentiation is observed in accordance with the different groups of the population, but only because of a very pronounced difference in requirements.

This differentiation in the primary schools has also the advantage that the pupils are instructed as far as possible by teachers of their own nationality. These teachers,

* At the end of 1927 the number of these schools was respectively as follows: European schools 267, with 41,766 pupils; Dutch-Native schools 336, with 63,744 pupils; Dutch-Chinese schools 90, with 16,488 pupils.

indeed, can more easily fathom the mentality of the children. It will be readily understood, however, that it is not an easy task for a Native or Chinese teacher to teach his pupils in a language not his own, and which in the beginning is for most of his pupils an unknown tongue. The greatest care, therefore, is devoted to the training of these teachers. They are educated in training schools (there are separate schools for Natives and Chinese) on the residential system, and with a European principal and a staff almost entirely composed of Europeans. Whilst the European primary school has an exclusively European staff, the Dutch-Native schools have a semi-European, semi-Native staff, and the Dutch-Chinese schools a semi-European, semi-Chinese staff. In order to insure the strict maintenance of the standard of education in the Dutch language, the control, both in the Dutch-Native and Dutch-Chinese schools, is, with a single exception, in the hands of the Netherlands.

As already stated, the secondary schools, which form a continuation of the three categories of primary schools, have been unified. The Government was of opinion that once the difficulties of acquiring the Dutch language had been overcome, there was no further reason for racial differentiation amongst the pupils who, on the contrary, in our times need in every respect association and co-operation. The Government founded, therefore, the General Secondary School, open to all races. I will not deal with the history of this school here, as that would lead me too far.

Besides the General Secondary School, there is in the Dutch East Indies the so-called "*Hoogere Burgerschool*" (also a secondary school), which is a perfect copy of the type of secondary school generally met with in Holland. This type of school, the disadvantages of which are fairly generally recognized in the Netherlands, has remained, side by side with the General Secondary School, as a school which corresponds directly with the secondary school in Holland, for the benefit of the children of those Netherlands who, in the course of their colonial career, spend various periods of leave in the Mother Country, or who send their children home to receive an education.

In my opinion, the Dutch East Indies, with the opening of this General Secondary School, has advanced beyond the Mother Country as regards the solution of the educational problem for young people of twelve to eighteen years old. For this reason a brief account of the organization of this school may here be inserted.

This secondary school has a six years' curriculum, and is divided into two sections, each of three years.* This division has been made on the theory that after the first three years the time has come to make a choice of a profession. The pupil is then old enough to decide whether he wishes to end his schooling and embark on a career with the education which he has received and which is officially testified in a leaving certificate, whether he will learn a trade at some secondary training school or will complete his general education, in order to be afterwards admitted to some University, and if so, what course of study he wishes to follow at that University.

Considered as an institution for affording a complete preparatory education, this first section of the secondary school leads to a valuable certificate, which opens the door to employment in the Government administration and in private offices, where the prospects are good. For the vast majority of girls—who as a rule marry early in the Dutch East Indies—this certificate means the end of their studies.

The continuation of the preparatory studies for the University takes place in the second three years' section of the secondary school. This section is divided into the following three subdivisions, according to the proposed course of study at the University:

(a) Oriental Literature, in which special attention is devoted to Oriental languages and history;

(b) A Western Classical Section, which includes Latin (for those who intend to take up Law) and Western Literature;

(c) Mathematics and Physics, with special study of the exact sciences.†

The organization of the educational staff is arranged in accordance with this division into a uniform lower section and a differentiated upper section. In the lower section each class has its own teacher, whilst only a few subjects are entrusted to special teachers. The great advantage of this system is that the class-teacher knows every individual pupil and is acquainted with his personal requirements. In this manner, a gradual transition is obtained from the schoolroom education in the primary school to that in the various divisions of the upper section, where the instruction is exclusively imparted by special teachers and which makes

* At the end of 1927 there existed 54 lower sections, with 9,624 pupils. For upper sections see note on p. 202.

† At the end of 1927 those upper sections numbered seven, with 694 pupils.

far heavier demands upon the sense of duty of the pupils.

Whilst the primary schools, with Dutch as the vehicle of instruction, are widely distributed, the secondary schools, which require a staff which is much more difficult to obtain and has to be paid high salaries, are confined to the large towns. Both the upper section schools and the "Hoogere Burgerscholen"* exist only in the large towns which are centrally situated.

This system of schools leads up to the Dutch East Indies University, which at present possesses three faculties—viz., Technical Science (at Bandoeng), Law and Medicine (both at Batavia).

We have seen that the central idea of this system of education is primary education in separate schools in accordance with the needs of the various groups of the population; secondary education in mixed schools, which half-way is again divided. This division, however, is not made according to race, but according to the direction of further study, thus preparing the pupils for the various faculties of the University.

The primary schools and the first three years' section of the secondary school prepare the pupils for the industrial training schools. The Native schools, with the Native language as the vehicle of instruction, train their pupils to act as village school-teachers and teachers in Native primary schools, as midwives and nurses, vaccination officials, skilled wood and iron workers, farmhands, sailors and engineers on board ships. The primary schools, using the Dutch language, give instruction in technical and commercial work. Further, there are schools for girls to instruct them in domestic economy and industries, schools for agricultural workers, for mining, the police force, etc. The first three years' section of the secondary school prepares the pupils for training courses for teachers, for official administration for the merchant marine, as physicians, agriculturists, veterinary surgeons, minor officials in the interior, the Army, etc.

All those training schools, as well as the various Faculties of the University, are well worth a separate description, but exigencies of space preclude my entering into details. I only wish to point out here that the system is so arranged that the indigenous and the Western primary schools, as well as the secondary schools, give an appropriate prepara-

* At the end of 1927 there were 13 of these "Hoogere Burgerscholen," with 2,567 pupils.

tion for various special schools in the case of all those whose capacities or financial circumstances do not allow of a University education.

I have aimed at giving the principal lines of the Dutch East Indian educational system, and have omitted certain important particulars which might make the description even more complicated than it inevitably must be, in view of the many-sided educational requirements. It will be seen that there are certain fundamental differences in education from some other colonies.

Where the reader, after the foregoing exposition, discovers also in the educational system the idea of unification wherever possible and differentiation only when the divergent needs of the various groups of the population render it imperative, he should reflect that this is merely the realization of the unification idea which is the guiding star of the Dutch East Indian colonial policy.

In the carrying out of the educational part of this policy, the difficulties of the present complicated political position make themselves felt also in the Dutch East Indies. A period of apathy has been followed by an overwhelming desire for education, especially Western education, because the Native regards this as necessary if he is to gain a position equal to that of the Westerner. In two respects, a change is now perceptible. On the one hand, voices are heard in Native circles in favour of opening schools of their own and no longer passively accepting what is provided by the Government and by corporations under Western auspices. On the other hand, the complaint is heard that, whilst Western education gives the Native a certain amount of book knowledge, it makes him a stranger to his own culture without giving him any equivalent in return.

Here we have an example of the difficulties which are making themselves felt everywhere throughout the East, both in countries with a national Government and in the Colonies. The Western stream is washing away much that for the East constituted a firm rock, whilst so far nothing has been found to replace what has been lost. Whilst for the moment this may result in estrangement between the races, we should reflect that just that necessity for self-help which the East is now experiencing will bring to its consciousness the fact that East and West cannot dispense with each other. On the Government rests the difficult but inspiring task of paving the way for this co-operation, in which education plays such an important part.

THE ASIAN CIRCLE

A SURVEY OF ASIATIC AFFAIRS

THE Asian Circle is conducted by a group with personal knowledge of the various parts of Asia, and through the collective experience of its members aims at giving to the public an informed, progressive, and disinterested view of Asian affairs, both in detail and as a whole. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., is President, and its membership includes :

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The first article published under the auspices of the "Asian Circle" in the present issue is a continuation of the survey of the progress of the Women's Movement in Asia, an earlier study of which dealt with the situation in the Near and Middle East.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN CHINA

BY EDITH M. PYE

A REVIEW of the Women's Movement in China ought rightly to include a historical survey that would go back a long way. One cannot meet with the highly developed and progressive women of today without becoming conscious that they no less than the men are a product of an ancient civilization, and that though the old Chinese say-

ings, "A woman's duty is to observe the three obediences" (*i.e.*, to father, husband, and son) and "For a woman to have no ability counts as virtue," at which the modern Chinese woman points the finger of scorn, may have ruled millions of homes throughout the ages, the women must have shown a considerable amount of ability, and the philosophy and learning of the men must sometimes at any rate have been absorbed by willing and eager female ears and brains!

Space will not admit of such a survey, and what is attempted here is to give some idea of the women who are helping in the making of the new China that is so rapidly coming into being today.

At the end of 1927 the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom sent a delegation of its members carrying messages of sympathy and goodwill to Chinese women, and of interest in their movement. These written messages from many important women's organizations in this country and from the national sections of the League in Europe and America were a golden key that opened all doors to us, and gained us the warmest welcome from them. They made it possible for us to see their work and life in all the five places we visited—Shanghai, Nanking, Peking, Hankow, Canton—and while we fully recognize that this is but a very small fraction of the womanhood of China, we understood that most of the leaders of the forward movement among the women are to be found in these centres, and it was with these women, mainly educated in schools under Western influence, that we had most to do. Not entirely, however, for the following is a translation of part of a letter that was sent to us from two women, who, hearing of our visit and the messages we brought, came by boat three days down the river to Nanking to see us, only to find us gone, and to our great sorrow we were never able to trace them afterwards:

MY BELOVED SISTERS,

You both came from your honourable country, not only representing the minds of the women of your honourable country, but also representing the great love of the womanhood of twenty-four countries, in the hope that the women of our unworthy country would unite their efforts with you in the promotion of world peace. Such a bountiful purpose is acceptable to us. We ourselves, at the time, hastened from

Hankow to Nanking on purpose to meet you and welcome you, but unexpectedly when we reached Nanking you had already left. Now we are truly ashamed that we were not able to see the faces of you two sisters, and personally receive your teaching. For your good purpose, in coming to our unworthy country, and carrying out the wishes of the womanhood of twenty-four countries, constitutes a great responsibility that you have undertaken.

We have a method in our desire that the women of our unworthy country might be linked with your honourable country and the world, and with a united voice we should ever maintain friendship, and bring about peace and happiness.

It is that you two when you return to your honourable country should

1. Convey thanks for the bountiful thought of all countries, and
2. Increase the frequency of visits to our country, lest the labour of travelling be in vain.

There is a little Chinese poem by Fu Hsuan of the third century A.D. Mr. Arthur Waley's translation runs:

"How sad it is to be a woman!
 Nothing on earth is held so cheap.
 Boys standing leaning at the door
 Like Gods fallen out of Heaven,
 Their hearts brave the Four Oceans,
 The wind and dust of a thousand miles.
 No one is glad when a girl is born;
 By *her* the family sets no store.
 When she grows up she hides in her room,
 Afraid to look a man in the face.
 No one cries when she leaves her home. . . ."

From what we saw it is perfectly clear that today these words no longer apply.

Old residents told us that the change in the last ten years is almost unbelievable, and certainly in watching the groups of women, their hair short, Western fashion, or neatly coiled, but mostly free of the annoyance of a hat, walking together in the street, shopping, gossiping at corners or riding in rickshaws, it is difficult to believe that not so long ago they were never seen out of doors.

To those who have known something of the struggle of Western women to be allowed equal opportunity of education and profession the situation is particularly interesting,

for in China the strongest supporters of the Women's Movement are their husbands, sons, and brothers! Now that the women have proved themselves capable of intellectual effort they are being welcomed everywhere as co-workers with the men, and every door has been thrown open to them. We met women doctors, teachers, professors, lawyers, nurses, secretaries, journalists, and even an editor, and one woman bank manager, whose bank was so successful that it was moving into larger premises at the time we were in Shanghai. Of course, the number is very small in proportion to the whole, but it is growing by leaps and bounds. It is an interesting speculation as to how far the emancipation of women is due to Western influence and especially to the influence of Christianity, which alone among world religions has always insisted upon the equal worth of human souls, and how far it is simply a part of the "New Tide"—the general awakening in China—which seems to be a manifestation of those great currents of thought that are moving the minds of men the world over. But girls' schools seem to have been unknown until instituted by Western effort, and the first modern school for girls was established by a mission at Ningpo in 1844. It seems therefore to be clear that Western influence has played a very important part at any rate in the emancipation of women. Between that time and 1860 eleven other mission schools for girls were opened in the five treaty ports. The first girls' school established by Chinese effort was opened in Shanghai in 1897, and since 1901 many others have been opened. In 1907 the Ministry of Education, established in 1905 under the Manchu dynasty, included for the first time in its system of modernized education an edict containing thirty-six regulations for girls' normal schools (Teachers' Training School), and twenty for girls' elementary schools. In 1911 China became a Republic, and the Minister for Education in 1912 made the following pronouncement:

"The firmness of the foundation upon which the Republic of China has been founded depends on education. We must, hereafter, make our best effort to develop and encourage women's education as well as that for men. We must emphasize and provide for social as well as school education."*

By this date the leaven of education had already been working, and a group of women presented to the Pro-

* "Women's Education in China," C. Y. Fang.

visional Government in Nanking demands for equal rights in government, education, marriage, and the prohibition of slavery and concubinage.* But it was not until 1919 that the Women's Movement in China took on an impetus which was only checked temporarily by the uncertainty of political conditions, and is likely now to develop rapidly under the National Government.

It is in the educational field that the Women's Movement is perhaps making its most lasting mark in China, and while Western influence has been extremely important, especially in secondary and higher education of women, we were able to see some of the results of Chinese Teachers' Training Schools at work in primary schools in Shanghai and Nanking under the National Government. In one co-educational school we visited there were 700 boys and girls from kindergarten age to what looked like sixteen or seventeen. There was a mixed staff, but the Principal was an extremely able woman who spoke no English. The kindergarten was entering with spirit into rhythmic dancing and action songs, and the smiles and sparkling eyes of the swaying groups of infants in their straight, stiff little padded dresses as they danced to the piano played by a colleague was a delightful sight.

In the girls' department of another school of 1,400 children we found a statue to the memory of a former headmistress, and as far as we could judge on our unannounced visit, education was being given by Chinese women teachers on thoroughly modern lines, the children being called up to demonstrate on the blackboard, and one class singing an action song in Chinese all about the way to live a healthy life! Of the 400 Chinese teachers in the Shanghai municipal schools under the Nationalist Government, some 20 to 30 per cent. are women.

Western thought and effort, both European and American, has obviously played an important part in the provision of secondary schools and colleges for women. America in addition has made it possible to send a considerable number of Chinese women to college in the United States, and these women have a very great influence upon the growth of the Women's Movement.

Now that many of the universities, both Chinese and Western, have been thrown open to women, a far larger number will be able to avail themselves of higher education without having to go abroad for it.

* "Chinese Recorder Act," 1927, Irene Dene.

At Yenching University, Peking, where the women's college has been amalgamated with the men's University, the hundred women students have made for themselves certain rules which will help them over the period of adaptation of their relations with the men students, and the serious spirit in which they are setting to work to find a way through problems that must be very perplexing is typical of the New China, as was the comradeship and gaiety that marked the relations between the older men and women students at a Teachers' Agricultural College where graduates were learning the theoretical and practical side of farming and country life together, so that they could teach and encourage it in the rural schools.

Both at Yenching and at Ginling College, which are mainly supported by American funds, the Chinese women professors seemed to us a particularly fine type with a wide outlook on social, educational and international problems.

In Lingnan University, Canton, we had an opportunity of an evening's frank talk with the women students, and found them facing the same individual problems that women students are meeting everywhere. They eagerly questioned us about their Western sisters' attitude to these.

We had from Shanghai College an interesting confirmation of the theory that Chinese women's brains are at least the equal to those of the men. There are between six and seven hundred men students and one hundred girls. In last year's examination of the biology class of 140 mixed students the first five were all girls!

In the field of social work, while fully appreciating the influence for good inherent in the religious and philosophic faiths indigenous in China, the practice and teaching of Christianity, with its inclusion of the larger family of humanity within the boundaries of family love and service, has had a very definite bearing upon social questions in that country. The spirit of self-sacrifice, understood and practised throughout the ages in respect to clan and family, has taken on a new and wider significance, and Christian Chinese are facing the huge problems of social reorganization that confront them in this spirit, following the example of the devoted missionaries who brought both learning and sacrifice to the attempt at solution.

The social work that has grown up in China during the last fifty years, carried on by Western care and love for the Chinese people, has been the nucleus from which has grown

the realization by them of some of the remedies for the social evils they see around them.

In so far as Westerners were clear-sighted enough to perceive the ultimate effect of their social work as a stimulus and an awakening to the people they were trying to help, it has been extraordinarily successful. The Nurses' Association of China is an example of this. Founded by Western nurses in 1909, it has succeeded by the help of its numbers in raising the standard of nursing in China, and has created a self-governing body of workers, 75 per cent. of whom are Chinese, and who are tackling with courage and determination some of the difficult health problems in China. When in 1927 most of the foreign workers were withdrawn, many of the Chinese nurses in the 125 training schools up and down the country remained at their posts and devotedly carried on the hospital work and administration. The diploma examinations went on as before, and there were almost as many candidates in 1927 as in 1926. We were present at a meeting of their Annual Conference in Shanghai, to which fourteen provinces had sent over one hundred delegates. The President, Miss Lillian Wu, is a Chinese nurse, but received her training in America, to which country the Association owes an immense amount of help. The proceedings were all in Chinese, and when, during the speech of a Chinese doctor, we caught the words "Florence Nightingale," and inquired what he was saying, we were told he was claiming her as the first *American* trained nurse, and their shining example! We saw something of the fine spirit that is training these nurses at the Peking Union Medical College, where we had the privilege of staying, and at the Margaret Williams Hospital in Shanghai, where, visiting babies in their homes with the Chinese public health nurse, one was delighted to recognize the same mixture of common sense and authority mixed with friendly chaff that appears to ensure obedience, gratitude, and friendship from Eastern as from Western mothers. In Peking, the public health nursing, or, as we should call it, district nursing, is in charge of a Chinese nurse, with a staff of fifteen, and the department is presided over by a very able Chinese woman doctor, Dr. Marion Yang, under whose scientific and creative direction continual progress is made.

Within the last two months a delightfully written account by Hu Tun-wu of her experiences at the end of her first year as a nurse in China has appeared in the *China Weekly Review*. It is written in English, and would do honour to any nurse in any country, both in matter and in form.

The work of Chinese women doctors is extremely important, and there are said to be several hundreds practising, chiefly in the hospitals and nurse-training schools. The Hackett Medical College for Women, founded in Canton in 1899, has been steadily training them since that time; the Women's Christian Medical College, Shanghai, also grants medical degrees, and not a few Chinese women have qualified in America or Europe.

The throwing open to women of many of the universities and colleges that grant medical degrees throughout China will have a most important effect upon the number of women doctors available as soon as the necessary secondary education leading up to it has been arranged. Such Chinese pioneers as Dr. Mary Stone and Dr. Ida Khan, whom we met, are full of the spirit that can move mountains.

Another social force with creative vision for the future is the Y.W.C.A. of China, now almost entirely Chinese. Within the framework of a Western organization a Chinese institution has been growing up year by year. When the testing time came, and the supports had to go in many places, the ideals that had built it up kept it firmly rooted in Chinese life, and there seems no doubt of the immensely important part the organization is destined to play in the future. In Nanking, where the troubles in the spring resulted in the loss of all the furniture of their little school and of their hostel, we asked them whether they were able to carry on at all. "We believe that Christianity means service to others," they said, and they had begun again to teach in the empty room, to restore their bath-house for poor women, and to make of the hostel a home for the women workers in the new Government Departments.

In Shanghai, in the classes for factory girls, where the friendliest smiles and charming singing greeted us, in work among industrial women, among the children in the model village, teaching them how to play, they are spreading the ideas of service and self-sacrifice.

In Canton, the efforts of the Committee resulted in a magnificent building which houses a kindergarten, an elementary school, a technical school for girls, and on the top floor the club-room for the Women's International Club, of which the President is a Chinese. In the grounds is a fine play-garden for the children of the city as well as a recreation ground for the school. Energy and power of organization of an unusual order must have gone into the management of the affairs of this branch, and the same devoted spirit characterized the workers.

These are but specimens of what we understand can be seen in many cities throughout China.

Such women as Mrs. Mei and Miss Ting Hsu Ching, President and General Secretary of the National Association, Miss Law Tsit Yau of Canton, and many others are certainly to be reckoned among those on whom the hopes of the Women's Movement are fixed.

One of the most interesting manifestations of the awakening social consciousness in China is the popular character of the struggle against opium and narcotic drugs, in which women are taking their full share. Miss Ting Hsu Ching is a member of the Executive Committee of the National Anti-Opium Association, a federation of thirty-six societies all of which are pledged to work for its aim, and during the propaganda week women everywhere take part in meetings. Miss Soumé Tcheng, who is the first Chinese woman lawyer, is an eloquent speaker for the cause, and great determination and enthusiasm is as marked among the women as the men.

Of women in industry we saw comparatively little. They have as yet few leaders, and while each individual factory or works was said to have its own union, where there were men and women employed they were not separated in the union. But the violent reaction to Communist propaganda led to a disorganization of industrial unions, which made it apparently impossible, during the time we were there, to get in touch with them, though we saw something of the conditions in which they work.

Mrs. Liao (then a member of the Nationalist Government Council) and Miss Soumé Tcheng, before mentioned, attended the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference in Hankow in June, 1927, as representatives, and the National Y.W.C.A. and the National Christian Council have long been concerned with industrial questions touching women and children.

Mayling Soong, a distinguished graduate of Wellesley College, America, now Madame Chiang Kai Shek, who received us very graciously, was a member of the Joint Committee of Shanghai Women's Clubs which made such a valiant effort to obtain better conditions for child labour there. Miss Kyong Bei-tseng, Industrial Secretary of Shanghai Y.W.C.A., who went as a delegate to the Pan-Pacific Women's Conference at Honolulu this year, and Miss Ta'o Ling, who (with Miss Lydia Johnson) has recently published a valuable study of the work of women and girls in industries in Tientsin, are among those Chinese

women of whom more will be heard now that conditions will allow of constructive work. It is specially in the industrial field that one hopes that the experience of the West may be helpful and that Chinese women will learn from the mistakes of Western industrialism.

The revolution gave a great impetus to organizations among women for political purposes, and in 1922 the Women's Suffrage Association and Women's Rights League were founded in certain provinces of the south. Hunan was the first province to recognize equal rights for women in its constitution, and to the short-lived parliament in Peking of 1921 returned a woman representative. In Kwantung today these two societies have amalgamated under the title of Women's Movement General Alliance, which has a number of groups scattered throughout the province and several thousand members, we were told. Its President, Mrs. Leung, lives in Canton. In May, 1927, this organization sent out a message to "feminist organizations of other lands," in the course of which the members pledged themselves to work for their country, and stated that they were concerning themselves "with better international understanding between China and the Powers, so that genuine goodwill shall be achieved."

The attitude of the southern Chinese women to the political and feminist problems of today is clearly set forth in a series of booklets containing essays on the subject by many women writers, and rules and suggestions for propaganda for their movement.

These booklets were published for the International Woman's Day, March 8, 1928, when we were given copies as we went on to the platform of the great mass meeting of women in Canton, at which we were honoured by being asked to speak. Every foreign woman resident had received a special invitation, and seats were reserved on the open-air platform for all who accepted. The great company of over a thousand women, with their flags and banners, and some hundreds of men, stood listening to speeches from delegates of various women's groups for three hours without apparently any lessening of interest. There were no police visible, order being maintained apparently by girl guides.

At the end of the three hours a series of slogans were shouted by a slender little lady through a megaphone and an answering shout of acceptance greeted each one, with the raising of the right hands of the vast crowd. These are some of the most interesting:

1. Unite all women's movements.
2. Equal education for men and women.
3. Equality of vocational opportunity for men and women.
4. Equality for women under the law.
5. Equal wages for men and women.
6. Protection of motherhood.
7. Protection of child labour.
8. Organize women farmers and labourers.
9. Down with the slavery of etiquette for women.
10. Oppose polygamy.
11. Oppose child betrothal and removal of the girl to her future husband's home.
12. Demand equal moral standard for men and women.

The pamphlets are extraordinarily interesting as showing the trend of political thought. Throughout the series the clearest distinction is made between Communist and Nationalist propaganda. The Nationalist movement having given women their freedom is to be supported and worked for by all women, but the Communist movement is considered to have done great harm to their cause, and now that it has disappeared a great forward move will be possible.

Militarism is condemned by nearly all the writers, and imperialism in its anti-foreign sense is written against by one or two, but most of the essays deal with the need for a new attitude among the women themselves as well as among men, and as they seem to reveal the wide outlook and breadth of spirit of so many of those we met, it may be worth while to quote from a few of the essays.*

The first essay is on the meaning and reason of the Women's Movement. The writer says:

"In the nature of things morality and law should be observed by all human beings alike. Well, men and women are alike human, why then are the rules and laws to which they are subject not alike? . . . The meaning of the Women's Movement is not to annihilate masculine strength, men's valour, nor is it to put an end to the grace of woman's nature or evade the function of motherhood. No; it is to seek freedom for exercising the abilities that Heaven gives. . . . Therefore, from now on, the Women's Movement must cut out, root and branch, this attitude of antagonism of the sexes."

* The translations are by Mr. Leonard Wigham, of the Friends' Service Council.

The close of the essay deals with the need for care in adopting methods of other countries unless they are really adapted to Chinese women.

"The 8th of March, the Women's Festival, has been fixed by the intelligent women of all countries. But though its aim is to press forward the Women's Movement and to rouse with good sense the doltishness and error of women, yet, it may be asked, are the pains that those of other countries suffer, the vicissitudes through which they pass, the visions they see, the backgrounds of thought which they set up, the same as ours? Can the movements and methods by which they are advancing be utilized in our country? This is a matter requiring the most careful attention. Unless we make accurate distinctions it will be futile to carry over their methods for the liberation of our women."

In the second essay directions for propaganda are given.

"Propaganda must be heeded in any sort of movement whatever, more especially must it not be neglected in the present germinating period of our country's Women's Movement. Look now, and see how many of China's women have the capacity to reach the stage of thinking for themselves! We fear they are as rare as the feathers of the Phoenix and the Unicorn's horns! So in this work of propaganda we must act in a direct way by literature, lectures, illustrated papers, action plays, to awaken them from their aimless dreaming; and indirectly, by means of propaganda among men. It is for us to make it clear to them that unless the Women's Movement succeeds there is no success for the National Revolution. Every day that womankind is not raised, half the nation's body is not in harmony with the rest, and the peace and happiness of Society are correspondingly affected."

In the latter part of the essay the moral aspect is touched on.

"Has the word 'virtue' different meanings when applied to man and to woman? Is a man to disregard that which is virtue in a woman? Is a woman not to practise the virtue that is virtue in a man? That which is true virtue should be practised by every person without exception; and a false virtue seeming right but really wrong should be opposed by every person without exception. . . .

"The establishment of an equal standard of morality is supremely requisite at the present day. . . . Men and women should equally adhere to the true virtues—benevolence, uprightness, courtesy, deference, fidelity, purity—

and let the community unitedly condemn anyone who acts contrary to these virtues."

There follows a realization of the tragic state of prostitutes and concubines, an appeal for their rescue, and a demand for the prohibition by the Government of prostitution and concubinage.

The third essay is written in a very vigorous style :

"Emancipation! emancipation! this wave of sound in the ear we truly loathe the hearing of it! Say what you like, what fraction of an inch of progress has the Women's Movement made? Slow indeed! Now I will cast away the word emancipation and not utter it. Now we will go on a stage deeper, and speak of the hindrances to emancipation."

A dissertation follows on the bad state of education for women, and the impossibility of economic freedom for them, which the author considers arises from the defects of the government of the country. But she finishes up with a much deeper appreciation of the hindrances to development :

"Environment and habit are certainly equally important. Every rotten and retrograde old custom has the capacity to hinder the emancipation of women, but the women's own personal habits, like laziness and stupidity, lack of courage to demand a new life, lack of courage to *move* to defeat evil power—these are not old customs hindering women; these show women hindering their own emancipation!"

Two of the writers urge physical education for women as well as the need for universal education and vocational schools.

"Physical education instructors should proclaim the virtues of physical education to make every class of women prize highly the right development and improvement of the body, no longer holding to the old-time ideals of delicacy, smallness, youthful appearance, weakness. By this means not only can women attain to completely healthy vigour of mind and body form, but it will have a very great effect on the nation."

In the fourth essay the writer explains her views on women's rights, and in the last extract, from the ninth essay, we have a realization of the world-wide character of the Women's Movement and its place in the scheme of things.

"The Women's Movement is not perfected merely by shouting slogans such as 'Equal rights for men and

women.' No; the only true course is to develop one's own individuality, to educate oneself, to aim with all one's might at the perfection of industrial education, to obtain an ability capable of such endeavours. Thus we may look forward to gaining the highest power and distinction in the fields of skill and of practical affairs. If we make men as a whole acknowledge the ability of women, then without further effort we shall have reached the goal of equal rights for men and women! Should we not follow this true course then? Even though in politics and law women's rights are truly equal to men's, if we ourselves have not the power to put these rights into practice, they are of no avail.

"Then how earnestly must we work, how much must we exhort, that our Chinese sisters, who constitute more than one-eighth of the world's population, may do the work of humanity side by side with the men of the world. Heavy indeed is the responsibility that rests upon us."

From the meeting at Canton a committee of women were appointed to carry forward their demands to the Provincial Government, for while on paper the National Government has granted them equality, the full recognition, especially in the legal field, is slow of coming, though in September the Provincial Court at Shanghai upheld a woman who claimed her share of inheritance against the claims of brothers and nephews.

In the *China Critic* of last July was quoted a National Government order repeating Article 12 of the Nationalist Party's home policy, "which ensured the emancipation of women's rights in China on the principle of equality between men and women in law, in economics, in education, and in society."

The suffrage today is confined to members of the National Party, and as women have full equality, it is to be expected that as the suffrage is extended the equality will keep pace with it. The National Government has invited women to share its responsibilities and we find among the members of the new Legislative Council the names of two very distinguished women—Mrs. Chiang Kai Shek and Miss Soumé Tcheng.

Age-long custom is in China, as in other countries, the worst enemy of emancipation, but there, at any rate, customs are seen to be changing with an almost incredible rapidity. One can see women, whose feet were bound as children, marching slowly and with difficulty in processions beside the men—proclaiming their ideals for their country as a

whole; the old labyrinthine family house sending forth its young married daughters to study medicine and law; young women wearing a kind of uniform, living in barracks, and being instructed in propaganda for the Kuomintang. From all that we heard and saw, the Chinese people do not intend to allow the barriers of custom to stay the flow of the new tide.

The balance and reasoned judgment in the writers of the essays, we found in general among the women we met in the north, south, and centre of China, where we talked with them singly and in groups; a habit of mind which seemed to us full of hope and promise for the future.

The belief in a united country, the desire to serve her, were very evident wherever we went. The new China that is being slowly evolved under the surface of conflict and disorganization appears a very real thing to them. While we received the warmest of welcomes everywhere we went, and were treated as friends and honoured guests, we were aware of bitterness, especially among the younger women, at the slowness with which the new order of things was being recognized by the foreign Powers. They were very frank with us, which was a proof of real friendship, and we gathered that "unequal treaties" and "Imperialism" signified to them an attitude of overbearingness and injustice—unequal treatment, in fact, that was deeply resented; but nowhere did we find any desire to use force to bring about desired changes. It is possible that our different standard of manners has something to do with this resentment. The exquisite politeness and courtesy of the Chinese people must receive continual shocks from our unintentionally curt and off-hand manner, and if every visitor to China would learn beforehand Confucius' directions for behaviour in a foreign country, we should have far less misunderstanding than we have today:

"If you visit a foreign state, ask what the prohibitions are; if you go into a strange neighbourhood, inquire what the manners and customs are.

"When you are away from home, behave yourself as if receiving a great personage; when employing people, behave as if assisting at some great sacrifice.

"Do not do to others what you would not have others do to you."

We found everywhere a real desire for peace, a detestation of war, and a desire to co-operate with other nations in bringing about a better world order. Individual Chinese women were working quietly in Shanghai and Peking

together with the foreign women to bring about a better understanding, and they gave us every help, there and in all the other centres, in spreading our message of friendship and goodwill as wide as possible.

In closing I will quote from a letter received lately from a woman professor whose acquaintance I made in Nanking :

"Women as the mothers of nations must demand and command the world to bring that dream of peace into reality. They must do it; nobody else can do it for them. This calls for a need of an intellectual womanhood with spiritual power—women who have vision, who know their mission, and who have tools to make their contribution felt by humanity. Women must know what they want, and then hold on to it, stand for it with firm determination. . . . I only wish that women of all nations, East or West, will unite in the construction of this arc of peace, which is the only means to save humanity from destruction by the flood of war. I believe this arc of peace knows no East, no West. She certainly will serve the humanity which knows no national barriers."

Surely we may feel that the Women's Movement in China, led by such women as these, should strengthen our hopes that the new China which is now emerging will take her place in the family of nations as one of the guardians of the peace of the world.

SYRIA

BY CAPTAIN DUNCAN MCCALLUM, M.C.

SINCE 1919 much has been written about Syria, both in English and French. There is little need, therefore, to recapitulate here the "whys" and "wherefores" of the various Treaties and Accords arranged between Great Britain and France, and Great Britain and the Arabs, which led to the partitioning up of the Arab territories wrested from the Turkish Empire as a result of the Great War. Rightly or wrongly, the Mandate for that territory which is now known as Syria was placed in the hands of the French.

THE ANGORA ACCORD

In examining the situation in Syria today, it is essential to cast one's mind back to those troublous and agitated years immediately after the War. At that time it was a French belief that Great Britain was taking the part of her Arab friends in detriment to the interests of France in Syria. In order to counterbalance the activities of the Arabs against French influence in Syria, certain individuals in Paris began making overtures to Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the leader of the post-War Turkish Nationalist movement. This rapprochement to their former enemies, the Turks, was actuated by a desire not only to get on even terms with Great Britain and the Arabs, but also to bring to an end the military operations that had been going on between Kemalists and French along the Turco-Syrian border ever since the French troops occupied the territory over which they had accepted the Mandate. The rapprochement was engineered principally by M. Franklin-Bouillon and General Mougin, contrary to the views of all French civil and military officials on the spot. The then High Commissioner for Syria, General Gouraud, and particularly the French G.O.C. in Cilicia, were bitterly opposed to the negotiations concluded in 1922 between the Kemalists at Angora and M. Franklin-Bouillon, the French delegate. According to the terms of this Accord, which was fiercely assailed by many Members in the French "*Chambre des Députés*," the French handed back to the Turks that territory known as Cilicia; a long strip of territory in Kurdistan; and large quantities of war material. The French G.O.C., whose

troops, gallantly led by himself, had withstood magnificently the Turkish inroads, hearing that he would be called upon to hand over that territory for which he had been struggling so long, asked to be relieved from his post before the date arrived, that he might be spared the ignominy of complying with these terms.

In return for giving up so much territory to the Kemalists, M. Franklin-Bouillon and the French Government were promised all sorts of commercial concessions in Turkey proper.

Unfortunately for France, her delegates who signed the Angora Accord had not yet learnt the ways of Oriental diplomacy. They were, however, soon to be enlightened. Little did M. Franklin-Bouillon realize that the astute Turk, faced by hostile Greeks at one end of his country, and the hostile French at the other, was only scheming to placate one of those enemies long enough to enable him to deal effectively with the other. Being now assured of peace at his back, Mustapha Kemal, his army largely re-equipped with the valuable munitions of war surrendered by the French, proceeded to turn the Greeks out of Asia Minor. In achieving this, the Turks threatened the British and French in Constantinople, and all the world remembers those weeks when it looked as though an ambitious Mustapha Kemal would precipitate another war by attacking the British forces at Chanak. Fortunately for him, Kemal obtained by negotiation what he would never have got by force of arms, and in due course the Allied occupation of Constantinople came to an end.

Victorious in the west, in 1924 and 1925 the Turks turned once again to their south-eastern frontiers, and again the old story of frontier raids and other guerilla incidents was repeated almost daily. In spite of the Angora Accord, and the concessions that had been made to obtain it, the French found themselves just as much hated, and perhaps even more despised than their British neighbours in Iraq. For a time the question of Mosul was predominant, but fortunately the British Government stood firm, and the Turkish claim to Mosul was rejected. Seeing his bluff called by the British in Iraq, Mustapha Kemal, or rather his subordinates, intensified more than ever the old game of "nibbling" at Syria. Frequent frontier raids were staged, and intensive propaganda was carried out throughout the length and breadth of Syria. This time M. Franklin-

Bouillon and his colleagues were not allowed to interfere, and the French stood firm against the Turkish threats. But for many months conditions were so critical that, often, it was rumoured the French were going to give way again. For the last twelve months or so the situation on the Turco-Syrian frontier has been more or less quiet. But the French, not only in Syria, but also in Paris, have long since realized their folly and weakness in allowing M. Franklin-Bouillon to conclude the Angora Accord.

While the situation on the northern frontier of Syria continued more or less hostile, for a long time the conditions on the eastern and southern frontiers were also very disturbed. From the time that the French turned the Emir Feisal out of Damascus there is no doubt that they have been, and still are, distinctly unpopular with the Asiatic Arab Moslems. Skirmishes have constantly taken place between Arab tribes in the Gezireh and on the right bank of the Euphrates. And when the Emir Feisal was installed in Baghdad as King of Iraq, it is hardly surprising that the French authorities in Syria should regard the situation on the eastern frontier as equally hostile to that on the northern. Add to these conditions the state of unrest which existed on the Syro-Trans-Jordan frontier, culminating in 1925-26 in the Druse rebellion, and it will readily be understood that little internal progress could be made; the external situation on all sides was so fraught with danger. In co-operation with Turkish and Arab external activities, a great deal of hostile propaganda was being carried out in the interior of Syria. Directed, and sometimes materially assisted, by agents from over the northern frontier, revolts and lawlessness broke out in several districts. In the Ansarieh mountains the French were engaged for two or three years in restoring order. In the Antioch district and in the Amanus and Kurd Dagh mountains internal communications were cut off by brigand bands who were alleged to be in the pay of the Turks. In the desert, east of the Rayak-Aleppo Railway, frequent marauding attacks were made upon French and Syrian outposts.

THE WORKING OF THE MANDATE

For ten years now the French have been carrying out the Mandate over Syria which they accepted from the League of Nations. What progress have they made towards carrying out the conditions to which they agreed when the Mandate was accepted? Often her critics have accused

France of adopting in Syria the same tactics as she employs in her North African colonies, and these selfsame critics have urged that although what are described as ordinary colonial methods may be acceptable to the Arabs of North Africa, they are not acceptable to the Arabs of Syria. It is possible there may be some truth in this criticism. Certain it is, that, largely owing to French influence in the Eastern Mediterranean for years before the War, a large number of the natives of Syria are highly educated and intelligent people, capable of more than holding their own with Westerners in political and commercial spheres. Commercially, indeed, they are unrivalled throughout the whole world; but politically their status is not so high, for the very good reason that they are incapable of backing up their political claims and negotiations by a display of unquestioned military power. Until the Syrians are in a position to back up their protestations by a show of disciplined military force, it would seem that the French methods of administration carried out in Morocco might equally well be applied to Syria.

Others have criticized, and with a good deal of justification, the methods of the French Government in replacing their High Commissioners in Syria at very short intervals, and in having no continuity of policy which these numerous High Commissioners could follow. During the last ten years France has appointed six different High Commissioners for Syria. Each one of them has taken his own line and pursued a policy according to his own conception, often at distinct variance to that of his predecessor.

In addition to other difficulties, the French in Syria have had to contend, as the British in Palestine, with religious as well as political questions of momentous importance. Ever since 1860 the French have exercised a strong influence over the Lebanon, which, even in Turkish times, was an almost autonomous province of the Turkish Empire. Prior to the War, the French language and French arts were taught in most of the schools which were conducted by the various Christian religious Orders that inhabited the mountains. The Maronites have been the predominant sect, and the Maronite Patriarch of the Lebanon was especially looked upon as a French protégé. As a reward for his pro-Ally, and particularly pro-French, influence during the War, he was awarded a very high distinction in the Order of the Legion of Honour. Therefore, when the French assumed the Mandate for Syria, which was to include the Lebanon, it is hardly surprising that the

Maronite community should look for special favour from their old protectors.

Those who have been stationed in the East know that intrigue is the breath of life to the Oriental, whether Moslem or Christian. What, then, should be more natural than that the Maronite protégés of the French should intrigue for the purpose of furthering their own ends? Accordingly petitions were put forward and deputations claimed that a large part of Moslem Syria really belonged to Christian Lebanon! In due course, and in spite of the fact that more than three-quarters of the population were Moslems, the Syrian districts of Bekaa, Rasheya, and Hasbeya were included in the Christian State of the Lebanon. A fine crop of internal trouble was being sown in making this decision. Practically ever since then these three districts have been in a state of turmoil and vendetta. Moslems waylay and murder Christians; Christians waylay and murder Druses; Druses waylay and assassinate Maronites!

Still another factor which has tended to delay the development of Syria in post-War days is the currency. When the British forces occupied the country after the final operations against the Turks in 1918, an almost completely ruined Turkish currency was still in circulation. In order to meet the requirements of the Allied troops in the country, Egyptian currency was substituted for the depreciated one. All Allied troops were paid in Egyptian money, and contracts for supplies, materials, local resources, etc., were settled in the same coinage. Consequently within a very few months Egyptian coinage came to be accepted throughout Syria and Palestine as the recognized currency of the country. Soon after the French took over the occupation and administration of Syria, every effort was made to substitute a new Syrian currency based on the French franc. At that time in international finance circles the rate of exchange had gone very much against the franc. When, therefore, the Syrian piastre was made the only legal currency within the confines of Syria, Syrian merchants were very much averse to accepting it. As the French authorities had to meet all their requirements in French francs, it was not surprising that they should wish to have a currency in the country based on their own coinage. But, alas! the prestige of the franc had suffered enormously in comparison with that of the pound sterling, upon which the currencies of Syria's neighbours were based. The feelings of Syrian merchants in regard to their export trade with their neighbours were

bitter, and Syrian intriguers had one more grievance with which to belabour the French.

NATIVE GOVERNMENT IN SYRIA

In the foregoing paragraphs an attempt has been made to show how the present situation in Syria has been arrived at. In the opinion of many, there is no doubt that the prospects in Syria are less pleasing now than they were four or five years ago. Under that able administrator, General Weygand, it seemed as though law and order and a certain upward tendency of commercial development were being established. Relations with the countries bordering upon Syria had become more amicable, and rebellions within had been suppressed. The Syrians themselves and all their well-wishers were of the opinion that at last the development of the country was to proceed apace. Unfortunately, presumably for political reasons in France, General Weygand was relieved of his appointment as High Commissioner, and General Sarraill sent out in his place. From the moment of General Weygand's departure, the peaceful economic development of Syria was not only arrested, but started to go backwards.

During, and in spite of, the almost continual disturbances recounted in the preceding paragraphs, the French authorities in Syria made repeated attempts to carry out the terms of the Mandate and establish some form of native government. The precise form of such government has changed from time to time. In the last year or two, more and more endeavours have been made to increase the responsibility of native officials. At the end of 1928 there were two distinct Governments in Syria: (i.) the Government of the Republic of the Lebanon; and (ii.) the Government of the State of Syria, with its headquarters at Damascus.

(i.) *The Lebanon*

In whatever way the policies of the succeeding High Commissioners may have differed from that of their predecessors, on one question there has always been a fixed ruling. That is, that the Lebanon, with its majority of Christian inhabitants, should remain autonomous and politically distinct from the rest of the mandated territory of Syria. Until recently the head of the Lebanese Government was a Frenchman, on the principle that, in a locality where religious and political feelings run so high, the Governor should be a stranger belonging to none of the contending

communities. About 1926 the growing demand of the inhabitants was "the Lebanon for the Lebanese." In order to satisfy this demand, the French modified their methods. A form of franchise was established, and the inhabitants were encouraged to elect their own representatives. The Lebanon became known as the Republic of the Lebanon, and from the elected representatives a Cabinet of seven Ministers was chosen. A Beyrout Christian, who in the former administration had been Minister for Justice, was elected President of the Republic. In March, 1928, the Lebanese Cabinet was reduced from seven Ministers to three. This was done in the interests of both economy and efficiency. This Ministry had not been in power very long when a violent campaign was started against it in the Press. On August 9, 1928, an extra Session of the Lebanese Assembly was called by the President. During this Session, organized Maronite "cliques" howled down each Minister as he defined his policy. In despair the Ministry resigned. A new Ministry of five members was then formed, bringing back again the old-fashioned religious representation. Of the five new Ministers, two are Maronites; one is a Melchite Catholic; one is a Shia Moslem; and the other a Sunni Moslem. How long this Ministry will last it is impossible to say.

(ii) *The State of Syria*

Simultaneously with the development of the Government of the Lebanon, a form of native government for the State of Syria was established. There were constant disputes as to whether the seat of government should be at Aleppo in the north, or at Damascus in the south. At one time the French tried to compromise with the rival claims by arranging that the Government should sit in alternate years at Aleppo and Damascus. This arrangement was obviously doomed to failure, if only for economic reasons. Eventually in 1923 a Government was established at Damascus, with Subhi Bey Bereket, an Antioch Moslem, at its head. Representatives of the States of Aleppo, the Allaouites, Damascus, and the Jebel Druse were duly elected, and took their seats in the Government at Damascus. The election of these representatives caused a certain amount of discontent throughout the country, it being alleged that the delegates were all nominees of the French, against whom the insinuation of having manipulated the elections was made. Whatever the reason, there is no doubt that the Syrian Nationalist party, which had

been yearly growing in strength, and whose activities were centred principally in Damascus, started repeated agitations for the purpose of rendering the task of government impossible for Subhi Bey Bereket and his Ministers. In due course Subhi Bey Bereket and his Ministry resigned, and a Provisional Government was established by order of the French under the leadership of Sheikh Taj ed Din el Hassani, a Damascus notable believed to be imbued with pro-French feelings. Undismayed, the Syrian Nationalists increased their activities. During the latter days of March, 1928, the Nationalist party held a Convention in Damascus, which was attended by delegates from Aleppo, Homs, Hama, and other districts. At the conclusion of the Convention a strong appeal or manifesto was issued, setting forth their grievances and hopes. In February, 1928, the present High Commissioner, M. Ponsot, had made a public declaration of the French policy on the question of Syria. This was the first definite pronouncement that had been made by M. Ponsot since he arrived to take up the post of High Commissioner after the withdrawal of M. de Jouvenal. For more than a year Syria had been awaiting a declaration in which it was hoped that the position between France and Syria would be definitely outlined. M. Ponsot's declaration, when it came, failed to meet with the approval of the Nationalists, who complained, amongst other things, (a) that a number of prominent Nationalist leaders had been excluded from the general amnesty which was granted subsequent to the Druse rebellion, (b) that Syrian Government officials were permitted to seek nomination to office, and (c) that the High Commissioner's declaration did not pronounce Syria to be a free country with a right to choose its own form of government. The Nationalist idea was that a Treaty proposed by M. Ponsot between France and Syria should be entered into for a definite term, and as between equals.

In April, 1928, the new elections promised by the High Commissioner in his declaration took place. There were two parties in the field—the Government party and the Nationalist party. After much excitement, with feeling running very high, the elections resulted in the Nationalists winning by an overwhelming majority. During the elections riots took place in Damascus, it being alleged that the Minister of the Interior of the Provisional Government was found to be unlawfully interfering with the poll! As soon as the result of the elections became known,

demonstrations were the order of the day throughout Syria and in many parts of the Lebanon.

With the establishment of a Syrian Assembly so overwhelmingly Nationalist in character, many of the most important inhabitants of the Jebel Druse became strongly in favour of re-incorporating the Government of the Jebel Druse with that of the rest of the State of Syria. As a result of the rebellion in 1925-26, the Jebel Druse had ceased to be represented in the Government at Damascus. Whether the principal leaders of that rebellion would be in favour of such a move is open to doubt. They were among the few who were not included in the general amnesty granted by the French High Commissioner in February, 1928. Sultan Pasha el Atrash with his family and many other Druses have settled in the Wadi Sirhan, out of reach of the arm of the law as represented by the French authorities in Syria.

On June 9, 1928, the new Syrian Constitutional Assembly was formally opened in Damascus by the High Commissioner. Sixty-nine delegates attended, and Hashim Bey al Atasi of Homs, the Nationalist leader, was elected Chairman by a majority of forty-eight. Great enthusiasm reigned in Damascus, and large crowds of cheering people escorted each delegate from his house or hotel to the Parliament Building. At the opening of the first Session of the new Assembly the High Commissioner gave an address, the outstanding points of which were: (i.) that the delegates were at liberty to draft the Syrian Constitution as they wished, (ii.) that neither he nor his subordinates would interfere with their deliberations.

In spite of these assurances on the part of M. Ponsot, on August 11 the Assembly was prorogued for three months owing to the High Commissioner's objections to various clauses drafted into the new Syrian Constitution. The effect of this action on the population of Syria can well be imagined. Sheikh Taj ed Din, who had professed himself a sincere supporter of the Nationalists, was repudiated by these latter as playing a double game; he was accused of acting in the interests of the French.

THE FUTURE

At the end of August the High Commissioner proceeded to Paris, presumably to lay the whole position before the French Government, and in November the Syrian Assembly was again prorogued for a further three months, until February, 1929. The outcome of this situation is of great interest, not only to Syria and France, but also to Great

Britain and the Arab territories under her Mandate. There are many who believe that if only it could be done with little or no loss of prestige to themselves, the French Government would be very pleased to withdraw from Syria. What the effect of such a withdrawal would be, it is hard to predict. But if the object were to leave the Syrians to govern themselves, without the moral and material support of one of the great European Powers, there is no doubt that their country would very soon be re-annexed by Turkey. The Turkish language is spoken just as much amongst the inhabitants of Northern Syria as Arabic, and for years past many of the principal landowners in the Aleppo, Alexandretta, and Latakia districts have shown increasing sympathy for their former Turkish overlords.

Whether present political and economic difficulties in Syria will be solved in the near future or not, it is difficult for anyone to predict. There is a growing feeling amongst the merchants of Syria, in common with the merchants of Iraq and Palestine, that one of the most favourable solutions of the economic difficulties would be to abolish all customs-tariffs between the various Mandated Territories, which, in pre-War days, were part and parcel of the Turkish Empire. It is claimed that the tariff-barriers on the present political frontiers are unnatural. In the old days Baghdad and the valley of the Tigris looked upon Damascus and Aleppo as the two great markets for their dates. The sheep-farmers of Northern Iraq and Southern Kurdistan looked upon Aleppo as the natural market for their flocks. Commercial relations between what are now Palestine, Syria, Trans-Jordan, and Iraq were in pre-War days as simple as those existing between England, Scotland, and Wales. The Arabs (under the classification of Arabs are included Syrians) are a people given to keeping up age-old customs, crafts, and trades. It is claimed by them that it is unreasonable to cut up their country, as a result of a political movement in Europe consequent upon the Great War, and then to expect their old commercial activities to continue, not only unhindered, but with profit. Whatever other solutions may be put forward as a remedy for the existing state of affairs in Syria, one thing is certain, and that is that commercial development cannot possibly progress until the present system of customs-barriers with its Arab neighbours has been modified. It is possible that the construction of the proposed "pipe-line" from the oil-fields of Iraq to the Mediterranean may have some bearing upon the settlement of this question.

THE FAR EAST

HISTORICAL ANALOGIES OF THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CHINA.—II.*

BY W. J. CLENNEL.

II. IF the parts of China, like the parts of Europe, have become the home of organized civilization at very various dates, there are, none the less, striking differences between their evolution and that of the Western nations.

European history begins with a long period in which its most active and developed communities were located on islands and peninsulas of the Mediterranean Sea, all of very small area, all intensely self-conscious and jealous of their tribal or city independence, but many of them sufficiently advanced to possess a brilliant and varied civilized life.

There followed another long period in which, first, the conquests of the Macedonian kings, then those of Rome, then the transformation of ideas wrought by wider religious and philosophical principles, and, in particular, by the Christian Church, introduced another outlook. Although permanent political cohesion was never really reached, there were approaches to it, and the conception of mankind—at any rate of Christendom—as a unity whose constituent members formed in some sense one commonwealth, became, in spite of war and discord, generally accepted in theory.

But in a group of peninsulas like Europe, where civilization had spread not from the centre to the extremities but from the extremities, or the sea shore, towards the interior, amalgamation was infinitely difficult. On the one hand, the world of Western culture absorbed and incorporated new elements of sufficient vigour and vitality to balance the contributions of the old civilization. On the other it split into parts which, while possessing features in common, at least in their origin, diverged far too widely in their development to combine. Each of these parts, the Latin-Germanic part, the Greek-Byzantine part, and the Semitic-Muslim part, furthermore spread its religion and culture to vast distances over regions that had formerly been either entirely barbarous or lay outside the native area of Mediterranean civilization.

* The first section was published in October, 1928.

Thus the world of the Middle Ages, though it tried to adopt a political theory of a paramount unity in which the Emperor and the Head of the Christian Church formed, in their respective spheres, a sort of joint apex, found itself confronted with a state of facts making the realization of that theory a vain dream. The real activity of the West was increasingly displayed by growing nations, proud of their independence, that either rejected Papal and Imperial authority altogether or excluded it from the business of their daily life. So arose our modern world, essentially secular in spirit, relying on observation, experiment and adventure, critical of every claim of authority, individualistic, and, especially, asserting the doctrine, not only of the independence, but of the essential equality of its constituent political states. Europe had, with far larger units and on a far wider area, worked its way back to the old Greek notion of local patriotism.

For the last five hundred years the Western world has exhibited the spectacle of an internal struggle to maintain or overthrow the balance of power among its constituent states, and an external expansion of European population into many, and of influence into all, parts of the other continents. Yet, though sovereignties of Western type have come to embrace the greater part of the earth, and though they have a sufficient similarity of tradition and outlook to make intercommunication of ideas comparatively easy and intimate, even the vast advances of modern science, facilities of rapid transport and transmission of news, command of natural forces, and the ramifications of commerce and finance, have so far failed to bring about unity of control, or even general acceptance of a doctrine that such unity is desirable or possible.

12. In China, on the other hand, the accepted theory of the universe has implied, for as far back as records extend, the doctrine of the rightful existence of one single paramount sovereignty over mankind, and, during several long periods of Chinese history, dynasties have borne sway so nearly universal over the regions with which the Chinese have been familiar, as to make it inevitable that the claim of those dynasties to be the holders of an unique Divine Commission should be practically unquestioned. Even during the intervals—the frequent and sometimes very long intervals—when no such universal dynastic power has in fact existed, the dogma that it ought to exist has held good. Paramount rule over mankind, unlimited by any geographical frontier, has, in all periods, been the aim, or at

least the claim, of every Chinese régime that has controlled any large area with any hope of perpetuating itself. If it has sometimes been difficult to say where the Commission resided, that difficulty has no more affected the dogma of T'ien Ming than the rival claim of Popes reigning at Rome and Avignon, or of Emperors in Germany or Constantinople, affected our mediæval theories in the days of Dante.

And this Chinese dogma of a single, universal sovereignty has not only had thousands of years in which to become ingrained, but has been powerfully helped, where corresponding Western theories have been fatally hindered, by the facts of geography as known to its adherents.

13. Instead of spreading from the sea towards the interior, the main stream of Chinese civilization arose in a single, limited nucleus far from the coast. Instead of being carried to numerous separate islands and peninsulas, each of which could develop institutions, language, literature, even religion, on its own lines, but between which the sea afforded a ready means, not indeed of incorporation, but of communication, Chinese civilization made its way, over a land mass devoid of permanent, necessary frontier lines, and chiefly along inland river valleys. When at length it reached the sea, it found not a highway but a barrier. Every one of the ancient capitals was situated far inland. Till relatively modern times not one site of real importance is found on or near the coast.

Instead of incorporating, one after another, a long succession of varied, external cultures, so that the resultant draws its features from many sources, no one of which predominates in importance over the rest, and instead of having been the scene of competition, on fairly equal terms, between powerful, rival communities, only one foreign important element, the Buddhist religion, has been in the past of sufficient importance to modify seriously the mental outlook of the Chinese masses, and even that has left the political system, and the culture of the educated, governing class, but slightly affected.

Surrounded by peoples of far lower organization, the ancient Chinese could not but believe themselves to be the only civilized people in existence, and that idea has been transmitted through the centuries as the racial creed of their descendants. Sober, sensible people stay at home, and do not risk their lives or their dignity by exploring the waste places and rubbish heaps where outer barbarians wallow in benighted ignorance along the edges of the universe.

14. A racial creed, or racial psychology of this kind can

never be suddenly changed. The disappearance of the conditions which encouraged its growth is not followed, it may be for ages, by an adaptation of men's minds to the new conditions. They are the children of their predecessors, and are merely made fretful and uneasy by the unfamiliarity of their new surroundings, among which they seek a foothold for the assertion of their old principles.

What the world is witnessing in China during the present age is the reaction on a very old society of a large mass of undigested facts inconsistent with, and deeply repugnant to, the inherited temper of the Chinese people. Yet, because they are the same people, it is in their history and not in that of other countries, that really enlightening parallels to their present problems, and suggestions for their solution, are mainly to be sought.

15. I have already mentioned that China has experienced many long periods of disunion in the past. It is in these periods that analogies with the present state are chiefly, but not exclusively, to be found.

The longest, and in some ways the most fruitful field of such historical analogies, is the first, the era of effacement of the legitimate, titular "Heavenly Kings" and of contests of ever increasing ferocity between warring "feudal" states, that extends for five hundred years from the removal of the Chou capital from Chishan in modern Shensi to Loyang in modern Honan, down to the Ch'in conquest—say, from 770 to about 250 B.C. To most Chinese, and to some foreign writers, looking at history through Confucian spectacles, this era has seemed to be one of demoralization and decay, but this is surely not the whole truth. On the contrary no other period shows so great and rapid an expansion of the territory with which history is concerned, or such important developments of intellectual activity. It is the most truly creative age of Chinese civilization—one, moreover, in which events worked themselves out to the bitter end with very little interference from outside.

The Ch'in conquest itself has this much in common with the present Chinese revolutionary outbreaks, that it was characterized by a violent and sweeping attempt to break away from old memories and traditions. What had been, perhaps pedantically and irrationally, accepted as orthodox was irrationally and pedantically, not to say cruelly, swept aside. But while much of the resulting consolidation stood the test of time, this purely brutal phase of innovation did not. The Han régime that followed and under which China enjoyed comparative stability for four centuries,

returned in the main to traditional conventions. It accustomed many generations to see in the Imperial power a realization of that ideal of a divinely commissioned sovereignty on earth that had always prevailed in theory. It vastly extended the area over which the Imperial power was acknowledged, and its warlike and diplomatic interventions into distant parts of Asia not only impressed its neighbours with the feeling of its superiority but opened a channel by which the Chinese world came to be fertilized by new ideals.

Then came another period of disruption, lasting from the end of the second to near the end of the sixth century A.D. In some of its phases this was nearly as chaotic as the old era of inter-state feudal wars. It differed in being a period wherein little was added to national culture, but the whole Chinese world was permeated by Buddhism, and in the fact that whereas in the earlier age Chinese adventurers had extended Chinese institutions in all directions, in the latter we constantly find Tartar chiefs ruling over Chinese populations. So far as there are analogies with the present troubles they are to be sought in the infiltration of foreign influences.

A second great Chinese Empire followed under the Sui and T'ang dynasties, an era of artistic, emotional advance more than of sustained intellectual progress or political stability, but which nevertheless witnessed the definite incorporation of the maritime south, the percolation by Chinese ideals of Japan, and important developments in religion and poetry.

The phase of weakness and disruption between the decadence of the T'ang and the rise of the Sung Empire is full of instructive parallels with the modern situation. Many of its fleeting kingdoms are recognizably the modern provinces, and the local despotisms, mostly ruled by merely selfish adventurers, but sometimes, as in the case of the Kings of Wuyüeh, reigning in what is now Chekiang, animated with a genuine spirit of progress and improvement, seem very similar to the Tuchüns and Tupans whose kaleidoscopic squabbles and ephemeral alliances constitute so large a part of recent Chinese history. When agitators in Fouchow wished to reproach Admiral Sak Chenping with being too friendly to foreigners, they compared him to Shih Ching t'ang, who, under the shadow of Chitan patronage, founded the Later Chen dynasty in 947.

In the Sung régime which emerged in the later half of the tenth century and lasted in the north of China till the

Nuchên Tartar conquest, and in the south till it was overthrown by Kublai, the main interest centres, on the one hand, round struggles with northern nomadic invaders by whom the Chinese were worsted, and on the other round what is known as the Confucian renaissance, of which the social side organized the Chinese people on that basis of subordination to a professional scholar class that prevailed till the last days of the Empire, and though it may be submerged and weakened, has surely not wholly lost its hold today. If we seek in Sung times for parallels with present-day characteristics, it may be heresy to suggest that the character and career of the doctrinaire Wang An-shih, chief minister under Sung Shen-tsung, contemporary with William the Conqueror, may throw a good deal of light upon the mentality of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

The later periods, the Mongol dominion, the Ming and the Manchu dynasty, present many instances of widespread civil convulsions, and some periods at least when it remained long uncertain which one, among a number of simultaneous revolutionary movements, would finally absorb its rivals and stabilize its power. That was the situation during the collapse of the Mongols in the middle of the fourteenth century. But neither then, nor when the intervention of the Manchus redeemed China from the anarchy to which rebellions against the decadent Ming dynasty had reduced the country, was there any real danger of China splitting permanently into a group of independent parts. All through these episodes the theory of the oneness of the Divine Commission held firm enough to translate itself into fact so soon as the fortune of war had shown where the Commission resided.

For China is not like Japan. Their sovereignty, however shorn at times of actual authority, has been transmitted from first to last to the remotest descendants of an ancestral Sun God. In China orthodoxy very distinctly contemplates the legitimacy, on occasion, of revolt and revolution. The Commission of God is not for ever, *T'ien Ming pu tsai yü ch'ang*. It may be revoked, and when misrule or disaster persists to such a point as to induce the conviction that it has been revoked, the duty of the subject is to look for and adhere to the new appointee. The faithful adherent of forlorn hopes may be sometimes admired, but finds few followers.

To the northern provinces the Manchu conquest of the seventeenth century was a relief from intolerable misery. The south required to be subdued in detail, and even then

felt humiliated in submitting, so that the elimination of Ming "pretenders" was the prelude to a war against recalcitrant Viceroyalties which did not close till forty years after the Manchu occupation of Peking. But when at length internal peace was established, about 1683, the Empire entered upon a hundred years of greater tranquillity, more rapid increase of wealth and population, and wider territorial expansion than in any previous stage.

But, like all the rest, the Manchu dynasty sank into decrepitude. It had the added misfortune to do so just at the point of time when contact with foreign powers far more vigorous and better equipped than China became a sufficiently important factor to force the question of the relations of China to the outside world into a prominence for which Chinese mentality and existing Chinese laws and institutions were utterly unprepared. The whole body of doctrine upon which Chinese mankind had all through the ages based its theory of the universe appeared to be menaced with disintegration. No wonder the result has been a long succession of tragedies.

The whole subsequent history, from the abdication of Ch'ien-lung in 1795, is distinctly preparatory to the revolutions of our time. Seen in the light of later events, many of the episodes of the nineteenth century seem even to be rehearsals of what was to come. For example, what could be more similar to the Kuomintang advance to the Yangtse in 1926, and thence northward in 1927 and the present year, than the earlier phases of the T'ai ping war in 1853 to 1855? All along, we meet with the same types, similar characters, similar actions. When appeal is made to mob passions today, it is supported by the same old stories. When sweeping innovations are proclaimed or attempted, there is the same naïve belief in the efficacy of mere doctrinaire assertion, the same disproportion between the programmes that are announced and the means available for carrying them out—whether the author be Commissioner Lin Tse-hsü in 1839, K'ang Yu-wei in 1898, or the student agitators of today. Nowhere in the world is it easier than in China to put forward rules and regulations—for instance, the Provisional Factory Regulations issued in Peking in 1923—and nowhere is it more difficult to translate those rules into anything more than pious aspirations or stage thunder—now, especially, when so many of the old objects of reverence have been ripped up and shown to be dolls stuffed with sawdust.

The analogies of the past point to the restoration of

unity, sooner or later, under competent leaders who are neither violent innovators nor mere despots, but the problems of the day lie so largely outside the range of native Chinese tradition and even of the scope of native ethics that it may be unsafe to regard those analogies as a reliable guide, and the question would seem to confront the world whether, China not being a State in any accepted sense of that word, it is possible for the rest of the world to regard the condition of China as merely one of civil war in which outsiders, however seriously affected, must remain onlookers. If the League of Nations and the Pact signed so recently in Paris are to be realities, is it not possible that the acid test of their usefulness will come when the parties to them take the problem of China seriously in hand?

CORRESPONDENCE

SIND AND THE PUNJAB

SIR,

Sir Louis Dane's article on "Sind and the Punjab" is naturally, and no doubt intentionally, *ex parte*, so that a statement of the case from the Sind point of view, whether in agreement or otherwise, is necessary to complete it.

The arguments in favour of the union of Sind and the Punjab are easy to see. Physically, the Indus Valley is one country. Racially, the people of Sind and at least the Western Punjab are one people. Besides the Jats and Baluchis, which are common to both, the bulk of both nations consists of Rajputs of the Yadav and Pramars clans, Buddhists before by religion but Muslims from the earliest days of Islam. In language they are clearly divided; but Western Punjabi has very much in common with Sindhi and is spoken in Sind, not only on the Punjab border, but in other parts of Upper Sind which were colonized by the Kalhoras and Talpur Mirs—it is so common that the present writer used at one time to speak it every day.

On the other hand, the connection with Bombay is not only, as Sir Louis shows, fortuitous and unnatural, but is also unpopular in Sind. This seems a strong case. But nationality is a strange thing and depends much on "imponderables." Would not all this be equally true of Serbia and Croatia, which were united into Yugoslavia at the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire? The position of Croatia is analogous in many ways to that of Sind. Yet although the Croats themselves seem to have thought at the time that they would get on well with the Serbians, the actual result of the union has been intolerable strife and hatred.

The case of Sind is perhaps even less promising, because the Sindhi and the Punjabi would begin with quite a little aversion. Not that the Sindhi has any special objection to his rural neighbours of Dera Ghazi and Muzaffargarh: but he does not like the Punjabis of the East and North. Very fine fellows these are, undoubtedly, but perhaps rather too well aware of it and inclined to rub it in. To do them justice, much of the rubbing in has been done for them by English officials in Sind, for at one time it was the fashion to admire everything Punjabi and despise one's own people. The Sindhi rather doubts his inferiority—and rightly so. Perhaps some day he will get his name up again, as the Maratha did in the war. Meanwhile it does not make for cordiality.

Nor does the Sindhi like what he knows of Punjabi administrative methods. At present he is governed in his own language, with a revenue system specially designed, adapted and re-adapted by growing experience to the peculiar conditions and customs of Sind. This system resembles nothing in Bombay. Indeed, in this case the remoteness and foreignness of the Provincial Government has actually been a blessing to Sind; no otherwise could she have enjoyed such liberty. The Sindhis fear that the Punjab might force upon them its own quite different revenue system and, worse still, the official paper language called Urdu. Probably the Punjab would not do so: but conceivably it might, whereas Bombay certainly will not.

The Hindus—that is to say, most of the traders and the intelligentsia

—have their own reasons for distrusting the union. They fear that a Muhammadan majority in the united province would extend to Sind such measures as the Land Alienation Act, and they fear that the Sindhi "kamora" would be swamped by the more influential Punjabi "amla." The Sindhi Hindus are near akin to those of the Punjab, and very alien from the orthodox castes of the Presidency. But in politics it is the name that counts, and the Hindus are against separation if only because the Muslims are for it.

The last union of these two nations was in Buddhist times, when the capital was at Aror, and Sind ruled the Punjab. Doubtless the Punjabis disliked that. Now it would be the other way round, and the Sindhis would dislike it.

That the higher officials in Sind and the business men of Karachi formerly opposed the union is correctly shown by Sir Louis Dane, but he does not seem to be completely informed about their reasons. Admiration of the Governor-in-Council system was much more common in Bombay newspapers than in Sind clubs. Certainly no one would have minded being under Sir Louis as Lieutenant-Governor. What was feared rather was the loss of Sind's present measure of independence, for the Commissioner in Sind has much of the position and powers of a Local Government. Similarly, the business men would have little joy in the promotion of the Punjab Chief Court to a High Court, as long as it was at Lahore, not at Karachi; rather would it be considered an obstacle to the promotion of the Karachi Court to a Chief Court, which the Bombay Government is now effecting. Some Sind officers would have liked the union for personal reasons, as they would feel more at home in the Punjab than in the alien South. But for public reasons it had few advocates.

What Sir Louis describes as the most vital and overwhelming argument for union is that which concerns irrigation. Nobody can deny its importance. But that it is an argument in favour of union will be vehemently denied in Sind. Never, men will say, was a clearer case of the tiger inviting the kid to lie down inside him. The Punjab canal schemes would, so Sind believes, drain the Indus almost dry. No doubt the Punjab opinion is that they would not injure Sind, but that opinion is entirely rejected in Karachi, in Bombay, and also in Delhi. Sind has been saved from this only by the veto of the Government of India, and that veto was obtained only by the strenuous efforts of the Bombay Government. If Sind were annexed to the Punjab, where would this safeguard be? Sind would be represented in Lahore, but by a minority only. She could not enforce her views, and the chance of changing the evidently firm opinions of the Punjab Government is not strong enough to inspire confidence. She could hardly appeal to Delhi against her own Government; and possibly by that time the irrigation experts at Delhi might be Punjab engineers and the actual initiators of these projects. Must Mariana sue Angelo in Angelo's own court? Surely not, when the Duke himself has already decided the case in her favour.

The Bombay Government has always meant well by Sind, but the circumstances have made difficulties and misunderstandings inevitable. It is therefore not surprising that the Muslim majority in Sind should advocate separation. But what they advocate is separation merely—i.e., Home Rule for Sind; an "Anschluss" with the Punjab is not at all what they want.

Now the creation of a small homogeneous province, whether practicable or not, is at least in accord with the Reform Scheme and the principles of self-determination, whereas the creation of a great and heterogeneous one is not. The Punjab-Sind province would, it is true, be smaller and less

heterogeneous than the present Bombay Presidency. But 900 miles of length is not so much less than 1,100; and the homogeneity is far from perfect. Therefore the union is probably impracticable in any case. Without the consent of Sind it seems certainly so.

That Sind, even if her claim to Home Rule is rejected, will consent to union with the Punjab seems hardly likely in view of what has been shown above. She is not so badly off under Bombay as all that. The experience of eighty-five years has evolved between her and her distant suzerain a *modus vivendi* which is very far from intolerable; whereas union with the Punjab would start a fresh conflict of interests of which the intensity and duration cannot be foreseen. Actually, of course, a just settlement would probably be reached, for the Punjab Government cannot be presumed to be unreasonable. But doubts there must inevitably be; and Sind will doubtless decide that she would rather bear the ills she has than fly to others that she knows not of.

Yours faithfully,
C. M. BAKER.

MORAL TRAINING IN INDIAN SCHOOLS

DEAR SIR,

In his paper to the East India Association on "Indian Education under the Reforms" in the January number of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, Mr. Richey writes: "The Indian schoolmaster is apt to confine his efforts at character training to repetition or display of moral precepts." This point does not appear to have been taken up in the debate, and in justice to Indian friends I should like to put forward another view of it.

In Eastern Bengal and the Surma Valley I have visited many schools and discussed their problems with many teachers, and I cannot call to mind a single High School headmaster who did not show himself conscious of the importance of moral training and aware of the defects of the existing system. Some of them wrote to me of schemes for the uplift of their pupils; a few actually tried them; but there was a consensus of opinion that the Indian schoolboy can be got at only through religion, and that with a purely secular curriculum it is impossible to impart to him moral training and discipline.

This aspect of the problem, ignored in the debate, except by Mr. Turnbull, cannot be stressed too strongly.

Yours truly,
J. E. WEBSTER.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE INDIAN COASTAL TRAFFIC BILL

BY FRANK BIRDWOOD

THE full title of the Measure which forms the subject of this paper is "A Bill to Reserve the Coastal Traffic of India to Indian Vessels." According to Mr. S. N. Haji, its sponsor :

The object of this Bill is to provide for the employment of Indian tonnage in the coastal traffic of British India and of the Continent of India. This Bill is intended to serve as a powerful aid to the rapid development of an Indian merchant marine. Several attempts made in this direction in the past have all practically failed, owing, it is believed, to the existence of powerful non-Indian interests in the coasting trade of India. There can be no doubt that the growth of an Indian merchant marine would prove a powerful factor in the employment of Indian talent and the further extension of Indian trade in various directions in a manner calculated to advance the national interests of India.

When opposing its introduction in the Legislative Assembly, Sir James Simpson, of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, observed :

Sir, how much better it would be for India if Indian politicians gave up their jealous attempts to supplant British effort, and occupied themselves in straining every nerve to supplement it. Do not waste time in trying to dispossess the men in possession. Break new ground. You have the advantage in your superior knowledge of your own country and countrymen. Indian, as against British-managed, concerns already enjoy the large advantage of cheaper management, while, in a degree peculiarly exclusive to Indians, there lies open to them the immense potentiality of financial resources in India's enormous idle and unproductive wealth. With such advantages, Indian concerns have nothing to fear from British concerns ; rather is it the reverse which is the truth. Legislation is no substitute, sir, for enterprise, or endurance, or any other attributes you like ; nor can it be properly employed as a remedy for the lack of any such attributes in any one section of the body politic to the detriment of any other possessing them.

In the dispassionate words of His Excellency the Viceroy, uttered in the course of his speech at the opening of the

Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta, on December 28 last :

The future of the Indian mercantile marine depends primarily on the success of the *Dufferin*, and of the supplementary arrangements which the Government are now making to train Indians as marine engineers and as wireless operators. It was said by the maker of the greatest maritime power in ancient Greece that "it is men not walls or ships that make a city." And in modern times the experience of countries that have tried to create a mercantile marine has shown that everything depends on personnel. I cannot bring myself to believe that an Indian mercantile marine will be created merely by legislative action to transfer the profits of the coastal trade, which appears to give only a moderate return on the capital invested, from British to Indian shareholders. On the long view, it is the training of personnel that I believe to be fundamental to the whole matter. In this vital matter ungrudging assistance and support are being given by British interests. British shipowners are active members of the governing body of the *Dufferin*. British shipbuilders have willingly agreed to take Indians as apprentices in marine engineering in their yards. The Marconi Company is preparing a scheme for training Indians as wireless operators and watchers. It is essential for the future of the Indian mercantile marine that this sympathetic interest should be maintained.

In the second place, it is not infrequently said that there is precedent for this Bill in other parts of the Empire, and that Australia in particular has reserved her coastal trade in the manner that is now proposed for India. But anyone who has read the relevant sections of the Australian Navigation Act must be aware that they relate only to personnel, and that their object is to secure that Australian seamen employed in the coasting trade will receive as good wages as Australian workers employed on shore. So far is it from being true that the Australian coasting trade is reserved for Australian owned ships, that the Australian United Steam Navigation Company, which is engaged in the Australian coasting trade, is actually financed exclusively by British capital, and is controlled by a London board of directors.

There is, indeed, no precedent in the British Empire, nor, so far as I know, in any other country or empire, for legislation which would reserve the coastal trade for any one class or race of citizens. India, in her relations with other parts of the Empire, has always stood for equal economic opportunity for all classes or races of His Majesty's subjects, and I can hardly believe that any proposal which is inconsistent with this principle will be to the interest of, or secure the approval of, the people of India. I have already stated that the ambition to create an Indian mercantile marine is one with which I have every sympathy. But I would venture to assert that co-operation and not discrimination is the best means of bringing it to fruition ; a drastic reversal of the principles on which the commerce of the world is based is not likely in the long run to be either a reasonable or an effective substitute for fair competition.

The Bill has been under the consideration of a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly, with instructions to report during the present session.

PROVISIONS OF THE BILL.

The Bill *inter alia* provides that

(3) No common carrier by water shall engage in the coasting trade of India unless licensed to do so.

(9) A proportion of not less than 20 per cent. of the tonnage licensed for the first year, not less than 40 per cent. of the tonnage licensed for the second year, not less than 60 per cent. of the tonnage licensed for the third year, not less than 80 per cent. of the tonnage licensed for the fourth year, and all the tonnage licensed for the fifth and subsequent years shall have the controlling interest therein vested in British Indian subjects.

And it is laid down in Definitions clauses that :

1. "A common carrier by water" means a common carrier by water engaged in the cargo and passenger traffic between any two ports in British India, or between any port in British India and any port or place on the continent of India.

2. "A subject" means a person, and includes a joint stock company, corporation, partnership, or association existing under or authorized by the laws of British India.

3. "Controlling interest" means :

(a) That the title to not less than 75 per cent. of the stock is vested in British Indian subjects free from any trust or fiduciary obligation in favour of any person other than a British Indian subject.

(b) And that in the case of a joint-stock company, corporation, or association, the chairman of the board of directors and not less than 75 per cent. of the number of members of the managing firm and of the directors of the board are British Indian subjects.

(c) And that not less than 75 per cent. of the voting power is vested in British Indian subjects.

(d) And that through any contract or understanding it is not arranged that more than 25 per cent. of voting power may be exercised, directly or indirectly, on behalf of any person who is not a British Indian subject.

(e) And that by no means whatsoever control of any interest in excess of 25 per cent. be conferred upon or permitted to be exercised by any person who is not a British Indian subject.

4. "The coasting trade of India" means the carriage by water of goods or passengers between any ports in British India and any port or place on the Continent of India.

Clearly, the measure as drafted is inconsistent with the principles enunciated by the Viceroy of equal economic opportunity for all classes and races of His Majesty's subjects.

The stake is a considerable one, for the total value of merchandise and treasure (exclusive of Government stores and treasure) imported and exported coastwise in the year 1926-7 was over Rs.200 crores (£150,000,000), and the steam tonnage entered and cleared comprised 9,000 British vessels representing 22,000,000 tons, 6,000 British-Indian vessels representing 4,000,000 tons, and 1,200 foreign vessels representing 4,500,000. It will be understood, of course, that these figures do not represent the actual number of vessels engaged or their tonnage, for not only would each steamer presumably enter and clear at several ports, but would also do so many times in the course of the year; and the values are perhaps subject to similar considerations.

ALLEGED MONOPOLY

They do, however, sufficiently indicate the volume and value of the coastal trade of India, and they show also that the alleged monopoly of the British companies engaged in it—it is on that plea that the supporters of the Bill mainly rely—has been built up in the face of open competition. Indeed, in the true sense of the term a monopoly cannot rightly be said to exist at all, unless, of course, it can be proved that British companies enjoy special privileges which others in the trade are not granted.

The only semblance of evidence in support of such an accusation is the charge made by one of the Indian trade organizations that the British shipping companies are the "pets" of the Government of India, who and whose various executive departments have taken every care to see that "no contract connected with the transporting of mails, merchandise, men, or even coals, was advertised," but "was placed with the monopolists, and at rates which should give them a handsome return"; that even when it

was enquired of a particular department which had the placing of transport of coal for State railways by steamers, there was at first a flat denial that the contract was contemplated, but, subsequently, the very department placed a very big contract; that, "thus fostered by the Government of India and its very many executive Departments, the monopolists were able in the first place to build up large reserves, and in the second place were protected from competition of indigenous shipping lines in important contracts"; that "with large lucrative contracts for transporting mails, men, merchandise, and coals from the Government of India and their executive departments, the monopolists launched freight-cutting war to stamp out the competition of indigenous shipping concerns, Indian owned and Indian controlled"; that "several indigenous Indian companies were not able to withstand this freight war, and they were wiped out," and that "when all attempts at freight-cutting failed, in the case of one Indian shipping company, the monopolists introduced the deferred rebate system," which, contrary to what was done in South Africa, "was not legislated as illegal by the Government of India."

Arguments such as these, founded on partisan premises and leading to querulous conclusions, only darken counsel. Furthermore, they distract attention from the real issue, which is: Do those shipping companies, which have won for themselves by lavish expenditure of capital and energy their position in the coastal trade of India, provide, on equitable terms, a service adequate to its growing requirements? It is useless to hold them up to scorn, as one speaker in the Legislative Assembly did, on the grounds that they are trying to stick to their coastal trade because they know that, under the present protective conditions throughout the world, India is the only place where they can have an untrammelled monopoly, and to say of them that, though the coastal trade, in theory, is free to all nations, today the permanent British vested interests have

succeeded in keeping other foreigners out. It is equally futile to urge that the "monopoly" prevents any ships but those of the holders of it from plying in the coastal trade of India, and that, therefore, it inflicts a very great economic injury on the country.

The question has to be tested on the touchstone of results ; and, unless it can definitely be shown not only that the British companies are doing what they should not do, but are also not doing what they should do, ordinary business methods must not be interfered with. In fact, another speaker put the matter pat in remarking that he disapproved of a monopoly as regards the coastal trade, and he disapproved of it as regards the ocean traffic, for he did not see why he should have to pay the same freight on goods going as far as Aden as on goods going only as far as India. On the other hand, he hastened to add that, though he disapproved of it, he also did not see why he should approve of the transfer of the monopoly from one set of financial interests to another set ; what he wanted to see was both sets working against each other and a consequent chance of a reduction of rates.

If the so-called monopoly, which has been legitimately won, were being brutally misused, a remedy, doubtless, would have to be sought. And, if it were not being operated in accordance with India's needs, and if no steps were taken by the British companies to satisfy her legitimate demands, it is not to be supposed that the Government would not take appropriate action. For instance, it is stated that the coastal trade of India today is concentrated in about seven ports ; that the foreign (*i.e.*, British) shipping companies times without number have adopted various methods by which the proper economic means of transport adapted to the requirements of the coastal trade have not been allowed to operate ; and that, inasmuch as it is to the benefit of the larger shipping companies to employ larger sized vessels in the trade, because the largest profits are thereby made, under the monopolistic auspices prevailing

today, smaller ships have been prevented from coming into existence.

THE MINOR PORTS

Weight has to be attached to contentions such as these to the extent, anyhow, of critically sifting evidence in support. Due regard also must be given to the argument of the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce, which—in regard to a contention that the Bill, if passed, would lead to the curtailment of shipping in Indian waters, and would react with special severity in minor ports—urged that the development of the latter has been neglected in the interests, not only of the existing shipping companies, but also of the railways, which, so it alleges, are working in close co-operation without the smallest regard for national interests, and enjoy a virtual monopoly for the internal transport needs of the country, and adopt an unsympathetic rates policy. In that case the suggestion is that, by the creation of a national mercantile marine, plying on the Indian coast, an alternative route would be provided at the ports, which, in its turn, would act as a very salutary check on the monopolistic rates now charged by the railways in India, and would have a very favourable effect on the economic conditions of the country. Such reasoning, anyhow, cannot be lightly thrust aside, however much it may be weakened by the fact that, in support of it, the alternative coast route in England was cited, on the ground that it is recognized as being a healthy check on the rates for internal traffic charged by the railways, the deduction being that “if in England, where internal traffic travels comparatively short distances, the influence of the coastal route is found so necessary, in India, where the distance travelled by the internal traffic is so great and the nature of the bulk of the traffic is low-priced agricultural and mineral produce, there is all the stronger justification for the development of the coastal trade by means of a national mercantile marine to serve the economic

needs of the country." It is not an altogether happy illustration to have chosen.

The real point is, to what extent, if any, as regards this particular issue, have the British shipping companies failed to do what might reasonably have been expected of them in the way of sufficiently opening up and spreading the coastal trade? And the answer seems to be that, in the case of minor ports, of passenger requirements, and generally, if the "monopolists" have not moved as fast as their critics now think they should have done, there is nothing in their past actions, or in their attitude today, to show that they are not ready and anxious, due regard being paid to the material side of the question, to meet, and as far as possible anticipate, the needs of those on whom their own livelihood in fact depends.

FREIGHT CHARGES

In the matter of rates of freight, for example, virulent attacks have been made upon their charges, but, when the actual facts are coldly considered, it is difficult to find any substance in them. It does not carry the argument one whit forward, for instance, to point out that the average freight per ton to carry cargo from Bombay to England, a distance of 6,000 miles, is 24s. per ton, whereas the average freight per ton for the coastal trade of India, which does not exceed 2,000 miles, is 30s. per ton, and to ask "Is that a result of coastal reservation, or of monopoly or of exploitation?" It is not reason but prejudice that prompts such a question as that.

If it can be proved that the British companies concerned have taken advantage of their position to put up rates inordinately, the Government of India would presumably be within its rights in bringing pressure to bear upon them. Before, however, anyone assumes that any such action is justified, it would be well for him to bear in mind that those who spoke officially against the Bill stated that the impression they always get from shipowners is that they, at all events,

regard the existing freights as about the economic minimum. And it was also pointed out from the governmental benches that, though the largest of the Indian companies at present in the Indian coastal trade is, presumably, paid for the goods which it carries at the usual freight rates, it had apparently not been earning exorbitant profits; that the natural inference was (unless it was to be inferred that its management was very inferior to that of the British companies, which could not be believed to be the case) that the latter lines were not at present making large profits out of the coastal trade. Therefore, it was argued, although it was perfectly true that, compared with the freights between India and Europe, the coastal freights looked very high, the weight of evidence was in favour of the conclusion that, at present, the Indian coastal trade was not a source of high profit to any engaged in it; and that, if so, it was pretty clear that merchants could not look forward to any considerable reduction of freights as a result of reservation. Furthermore, as another speaker pointed out, the various Indian shippers and associations have a great deal to say in the matter; while it is also the case that, when it can be proved to the companies that certain commodities can hardly bear the rate charged, a decent deduction is made.

There is, in fact, reason to assume that the shipping charges in the coastal trade are not excessive under the existing régime; while, on the other hand, there are no substantial grounds for believing that they would remain at their present level were the Bill to come into operation. Indeed, it was frankly granted by one of its supporters that this would not be the case, for, while he combated the view that reservation would result in the enhancement of freights—he arguing that it would arise out of the existence of various factors which are independent of such a policy—he at the same time ingenuously admitted that a slight rise in rates might occur in the initial stages of reservation, and that “such enhancement is only a price paid for the establishment of an infant merchant marine, the economic advantage of which to a nation cannot be over-estimated.”

IS RESERVATION FEASIBLE?

Assuming, however, for the sake of argument, that the coastal trade is in the hands of monopolists, who in their own interests are relentlessly mishandling their opportunities, and that some such change as is contained in the Bill is justified, the question still remains to be considered, To what extent can India out of her own resources fill the gap which would be caused by the elimination of the existing companies?

That is a question which no one could adequately answer offhand; but, for all that, one might have expected to find something said in its support a little more solid than the vague generalizations to which it has given birth. For example, it is urged that, because all India is interested in the advancement of its trade, industries, railways, and so forth, and is exceedingly keen that the coastal trade of the country should, as far as it can be legitimately secured to the people themselves, prove immensely beneficial in the future, therefore "it necessarily follows that India should be able to have ample capital whereby it could easily secure the greater part of the coastal trade." It is also urged that the change will be readily worked out in that the shipping industry, alone of modern industries, affords scope for the application of comparatively small capital, and that companies with only one or two vessels can be expected to be formed in large numbers alongside big corporations which might provide tens of ships at the very start, and that it is also open to Indian companies to charter foreign ships. All this may prove to be the case, but, as a very friendly supporter of the Bill pointed out, apart from the fact that in his opinion even partial reservation might probably prove to be not practical within the five years stipulated by the measure,

it is doubtful whether Indian capital, which is proverbially shy, will come forward owing to the failure of shipping companies in the past. . . . At a very moderate estimate . . . about a hundred ships will be required

to meet the demand of the coastal trade of India, and, assuming that it would cost about ten lakhs of rupees per ship, something like ten crores of rupees would be required to purchase the full complement of steamers; but . . . I have very grave doubts if the necessary Indian capital will be forthcoming. . . . Further, the existing foreign companies will naturally, if the Bill becomes law, raise their freights to the great disadvantage and detriment of the Indian consumer, and, because of the absence of the full complement of Indian steamers, the coastal trade will, I fear, suffer immensely. Even taking for granted that there are a hundred ships ready to take part in the coastal trade, the foreign companies, having been deprived of their legitimate right of participation in the coastal trade, will naturally raise their freights. This will consequently mean a great drain on the purse of the Indian consumer as well as the Indian exporter.

PROS AND CONS

Those in favour of the Bill claim that coastal reservation is necessary in the economic interests of India, in that it will (1) prevent the monetary drain of shipping freights; (2) provide marine careers for Indian youths; (3) bring about the development of the small ports and of the new Indian industries, which will benefit by a proper policy of freight charges; (4) induce Indian merchants to participate more fully in the overseas as well as the coastal trade of India, and provide a nucleus to enable this to be done; and (5) secure in time the benefits of a second line of defence in time of war.

Against the Bill it is urged that (1) the proposal is economically unsound and is not in the interests of India; (2) that it is likely to be ineffective owing to the existence of a number of non-British Indian ports on the coast of India; (3) that it involves both expropriation and racial discrimination, and that it is feared that the latter feature will have most unfortunate repercussions in South Africa and other British Dominions; (4) that there will be so many loopholes in the scheme as to render it impracticable or unworkable; (5) that the desired end cannot be achieved without raising freights; (6) that there will not be sufficient tonnage at all stages for the needs of the merchants.

The economic issues involved are so inextricably inter-

woven with the questions already dealt with that it is, perhaps, unnecessary to endeavour to consider them separately. While as regards the question of flag discrimination which, technically speaking, would arise in respect to the foreign ports in India—it does not apply to a nation's coastal trade—the matter is so clearly one open to friendly arrangement that it seems needless to do more than mention it in a paper such as this; and as to the effect of racial discrimination on the question of the status of Indians in the Dominions that, too, is a subject which, however great its importance, had better be left for debate elsewhere.

THE MAIN ISSUES

The two main issues are: (1) Would India benefit if her coastal trade were reserved to Indian vessels? (2) Can the British companies engaged in it claim that they have proprietary rights which have to be taken into account? As to the first issue, it is a fact that other countries do reserve their coastal trade to vessels of their own flag; presumably they profit by so doing. Indeed, it is very possible that Great Britain may some day be compelled to follow their example, for, with so many maritime nations not only increasing their merchant fleets but also affording them State support, we may, in self-defence, have to secure ourselves against the excessive competition which is so vitally affecting us. If, however, we were forced to adopt such a policy, it would only be rendered absolutely effective by the participation of the whole Empire, and in such a scheme India would, of course, be an integral factor, and would share in the common benefit and sacrifice. It might even be that foreign Government-assisted competition might press so heavily upon our mercantile marine that private enterprise might not be sufficiently strong to withstand it and that State aid might have to be called for. In either event, however, co-operation and not discrimination would,

it we wished to succeed, have to be the governing principle of our policy, and it is one which the Bill entirely contravenes.

If India's desire to possess a merchant fleet of her own for coastal purposes is founded on sound economic as well as patriotic reasons, no one could wish, or, perhaps, would have the right to say her nay, nor could they object if its scope were ultimately extended to ocean traffic. On the other hand, if racial prejudice is allowed to take the place of sound judgment, then it is clearly the duty of the authorities in India to see to it that the credit of the country is not damaged by the ill-considered efforts of those who see in self-government a remedy for what, as regards the present working of the coastal trade, at all events, are imaginary grievances.

Even if at the end of five years India were able to provide herself with a fleet adequate to the requirements of her coastal trade, the intervening period would have to be spanned. Even if capital were readily forthcoming, management and personnel are not the growths of a night. It is true that it is claimed that the sea-sense was once strong in India and would be so still, had it not been crushed by the action of the British shipping companies. Should that be the case, however, the fact remains that it is hardly conceivable that in five years she would be able to supply sufficient trained officers and men for such a fleet as the coastal trade demands. And if they were not forthcoming the money expended on its acquisition would be wasted. If it can be shown that the existing coastal shipping service is not commensurate with India's needs, that it is taking advantage of the position which it has won for itself to raise rates of freight or cause economic or social injury by deliberately limiting its activities, because it can make enough for its own purposes without extending their scope, then it might reasonably be contended that something should be done either to spur it on or find a substitute for it.

If the argument whittles down to this, that, because certain

minor grievances may exist, the entire existing fabric must be destroyed and another composed of untested materials erected in its place, there can be no question as to what the answer to such a suggestion should be. On the evidence so far adduced there is nothing to prove that the British companies are not doing their duty in the way of service or charges; there is nothing to prove that, if they were driven out of the trade by legislation, an adequate substitute would be forthcoming. On the other hand, it goes without saying that immeasurable economic damage would be done to India were the volume of her coastal trade to be so checked as would be the case if the British steamers now plying in it ceased to operate.

EXPROPRIATION

Assuming, however, that the economic and political objections to the Bill are either non-existent, or are capable of being overcome, or can be safely disregarded, the question of the expropriation of existing interests still remains. It is one which cannot be airily swept aside either by pointing to the fact that it was not raised before the Mercantile Committee, whose report gave birth to the Bill, though coastal reservation had been before the country for six years; or by arguing that in order to make out that the measure leads to expropriation you have to prove three things: (1) that it proposes to dispossess; (2) that it is the dispossession of property; and (3) that it is property which was rightly obtained.

It is true that under the Bill the fleets of the British companies engaged in the trade would not be confiscated in the event of its coming into operation. The proposal, however, in effect is that the participation of these vessels should be gradually diminished until there is 100 per cent. Indianization of tonnage plying along the Indian coasts; and, seeing that a five-year limit is given to the achieving of 75 per cent. of this result, it is obvious that scant regard

has been paid to the dictates of common business sense or equity. Indeed, Sir John Simpson put the thing in a nutshell when he said :

Of course the Bill does not mean expropriation of ships ; but it certainly means expropriation of goodwill and the earning powers of the large British interests in the coastal trade, who have through good years and bad years and by immense pioneer work built up this very coastal trade and have at all times met the peculiar requirements of that trade, and under all difficulties kept up regular services in a most efficient manner. Yes, we could sail away with our ships in five years ; but if you are legislating like this in other things we could not sail away with our tea gardens, or our coal mines, or our oil fields, or the railways, or any other immovable property we have bought and paid for. The principle of the Bill is confiscation of the deepest dye, worse than anything that any Socialist Government in any part of the world would ever dream of.

ALLEGED ANALOGIES

It may be urged correctly enough that such measures of sudden expropriation in national interests have not been unknown in other countries, particularly because the coastal trade is recognized as the domestic preserve of each nation. It may be that, if the period under which they would have to adjust themselves to the changing conditions were extended, those at whom the Bill is aimed would have no reasonable right to object. It may be that "no foreign interests can claim inviolable or eternal rights against the economic and national interests of a country." It may be that, if circumstances were other than they are, Mr. Haji would, even in this case, have the support of all in asserting that "I have yet to know that participation in trade becomes the inherent right of the person participating in the trade." As it happens, however, whatever the politicians may feel or say, it cannot be argued that, as regards either the Mother Country or her Dominions, whatever their constitutional rights may be, they can act towards each other in the manner which is contemplated by some of the supporters of the Bill, and among them Mr. Haji himself, who, when introducing it in the Legislative Assembly,

frankly admitted that, though it was not proposed that the British companies' ships should be confiscated to the State, he would very much like to do so in view of their history. It is not, however, only shipping tonnage that is involved, but offices, plant, and other immovable property, compensation to staff, and, in addition, that intangible asset, goodwill, the value of which the Bill would destroy, and which, even if the steamers could do so, could not itself sail away at any time within the five years and seek its fortune elsewhere.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

Competition in trade is, of course, an accepted business principle, and if, in this particular case, the existing British companies were to be ousted by other shipowners, they would have to take the consequences, and could make no claim against anyone in respect to their loss. And in this instance, too, their position would not be so strong as that of, say, the licensees of public-houses in this country, who, as was brought out so strongly only a few years ago, have rights to which a compensatory value does attach. Though, incidentally, it is not uninteresting, perhaps, to note that if the Coastal Reservation Bill were to come into force, those shipowners to whom trading licenses were given would automatically occupy a rather similar privileged position. The point, however, is—and it was driven home by the Viceroy in the speech I have quoted—that there is no precedent in the British Empire for legislation which would reserve the coastal trade for any one class or race of citizens, and that India in her relations with other parts of the Empire has always stood for equal opportunity for all classes or races of His Majesty's subjects.

The Government of India might be right in standing idly by while those who have built up the coastal shipping service were being attacked from without, and, in the event of their defeat, it might, without the question of compensation being raised, be justified in accepting their opponents as substitutes. It certainly would not be entitled to adopt such

a course, however, if the competition were generated from within and, in effect, took, if not of a State-aided form, at least that of a policy which the authorities officially recognized and to which they gave support, in the shape of licences and special racial limitations. In such circumstances as these expropriation of the kind contemplated unaccompanied by adequate compensation could indeed be properly described as "confiscation of the deepest dye." And even if it were the case that, as regards the ships of the British companies, they could be profitably employed in other waters, such action on the owners' part could not be justly regarded as anything more than an attempt to minimize the losses in respect of which they were entitled to be indemnified. And the question of goodwill would still remain to be settled.

GOODWILL

A generation ago, when company promoters were perhaps more imaginative than now, and old-standing industrial concerns, whose historic value was greater than the actual, were being floated off wholesale, "goodwill" loomed big in practically every prospectus. It is, in fact, such a fugitive asset, and is dependent to such an extent on the personal element as against the conditions in which the reputation of a manufacturing business is founded, that too much weight can easily be attached to it. When, for example, a shipping company has been successfully rooting itself for generations into a given growing trade and has achieved a competitive position second to none, it stands to reason that, so long as it continues as a going concern, adequately managed and financed, its "goodwill" has an assessable value.

It would not necessarily follow that even a succession of non-profitable years would affect the position, should it be the case that its rivals were suffering in the same way, in that the longer its existence the wider, as it were, its power

of self-advertisement and the greater its likelihood of regaining its trade and custom when conditions bettered. Indeed, to a certain extent, goodwill and credit are interchangeable terms, and, as we, happily, are finding in the case of this country, a reputation once won is not easily lost, so long as it is made clear that the elements on which it is based remain waterproof. The value of the goodwill even of our leading liner companies would vanish, however, if, in addition to suffering from unprofitable trading common to all mercantile marines, they ceased to exhibit those qualities on which their names were built up—if there were such a falling off, for example, in accommodation and type of vessel and a general disregard of the needs of the times as would enable competitors to cut in and hold the trade against them. In such circumstances dividends and "goodwill" would disappear together in due course.

So long, however, as a business is in being, the value of its goodwill remains with it. Though it is an intangible asset, it has a definite actuarial monetary worth, which can be properly included in the balance-sheet and is taken into account on a sale. If, by the passing of the Reservation Bill the British companies were excluded from the coastal trade, the goodwill which they now enjoy, through being associated with it, would disappear; and, if this were to occur as the consequence of normal open competition, they, as has been said, could look to no one for redress. In the case under consideration, however, they are faced with a policy which by deliberately sterilizing their trading activities would destroy the value of their "goodwill." To enforce it without compensation, indeed, to enforce it at all would be a tyrannical act, strange alike to our laws and customs; and seeing that "goodwill" is an integral part of their assets, its assessed value, together with that of immovable plant, would also, if the equities are to be preserved, have to be included and allowed for.

The foregoing remarks do not purport to give anything more than a plain survey of the points at issue.

Far more is at stake than the comparatively simple question whether or not the coastal trade of India can be efficiently operated by an Indian-owned and -managed fleet. The principle of the nationalisation of industry is involved in it, with all the far-reaching international problems to which, more especially in the case of a State-owned and State-assisted mercantile marine, it gives rise. Disputes between private traders, whatever their country, can usually be adjusted without the aid of their respective Governments being invoked. Where, however, a department of State is intimately concerned, international jealousy is all too easily aroused and popular opinion inflamed. This possibility is not so remote as may appear at first glance, for, if it should be found that private finance were not forthcoming State support would assuredly be demanded. Bearing in mind also that the sentimental comfort which the possession of a fleet of her own might bring to India is small compared with the economic dislocation which must ensue should the present undigested proposals be forced upon her, it is earnestly to be hoped that after the present session of the Indian Legislature closes at the end of March, no more will be heard of a measure which, even if it contains the germ of hypothetical benefit, cannot but perpetuate those ills from which India is so sorely suffering, and with which her statesmen are so whole-heartedly endeavouring to grapple.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, February 11, 1929, at which a paper was read by Mr. Frank Birdwood (of *Fairplay*) entitled "The Indian Coastal Traffic Bill." Sir Stephen Demetriadi, K.B.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Lieut.-Colonel Lord Herbert Scott, C.M.G., D.S.O., Sir Louis W. Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., the Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, G.C.I.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir Geoffrey R. Clarke, C.S.I., O.B.E., Sir Walter Willson, Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir William Owens Clark, Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Daniel Hamilton, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir William Currie, Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Lady Procter, Mr. S. N. Mallik, C.I.E., Lieut.-Colonel S. B. Patterson, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i.-H., Mr. George Pilcher, M.P., Mr. Henry Harcourt, C.B.E., Colonel Aubrey O'Brien, C.I.E., C.B.E., and Mrs. O'Brien, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. M. Farzand Ali, Mr. W. Kerr, Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. A. A. L. Roberts, Mr. J. E. Woolacott, Mr. J. A. Dubash, Mr. E. Carter Braine, Mr. A. Ahmed, Dr. A. Shah, Mr. Scott Bremner, Dr. S. A. Kapadia, Mr. R. B. Gadgil, Mrs. H. G. W. Herron, Mrs. J. J. Nolan, Mr. A. de V. Leigh, M.B.E., M.A., Mr. A. W. Hearn, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mrs. Martley, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. T. McMorran, Mr. K. P. Mehta, Mr. W. C. Scrivener, Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. L. Willson, Mr. G. Penstone, Mr. R. F. Annesley, Mr. J. S. Ralli, Mr. C. M. Dunton, Mr. R. S. White, Mr. E. B. Tredwen, Mr. A. E. Adnams, Mr. N. D. Allbless, Mr. H. I. Spratt, Miss A. M. Birdwood, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Birdwood, who is going to speak to us this afternoon on the Bill to reserve the coastal traffic of India to Indian vessels, scarcely requires any introduction by me. The honoured name of the Birdwood family in Indian life and progress dates back to the latter half of the eighteenth century, when, as may be appropriately recalled this afternoon, an ancestor of his was closely associated with the East India Company as its agent at Plymouth. From that time onwards, down to the present day, when his cousin, Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood, is in command of the Army in India, members of the family have been in the public service of that great country. Mr. Birdwood's distinguished father, the late Sir George Birdwood, was for many years in the public service in India, and subsequently at the India Office. All his erudition was touched with enthusiasm for the land and people he had served so long, and by speech and pen he greatly advanced understanding and appreciation in this country of Indian art, literature, and life. Some of his best occasional writings are enshrined in the volume entitled "*Sva*," which was

edited by Mr. F. H. Brown, the Honorary Secretary of this Association. Mr. Frank Birdwood speaks with great authority on shipping matters, for, first as a solicitor and later as a journalist on the staff of *Fairplay* he has for thirty years been closely associated with the shipping world, and the hereditary connections to which I have referred have led him to pay special attention to the Indian side of shipping problems. It would not be right or proper for me at this stage to say anything about the Bill, but when Mr. Birdwood has given his address I propose to make a few observations. (Applause.)

(The paper was then read.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sure I am expressing the views of all when I tell Mr. Birdwood how greatly we appreciate the comprehensive manner in which he has dealt in his paper with every aspect of the Bill to reserve the coastal traffic of India to Indian vessels. Whilst, as Mr. Birdwood has pointed out, many other countries find it to their advantage to reserve their coastal traffic to their own vessels, I am unable to agree that this constitutes in itself an argument that India should find it to her advantage to do so too. The action of foreign countries has been dictated by political rather than by economic considerations—political considerations which are not present in the case of India. Foreign nations have adopted coastal reservation as a measure of political prudence to ensure that in the event of war they shall not be entirely dependent for sea transport upon other, possibly hostile, peoples. To countries dependent upon imports of food and raw materials, or upon a large export trade, shipping is a key industry, to maintain which they are prepared to make economic sacrifices.

These are political considerations which are clearly not applicable as between the various units of His Majesty's dominions. There is no precedent in any other state of the Empire for a measure such as that now being considered in India, because it is realized by them that, far from their national safety necessitating the building up, at an economic sacrifice, of a mercantile marine of their own, the safety of the whole Empire lies in the continued supremacy of Great Britain's sea power. We can therefore dismiss as irrelevant, in the case of India, those considerations which have dictated the policy of reservation of coastal trade by foreign nations. The question must be judged from a purely economic point of view.

As Mr. Birdwood has stated, the supporters of the Bill do not anticipate any reduction in coastwise freights following reservation; they anticipate, on the contrary, an increase in rates of freight. Moreover, if their more than optimistic estimates of the amount of Indian tonnage which would become available within five years were realized, they could not expect to receive as good a service as they have today. There is, however, another aspect of the matter which has not perhaps received sufficient prominence. It is clear that, if European-bound ships are excluded from the coastwise trade and can only enter intermediate Indian ports to load up cargo, and are not allowed to unload cargo, they cannot have full holds until they leave their last Indian port of call. That again means higher rates of freight. I do not know whether the promoters of the Bill have considered

the effect which the inevitable increase in homeward freight rates is likely to have on their export trade—a trade by which they live, move and have their being. The same cause would also tend to raise outward freights, thereby increasing the cost of imports to the Indian consumer. The Indian therefore would lose both ways.

There being then no political or economic justification for the proposed reservation of coastal traffic, we must ask ourselves what is the real motive behind the demand. I think the basis of the agitation is a feeling that it is not consonant with India's dignity as a nation to be dependent upon Great Britain for its shipping, this feeling being fortified by the remembrance that India once possessed an important mercantile marine of her own. There has undoubtedly been a great deal of loose and confused thinking and speaking about this measure. Shipping services represent one of Great Britain's largest exports, and there is nothing derogatory to India in being dependent on Great Britain for these services, any more than there is in Great Britain's being dependent on India for such things as tea and jute. It is as illogical for politicians in India to talk about the annual loss to India of the sums of money paid to British steamship companies for these services as it would be for Great Britain to refer in similar terms to the vast sums of money which she pays annually for imports from India.

Now, as to the oft-repeated accusation that the flourishing Indian mercantile marine was destroyed through the machinations of this country. I should like to remind India that the United States of America at that time also had a profitable and a flourishing mercantile marine. It will not, I imagine, be suggested that the falling behind of the United States of America as a maritime nation during the latter half of the last century was also due to nefarious practices on our part. I suggest to you that in both cases it was due to the action of economic laws; in the case of the United States of America, because she could more profitably employ her capital and her men on land, and, in the case of India, because she had neither the plant nor the technical skill with which to build and to man the ships which took the place of wooden sailing vessels.

To sum up, Great Britain still possesses one-third of the mercantile tonnage of the world. She carries the goods of all nations, not merely the goods of India. She has attained to that position in fair competition with the rest of the world, because it is a business in which she excels. If it were not sound economically to buy British shipping services, India may rest assured that the other nations would not do so. Such reservation in the case of foreign nations is, as I have said earlier, justified, if at all, by political considerations; no other portion of His Majesty's Dominions has felt that its national dignity or safety demanded independence of British shipping, and where they have led India might well be content to follow. (Applause.)

Sir WALTER WILLSON said the paper read by Mr. Birdwood was naturally one of great interest to himself, he having spent nearly thirty years in India in shipping. Having retired from it and having been a member of

the Legislative Assembly for the past six years, he hoped he was in a position to speak not as an advocate of any particular company or interest, but with some knowledge. He agreed with the remarks of the Chairman as to the action of foreign countries, but India had no right to refer to England as a "foreign" country. So long as India was part of the British Empire, the British people had a right to trade there. The proposed Bill was fantastic and ludicrous. It contained the most impossible clauses which could never be carried out. The statement of its supporters was that colossal profits were made by the British shipping companies, which, of course, was not the case. What had been the attitude of Indians towards shipping? Since the introduction of steam they had not seen their way to engage in shipping to any extent. On occasions when they had ventured to make an attempt to do so, it had usually met with failure. There was one British shipping company which had set aside a certain proportion of its capital for Indians, but it was not subscribed, the reason doubtless being that the dividends paid by shipping companies were not such as were acceptable to Indians, who were able to make much better use of their money in other directions. They had now secured the active help of a barrister to try to carry the Bill through the Indian Legislature. Indian politicians said they wished to encourage the development of an Indian mercantile marine, but the whole object of this Bill was to transfer the management of the coastal shipping from British into Indian hands. No more Indian sailors would be provided for than at present. With regard to the ships' officers, they could not be rapidly increased to any extent if such a Bill passed. The British companies were not angry with the Indians for endeavouring to start a mercantile marine, but they would always say "Hands off" to any competitors who attempted to take away traffic which they had developed for themselves. The action of the British companies was not in any way directed against Indians as such, but they fought for their trade against all opposition in general. (Applause.)

DR. PARANJPYE said he was in the difficult position of being surrounded by representatives of British commercial interests, with hardly anybody who would take the side of Indian public opinion. Indians had always felt that their interests with regard to coastal shipping had not been safeguarded, and they wished to have the monopoly of Indian coastal shipping, which at present was in the hands of non-Indian organizations. He himself had been a victim of the coastal shipping companies ever since the age of twelve. He was born on the coast south of Bombay and had continued frequently to use the coastal ships. When there was only one company not the slightest attention was paid to the comfort of passengers, but as soon as competing ships were put on there was a different state of things altogether. After that not only was there room on the boats, but there were two or three ships at the same port clamouring and touting for passengers. At present there were ships of two different companies and there was never the slightest difficulty in finding a place on one of the boats. It was said that Indians could freely enter into competition with the existing companies, but it was very difficult to obtain a footing against such vast

organizations of capital. In fact, it was the tyranny of organized capital that Indians were up against. In other countries such tyranny had encouraged the growth of socialist movements. The Chairman had said that no part of the British Empire encouraged racial discrimination, but he believed there was a law in Australia by which it was laid down that no coasting vessel in Australian waters should contain a non-British crew, and he thought that similarly the employment of non-Indian ships in coastal traffic in India should be made illegal. Different countries or different parts of the Empire had different ways of looking after their own interests. Indians felt that in their own interests they should have a shipping industry, and it was only by legislative action formulated in the interests of the Indian people that that could be done. Finally, it had been urged against this Bill that it was an impracticable measure and could be riddled with criticism. But if the sympathy with India's aspirations was at all genuine it should be the duty of these critics to make constructive suggestions for improving the Bill and not indulge in mere destructive criticisms with the object of killing it. (Applause.)

Sir GEOFFREY CLARKE said he had listened with great interest to the very excellent paper which had been read by Mr. Birdwood. A great deal had been said about the position of India as a seafaring nation in the old shipping days. India as such was never a seafaring nation. The seafaring trade in India in those days had been done entirely by Arabs, who had settled in India. They would remember that all the tribes along the coast were people of Arab origin. In India there was not a port of any value before the British went there. Bombay and Madras were fishing villages, Calcutta did not exist. Was it conceivable that any country that was supposed to have been a seafaring nation would not have a single port? The whole of the seafaring business of India had been developed and the great ports had been built by the British. The seafaring industry was an industry which had been built up with British capital and Indian labour. An enormous number of Indian people were employed in the service. England had done everything possible for the trade of India, and now they were asked to sacrifice that enormous industry, which had been carried on for the benefit of India, by a Bill which was supposed to create an Indian mercantile marine in a period of five years. (Applause.)

Mr. P. K. MEHTA (President of the London Indian Chamber of Commerce) said that it was impossible in the time limit to reply fully to the many points raised by Mr. Birdwood's comprehensive paper, or to the remarks made by the Chairman and some of the other speakers. He, however, referred to the reiterated charge of racial discrimination made by the British shipping interests, and said that in order to appreciate the fallacy of such a suggestion it was necessary to appreciate the conditions precedent and existing in India. Even the Viceroy and Sir Charles Innes, speaking on behalf of the Government of India, had had to admit that it was perfectly legitimate and perfectly natural that the people of India should desire to have a mercantile marine of their own; that the Indian should be acutely conscious that the Indian mercantile marine hardly existed, and that

the bulk of the coasting trade was not in the hands of companies registered in India; that it was difficult for Indian companies, as things were at present, to force their way into the coasting trade, and for Indian enterprise unaided to secure a share of the trade; and that it was natural in the circumstances for them to invoke the aid of the Legislature. There would have been less occasion for putting forward a Bill of that nature if the British shipping interests had the foresight and the sense of fairness to co-operate with the Indian interests to develop the industry in the best interests of the country, instead of suppressing every attempt on the part of an Indian company to secure a foothold in its own land. A large number of shipping companies had come into existence, but were driven to the wall in their very infancy by the policy of relentless freight warfare waged against them, assisted by the non-possumus attitude of the Government. He considered that it was superfluous to say that every country expected to retain a predominant control of its trade and industry, and that the plea of efficiency of service and the employment of foreign capital was no reason to deprive India of its inherent right.

In reply to a remark made by Sir Walter Willson that he did not understand why the British should be considered foreigners in India, Mr. Mehta said that British capital might be considered "foreign" inasmuch as the benefit and the profits of British investments did not remain in the country itself. In this connection he quoted the views expressed by the *Financial Times* in connection with British industries, that "the main benefit from the employment of foreign capital should remain with the country in which it was employed, but that when the strength of the non-national element jeopardized or at some distant date imperilled the retention of control in British hands, it was obvious that the question assumed a wholly different aspect, and that it was clearly essential that undertakings occupying a leading position in industries should remain predominantly British in capital and personnel."

The Indian community, he said, were doing no more than trying to give effect to those views with regard to their own industries. He asserted that in the realization of India's desire for the development of a national mercantile marine, the existing British interests stood seriously in the way, and that the awakened industrial consciousness of India would no longer allow its interests to be submerged by the agitation of the British vested interests which was calculated to misrepresent the Indian point of view.

Sir WILLIAM CURRIE, speaking as President of the Chamber of Shipping, said under no circumstances would British shipping companies agree to be handicapped in any way by legislative action in India, because shipping to this country was the lifeblood of the nation, and if the British shipping was to be refused entry to the coasts of India that would only be consonant with an absolute abrogation of all British interests in India. The British nation would never accept a position whereby they were responsible for the defence of India, both internal and external, and whereby they had to supply the civil administration, and at the same time were not to be allowed to trade in the country. (Applause.)

Sir MONTAGU WEBB said he had thirty-five years' personal experience in shipping matters in the East and was therefore very familiar with the problems involved in the Bill under discussion. It was, he thought, a reasonable and patriotic ambition on the part of the Indians that they should have some sort of share in the coastal shipping of India. He knew from experience that the competition in coastal shipping was severe; but that competition, as had been pointed out by Sir Walter Willson, was not against Indians *qua* Indians; it was merely ordinary business competition; that was to say, if another British company endeavoured to establish a coastal service in India it would meet with identically the same severe competition as the Indian companies had met. The Bill under discussion was fantastic in the extreme. However patriotic Indians might feel, they were not justified in legislating to confiscate British shipping. He was sure they all sympathized with the reasonable ambitions of the Indians in this matter, and he hoped that some means might be found by which the Indian desire for some share in the coastal shipping could be facilitated without attempting to go to the extremes which the Bill under discussion proposed, of excluding British shipping and British interests, and, in effect, confiscating British property. That could not possibly be allowed.

Mr. WOOLACOTT said it had been stated that Indian public opinion was unanimous in support of the reservation of coastal traffic, but that was certainly not the case. No nation had ever prospered by confiscation, and the highest authority in India had referred to the provisions of the Bill under discussion as being of a confiscatory character. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. D. L. DUBEY said the question of coastal shipping assumed a national aspect on account of the fact that the service had been extremely unsatisfactory. At the outbreak of war they in India were handicapped by the lack of shipping services and they had suffered to a very considerable extent. There was no doubt that at present the British shipping service was one of the most excellent in the world, but Indians would like to see more employment given to Indians.

Sir JOHN MAYNARD asked if there was any means of telling how great a proportion of the shares in existing shipping companies were owned by British Indians, and also if there was any practical obstacle in the way of British Indians acquiring such shares.

Mr. BIRDWOOD, in reply, said he was unable to answer the first part of Sir John Maynard's question. As to the second part, there was no legal objection to British Indians acquiring shares. He added that he would reserve a reply to the discussion in general for the printed proceedings.

On the motion of Sir LESLIE WILSON, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded by acclamation to the Chairman and the Lecturer, and, the CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting, the proceedings terminated.

Mr. FRANK BIRDWOOD writes: To the pleasure given to me by the more than kindly references made to myself by Sir Stephen Demetriadi and other speakers has to be added the fact that the debate amply proved that the subject of my paper was one which, when considered under such

impartial conditions as the East India Association is so eminently qualified to offer, can be discussed in all its bearings without acrimony, and at the same time with full regard to all the interests involved. The personal prejudices and questions of nationalism which have been imported into the case, and which are so unhappy a feature of the speeches delivered on the Bill in the Legislative Assembly, are no more a tonic bitter than is the preaching of class-consciousness, which has done so much to imperil social relations in this country.

We are of the same ethnic stock, and though, in the course of centuries, our minds and bodies have necessarily adapted themselves to their own environments, we are far more capable of a common outlook than could ever be the case between, let us say, men of Teutonic and Turanian descent. It is for this reason perhaps that in the case of those British men who have given—and are still giving—the working days of their lives to India, association with her seems to create a sort of dual personality—it was so at least with many whom it has been my privilege to meet. England to them was always the home-land, of course, and when they were away from her they felt her pulling. But, when they had retired, India was always in their thoughts. The cord binding them to her was as impalpable as the gnome-forged chain which held Fenrir, and as all-compelling.

It was as it were a double nostalgia which they had to bear, and they were the stronger for it. They were no more a "drain" on India than were those who took the torch from their failing hands. They welcomed the shade of the pagoda tree; they enjoyed such reasonable share of its fruit as they earned; but they never shook it. In the early days there were some, as we know, who did; but, as order was slowly evolved from chaos, the spirit of office guided the counsels of all; and you find their motto today inscribed in brilliants on the insignia of the Order of the Star of India: "Heaven's Light our Guide." The political and business standard which they set is as high as is to be met with anywhere in the world; and perhaps higher, for they knew—their successors know it, too—that they held her destinies on a trust which was none the less binding on their honour because it was undertaken voluntarily. Is it possible that those who demand for her what they fondly imagine would be political freedom really believe that a substitute for *Pax Britannica* is to be found in *Iracundia Indica* or in any other form of deliberately fomented inter-racial distrust? The political issues involved cannot, of course, be ignored; they are, indeed, as all-pervading as those which a generation ago embittered the question of Home Rule for Ireland.

With India the political and economic issues have to be dealt with simultaneously. Mr. Mehta argues that, because of the difficulties with which Indian shipping companies have been faced in their endeavour to force their way into the coasting trade, it is only natural that they should wish to invoke the aid of the Legislature; and Dr. Paranjpye urges that it is the tyranny of organized capital which Indians are up against; that they feel that it is essential to them that they should have a shipping industry

of their own ; and that it is only by legislative action formulated for the Indian people that this can be done. Mr. Mehta further holds that the awakened industrial consciousness of India will no longer allow its rights to be submerged by the agitation of the British vested interests. Should that be the case, so our business sense would lead us to argue, the remedy is in the hands of those who deem themselves aggrieved, and all they have to do is to follow the recognized rules of open competition. And in strict logic there may be no answer to such argument.

We cannot, however, escape from the fact that Mr. Mehta and Dr. Paranjpye, and those whose views they voice, are convinced of the accuracy and justice of their reasoning. They hold, in fact—and they are not alone in doing so, for the same phenomenon is to be met with among business men on the Continent of Europe—that a contract, however binding its terms, must, under given though undefined circumstances, be allowed, as it were, sentimental or sympathetic latitude of construction. I have been told more than once by Indian friends of mine that our legal system, for instance, however flawless it may seem to us, chills them by its hard coldness. Similarly our business methods by their very rigidity are apt to be misunderstood by those who live in climatic conditions not, perhaps, so stern as those which we enjoy. Whatever the cause it seems clear that those whose views are embodied in the Bill, and who have given such forcible expression to them in the Legislative Assembly, are imbued with the feeling that they are entitled to employ such means to carry out their desires as are entirely at variance with those by which we bind ourselves, and that they are justified in using political pressure to do so.

If my surmise is correct, then it would follow that, with the growth of political liberty in India, artificial industrial conditions would ensue ; and, if racial passions were still in evidence, quite as grave instances of injustice might be witnessed as would occur were legislative force to be given to the Bill in its present form. How such an outcome is to be avoided it is beyond my power to suggest. It might, however, be well for those who today hold—and rightly hold—such a commanding position in India's industries and commerce to consider whether it might not ease the situation, without injury to themselves, if they were to abate, to however trifling an extent, the rigour of their business methods, and to look at things from the Indian point of view, however illogical it may be, to the same extent at least as they, if the position were reversed, would expect Indians to regard them from ours. There is a lack of sympathy today in their business relations which is painfully at variance with those obtaining only a generation ago. No one is personally to blame ; it is due to forces whose strength even yet has not been fully gauged. Where they will ultimately lead India no one can say ; but whatever their course, one thing is certain, that much, if not all, depends upon the goodwill towards each other of those directing them, and of whom the British mercantile community in India is assuredly not the least powerful factor.

EUROPEANS IN INDIA AND THE REFORMS

BY SIR WALTER WILLSON

(Late Member of the Legislative Assembly for the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon.)

THE problem of the position of the European in India under the reformed constitution and under any developments which may arise in the future is naturally of special interest to one who, like myself, for six years has been actively and exclusively engaged in political work in India since retirement from business life.

In the half-hour at my disposal I can attempt to do no more than generalize, and I should at once explain that I do not represent the British officers in the civil and military services in India, for whom I am not qualified to speak, but rather those Britishers who man the various industrial interests maintained in India by European, and—in many cases—Indian capital, as well as the smaller but not inconsiderable, number of Englishmen engaged in professional pursuits.

The British element in India is the leaven which has made possible the idea of Indian nationalism. Out of the 320,000,000 inhabitants of the country, the British population—exclusive of British troops—amounts to less than 100,000, which includes 45,000 women and children and some 11,000 civil and military officials. These figures do not include the Anglo-Indian, a statutory native of India, with whom we have so much in common, even blood-relationship, and whose large numbers and vast considerations would require a whole paper to themselves.

The historic fact, however, is that what is relatively a handful of people, from a race constantly replenished from overseas, has exercised over India's destinies an influence,

beneficent as well as powerful, unequalled by that of any former people. The European of the mercantile class has a special claim, by virtue of traditions, to be considered an integral part of the Indian polity, for it was from him that originally sprang the civil administration. The predecessors of our present governors, commanders-in-chief, commissioners, colonels, and collectors were actually the servants of that great corporation the East India Company, which so honourably prepared the way for the assumption of Crown rule.

THE OLD CONDITIONS

Under the conditions of early days, India, as you know, was governed by the Viceroy and Executive Council. Then from 1861 came the Legislative Council. This was only a somewhat enlarged form of the Executive Council, certain prominent or representative people being nominated to it. Under advances made from time to time they had the right to criticize Government proposals and to vote on legislation, but, owing to the official majority, their powers were in practice only advisory. The Government could either take or refuse their advice as it felt inclined, in much the same way as it can even today in the case of members elected by the Indian Legislature to serve on the various advisory committees, such as the Advisory Council for Railways. Government was glad to have the assistance of such men, European or Indian, because it was often compelled to undertake comparatively complex and elaborate legislation, whose ultimate effects and repercussions it did not always feel itself competent to gauge.

Leaving aside Indian representation, with which this paper is not concerned, we find that the Presidents of Chambers of Commerce were always in demand, partly because of their commercial knowledge and experience, and partly because, once such a President was consulted and convinced, the acquiescence of the commercial community was expected to be assured. This was the chief

means by which Government consulted such organs of public opinion as then existed.

The European Association, formerly called the European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association, had not reached, in either its aims or activities, the prominent position which, after being revived by Mr. Dudley Myers, it proceeded to develop under the able administration of Sir Hubert Carr, followed by Mr. C. B. Chartres, and its energetic and active Secretary, Colonel Crawford.

Passing over the Morley-Minto period, we come to the declaration of 1917, and the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, with the establishment of Legislative Chambers, and election thereto principally, but not entirely, by the votes of public constituencies. Each of the nine major provinces has its own council and council house, the Members being dignified by the letters M.L.C. after their names. The functions of these councils are, as their name implies, purely local—laws peculiar to and confined to their own provinces are passed, each has its own budget, charge of the administration of its own education, health and sanitation, buildings and roads, and, in certain cases, irrigation and forests.

DYARCHY

Here I should notice the main effect of the dyarchical system, which creates a division of the subjects of the administration into two classes—"reserved" and "transferred." The former subjects—*e.g.*, finance, revenue, law and order—are reserved for the portfolio of a Member of the Governor-in-Council, which is, in effect, the Governor of the Province. The latter subjects, such as education, health, local self-government, and the like, are transferred to the portfolio of a Minister, who is theoretically responsible to the Legislature. When the Government's administration of these transferred subjects is mentioned, it is termed "the acts of the Governor acting with his Ministers." The difference between a Member of the Executive Council and

a Minister is, that the Member is a servant of the Crown appointed by the King for a term of years; the Minister receives his portfolio from the Governor and holds it practically at the pleasure of the Legislature. Dyarchy does not exist in the Central Government. There the Governor-General in Council is not responsible, in the generally accepted sense, to the Legislature but constitutes a permanent executive, responsible to the British Parliament through the Secretary of State for India.

The Central Legislature consists of two Houses, the upper or Council of State, consisting of 60 Members, of whom 34 are elected, which, though intended as a "revising House," can originate legislation, which must subsequently pass the other House also. The Legislative Assembly consists of 144 Members, of whom 25 represent the Government block, 104 are returned by the votes of the constituencies, and 15 are nominated by Government to represent special interests, which could not hope to secure an election by the popular vote. These include, for example, a Member for Berar, an Indian Christian, and one real and positive Labour Member.

Pessimism is as futile as optimism is difficult to employ in contemplating the political future of India. Still it is possible to be hopeful, if the effort to obtain a detached view be made. Too often everyday proximity to the crises, the deadlocks, the impasses and the acts of sabotage, tends to breed a conviction that the problem is insoluble. Perhaps a more general recognition of the fact that growing pains are as necessary to infant democracies as to infant humans, that much of the weakness of political India has been at one time or other reflected in democratic institutions elsewhere, would soften the asperity of the outlook. At the same time there is certainly one great weakness in Indian politics—the failure to recognize the inexorable logic of facts. Arguments are used and pledges given without the slightest indication of a readiness to stand by the implications of either.

EUROPEANS IN THE LEGISLATURE

There the European non-official, with his training and his ingrained sense of responsibility, can bring to the assistance of his Indian colleagues qualities which are much needed. This, to my mind, has been the great merit of the work of the little European group in the Central Legislature since 1921, and I believe that the Indian politician is really alive to it and grateful accordingly, although gratitude is an ebullition which should not be lightly demanded of any politician, least of all from one who is *in statu pupillari*. Had Indians more vigorously cultivated this sense of responsibility, the present confusion of Nationalist politics would probably have been avoided. For, whatever may be his defects, the logically-minded European would hardly have reproduced the amazing situation whereby a report, acclaimed in the Nationalist Press last June as the embodiment of all wisdom, human and divine, has caused as much division in political circles as any pronouncement of recent years. I am not expressing any opinion on the report of Pandit Motilal Nehru and his friends. I merely note that it was a gallant, if academic, reply to Lord Birkenhead's challenge, and even in that modest light it has been so treated as to vindicate the very opinion which it was produced to refute.

In this audience no one will, I think, regard it as feasible to put the clock back in India. Lord Irwin's reiteration of the pledges of successive Governments shows the danger of attempting to conceive such a solution. The recommendations of the Simon Commission in reporting on the situation as they find it, cannot be remotely forecasted. I, however, cannot think that the centre of political gravity will be less firmly fixed in Delhi and Simla than at present. Indeed, I can quite imagine that the Central Legislature in the future will attract far more attention and acquire even greater importance than during the past eight years.

European interests will therefore require greater vigilance

and more assiduous solicitude than they have so far received, and I cannot too strongly emphasize this point. The time has passed for the Government to be expected to act as the sole custodian of those interests, when Government could consult a President of a Chamber of Commerce and then take action. The Legislature exists for the argument of pros and cons, and it is there that the debates must take place and the issues be settled. The attitude of the European, therefore, will have to undergo a material change. In the past he has been content to rely upon the Government, then to criticize its actions and often verbally to condemn it for its lack of knowledge ; but on the whole he has dragged out a not unhappy and not too unremunerative life, has had a great sporting innings and considerable social advantages, and the greater domestic peace which the Indian servants confer in comparison with the British variety.

AN AWAKENING NEEDED

These very enjoyments have largely contributed to the European's neglect, not only of politics but of some of the larger considerations of public life. The need has either not existed, or he has in most cases not been awakened to it. The awakening of the Indians came early, the average non-official European has remained apathetic. Though, to do him justice, he has earned a creditable reputation for active charity, for generosity, for good citizenship and committee work of all kinds, it would perhaps not be unfair to say he has given more of his money than of his time. It is certain that, with a comparatively few outstanding exceptions, he either has not seen his way, or the necessity for seeing his way, to be up and doing in the field of politics.

The leaders of the European Association see the need and do their best to shake their community out of this well-worn rut of apathy. Others, like myself, who have spent a considerable period in the firing-line, come back from the front and press them to have their reinforcements in sight if not in actual training.

In my farewell address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce in December, 1927, I stressed all I knew the importance of firms offering no hindrance but rather encouragement to their men to qualify by taking interest now in local affairs, to play a future part. Though my speech was widely circulated to the heads of firms this side, we yet find, as late as January 12 this year, *The Times* correspondent wiring from Calcutta that :

Unfortunately, unofficial Europeans generally have never realized the seriousness of the issues. They have been accustomed to have their interests safeguarded by officials, and have not developed that keen interest in politics which is necessary in the new conditions in which they send their representatives to the Legislative Councils and Assembly. There has been serious disinclination on the part of most of the responsible men to serve on representative institutions, with the consequence that at the present moment, when Indian affairs are in the crucible, vacancies are going begging, and candidates are not forthcoming from among the commercial magnates.

The Chambers of Commerce as a body recognized the position so far as to press for a seat on the Legislative Assembly for a special representative for themselves, and after a time such a seat was allotted and I was nominated to fill it. After serving half a dozen years in that capacity, upon my retirement last year, in the same address to the Chambers, I pointed out the gravity of the situation and the importance of the change taking place, evidenced at that very meeting when the Government Member refused to be drawn on five distinct occasions and referred the Chambers to the Central Legislature and their representatives there !

DUAL CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

Since a state of unreasoning jealousy now exists on the part of Indians towards the alleged influence of many of the European bodies, they have started their own counterparts and desire and claim an equal attention from the Government and the presence of officials. The Viceroy

attended last December, for the first time, the conference of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce. I for one can easily foresee a time when the Government may feel compelled to adopt a different attitude and say that these are overlapping meetings, putting an undue burden on their high officials, and that the discussions must take place in the common ground, the Assembly, as otherwise it is a mere duplication of work. In passing I may notice the procedure last month when the new Finance Member announced that he would call a joint conference with the Associated Chambers and the Federation of Chambers in regard to the banking enquiry.

From the Europeans' point of view the chief drawback of all the Councils is that they are mostly composed of loquacious lawyers, unversed in practical experience, but prepared to talk themselves in as advocates for their party, in much the same way as I have heard an advocate-general do in a court, in regard to a commercial brief which he obviously had not understood or studied.

Non-official Europeans have not this gift, if gift it be. We are brought up in a different school, a hard school of practical issues, requiring not words but action, practical, prompt, and profitable. We are, therefore, unpractised in speech, and nearly all meetings of our Associations are characterized by manuscript eloquence, frequently prepared long beforehand and often "vetted" by Committees. From this primary school those who make their way to the front are often pitchforked into the Indian political field, and it is often surprising that there they do as well as they do. It is really in the lobbies and on the Select Committees that the Europeans' best work is done. From our small group at least one, sometimes two, members are invariably elected thereto by the Legislative Assembly. Here our practical experience comes in, and is of great value, though our work does not appear in the limelight and is often unsuspected, even by our own constituents.

THE WORK TO BE DONE

We have to fill in the Council of State two, and in the Legislative Assembly ten, seats, besides all those required for the local councils, the municipalities, and so forth. I cannot help thinking the position and the importance of it are not clearly understood by those whose interests are at stake. Fancy the House of Commons without its business men! It should be the interest of those at home who control big businesses in India to realize it, to do something to get a move on, to offer encouragement either to their own or other people's staffs to fill the bill, and to shake this apathy, which has dominated the situation. Encouragement is needed both in India and from Home.

In England a Member of Parliament is usually of some consequence, greater or less, in his own constituency, if not outside it. In India he is not; the custom has not even started of giving him a free invitation to a public dinner! The Scots, who on St. Andrew's Day dine and discourse on how the country should be run, do not invite their representatives on the Legislative Assembly to their dinner to be posted with their views, and even the Chambers of Commerce have not yet reached the stage of inviting other than their own special representatives to attend their annual conferences.

I have said enough, or perhaps more than enough, as to the common apathy. Fortunately, each quinquennium produces men with the necessary public spirit and occasional political flair to replenish the thin red line, and upon the shoulders of these few falls heavy work.

It appears to have been the policy of Government officials, since the introduction of the Reforms, to exercise very great restraint in dealing with the Councils. They have been very gentle and forbearing with the opposition. At times when the vocal extremists have played verbal gymnastics with history and have been very abusive with their chief stock-in-trade—*i.e.*, suspicion of Government—

the officials, even when in a position to pulverize an inconsequent speaker, always try the gentle answer and have shown a readiness to purchase peace with an apology. The non-official long followed the same lead, but in the last year or two has reached the conclusion that the time has come to speak plainly and not mince matters, especially during the time of the Simon Commission. It is the firm belief of the non-official European business man that this is what the Indian is accustomed to, expects and understands from him, and it is what the man-in-the-street expects his representatives to say for him.

COMMERCIAL DISCRIMINATION

In my address to the Chambers of Commerce in December, 1927, I asked them: "What are the dangers that we must defend ourselves against, that Government is unable or unwilling to protect us from?" Pointing out that the policy of anti-European discrimination and expropriation sometimes afforded the only rallying-ground for the divergent and conflicting parties, I read them the agenda of the Congress of Indian Chambers of Commerce meeting in Madras that same month.

It demanded :

1. The reservation of coastal traffic to vessels owned and controlled by Indians, coupled with the demand for liberal State assistance for starting and developing shipbuilding in India.
2. The speedy Indianization of all higher appointments in the Port Trusts, Development or Improvement Trusts, the Imperial Bank, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Irrigation, Customs, Income-tax Department, the Bengal Pilot Service, and the addition of an Indian Member to the Railway Board.
3. A higher duty on imported piece goods.
4. An excise duty on products of "foreign" match factories in India.
5. A rebate on Indian salt entering Bengal.
6. Elimination of the alleged measure of Imperial preference contained in the Steel Protection Act, 1927.
7. A tightening up of the Stores Purchase Rules in favour of Indian products.
8. Restriction of mining concessions to Indian licensees.
9. More generous representation for Indian commercial interests in the Central and Local Legislatures.

Amongst the non-official Europeans, probably only the Members of the Councils really realize the spirit of hostility to British commercial interests, much more than smouldering in the Indian politician's breast. Every European appointment is criticized and/or opposed, and the denial of the right of a Britisher working an industry in India to participate in any bounties conferred under the protective tariffs (to the payment of which the British taxpayer, of course, contributes), unless a proportion, 75 per cent., of the directors be Indian, was definitely voted in the first Steel Protection Bill in the Assembly.

As far back as 1922 I heard Mr. (now Sir) Atul Chatterjee, speaking on behalf of the Government in the Legislative Assembly, say :

The settled policy of the Government of India, as I think we have mentioned more than once in this Assembly, is that no concession should be given to any firms in regard to industries in India unless such firms have a rupee capital, unless such firms have a proportion, at any rate, of Indian directors, and unless such firms allow facilities for Indian apprentices to be trained at their works. This has been mentioned more than once, and I can only repeat this declaration. I hope that will satisfy the House.

This statement coincides with similar views in both the majority and minority reports of the Indian Fiscal Commission. The very word "concession" opens the door to endless dispute. The Indian politician will argue that every Government payment to a British controlled enterprise is a "concession," much as he calls the contract payment for the carriage of mails or goods a "subsidy."

I doubt if the implications of this first precedent as regards directors were realized by Europeans, who were inclined to think it easily met by appointing to a board an Indian guinea-pig or two. That, however, is not the point, it is the matter of principle. We have, however, sufficiently impressed our community with the far-reaching importance of these and kindred matters to lead them to ask of the Simon Commission a proviso that no discriminatory legisla-

tion of this sort as between one British subject and another shall be permitted in the New Constitution. Surely this is a minimum right of any Britisher in the British Empire, and if the Commission accepts this demand, it will beat out of the way other thorny subjects such as stipulations for percentages of Indian capital, and the qualification of colour instead of suitability for directorships.

VIEWS OF THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS

The Chambers of Commerce in their memorandum to the Simon Commission have taken a very broad view, and meet legitimate Indian aspirations in a more than liberal spirit. They recommend the grant to the Provinces of Constitutions varying up to full responsibility subject to five provisos :

1. That the position of the Government of India *vis-à-vis* the Assembly is strengthened.
2. That the Central Government is given powers of intervention in the event of a breakdown of Government in any Province.
3. That provincial Second Chambers are set up.
4. That adequate safeguards are provided for the administration of the Police.
5. That a clause is inserted in the new Government of India Act forbidding discrimination against industrial and commercial interests in Central and Provincial legislation and taxation and in Municipal bye-laws and taxes.

The Associated Chambers have earned some criticism for going so far as to recommend by a majority the transfer of the police and responsibility for law and order to autonomous provincial Governments, subject to certain safeguards. Beyond giving you the reason for this recommendation (*i.e.*, that the surest way to make those responsible for Government realize the need for an effective police force is to make them responsible for the maintenance of order), I am not here to criticize or defend the recommendation, I merely quote it as evidence of the liberal spirit to which I have referred.

The European Association do not go so far in the question of the police: the unanimous decision of their conference

held in Calcutta in December, 1928, was that it should remain a reserved subject. In other respects they are practically in accord with the Chambers and show an equally liberal view. One paragraph of their memorandum to the Simon Commission is specially worth noting :

The European Association and the British community which it represents are sometimes charged with being antagonistic to Indian political aspirations. The Association definitely repudiates the charge. Its attitude throughout has been that of constructive criticism while reform proposals were under discussion, and loyal co-operation when the Reformed Constitution became law.

WHAT DYARCHY HAS DONE

Dyarchy, as you know, met with condemnation, certainly general, whether reasoned or unreasoned. "Dyarchy must go" was an early popular cry. Non-official Europeans have been heard to the same effect, and I fancy a referendum to them would result in a big majority in favour of its abolition. It is, however, noteworthy that since 1924, when the budgets began to come out on the right side, we have heard less of the condemnation. For my own part I still say of the present constitution that in spite of all its drawbacks, all its limitations, all its difficulties and its enemies, in spite of the professed determination to wreck it, it has worked, it has been made to work, and I take off my hat to the founders of it as a first step in the political advance of India on Western lines. They knew their India and their Indians, they foresaw every difficulty, every phase, and every obstruction, and provided safeguards in practically every case.

It will be for the future to demonstrate to us how the Simon Commission can improve on it, although we may still be left guessing what the Simon Commission could do without the actual experience of this much maligned dyarchy. At the European Association Conference in Calcutta in December, the vast majority was wholly in favour of the "reservation" of law and order. That view was accepted by the conference, and that, of course, is still dyarchy, which perhaps can only disappear with British rule itself.

Many of us doubt the suitability of Western democratic institutions to India at all, but, nevertheless, since they are on tap we do our best. The introduction of the Councils has called for and has actually produced a certain number of non-officials, who have devoted a great part of their time and overtime to politics. Yet I fear the number is still small, and their efforts insufficiently followed by those for whose interests they are working. The charge is often levelled against us that we are mere birds of passage. The individual men pass out, it is true, but the firms remain, re-invest a large portion of their profits, and expand.

I would like to feel that the Chambers of Commerce and their affiliated bodies had a better organization for their political field and for the maintenance of continuity. No fewer than five European resignations from the Bengal Council were gazetted in one day recently. I cannot regard as adequate a system, or lack of system, which merely fills vacancies on the Councils as they occur, with a man appointed without any previous experience, to hold his own against opposing Indians who have now had several years' practice.

The European Association is a real live organization, and does afford opportunities to those desiring to take an interest. It has benefited greatly by the services of Colonel Crawford as its secretary and representative on the Assembly, and his constant tours between the cities and the mofussil have done much to stir up and consolidate interest. He was for long our only professional politician, but Mr. F. E. James of the Y.M.C.A. has now joined the ranks in Madras. They are, however, not commercial men, such as the Chambers' representatives have always been, and as a Chamber man myself I, like other Chamber members, hope it may be found possible to carry on the work without having to call in professionals from outside.

LABOUR DIFFICULTIES

The European is awakened keenly enough every time there is a strike, breakdown of public services, or other

industrial dispute; he recognizes as well as anybody the disastrous effect of labour disputes upon the welfare of his own and Indian industries generally, and further that political unrest is a hindrance to economic progress. Unrest naturally means uncertainty, uncertainty lack of confidence, lack of confidence depressed markets.

I have stood in the Assembly to claim that the European employers were amongst the best in India. They are in the forefront with their housing schemes or coolie lines, for provision of medical aid and other voluntary or compulsory benefits. They do not adopt a hostile attitude towards such beneficial schemes as Government may introduce. It may be fairly claimed for the non-official European that in his outlook on labour problems—either within the walls of his own factory, or from his seat on a council or committee—he is guided by the same new spirit that prevails in industry in the United Kingdom, and he makes it a business to keep in touch with his staff. Witness his broad-minded policy over the Trades Union Acts, the factory legislation, and the abolition of the employment of women in mines.

THE SERVICES

At the beginning of my address I said that I was not qualified to speak in regard to the Services. At its conclusion I would like to say something else. I would claim certain qualifications, those of association with them, of some years' experience of their work, especially in the Legislative Assembly and its committees, to pay them the highest tribute in my power for their whole-hearted, unselfish work and devotion to duty, their high ideals in spite of the constant misrepresentations and the vilifications in the Indian Press. They have had some hard knocks, but have set about their job of working and establishing a constitution which was framed with very little consideration for them.

Close contact with the realities of their difficulties of

administration under existing conditions, in a hopeless minority in the Central Legislature, has made me, an Irishman by birth, a definite admirer of the servants of the Crown in India. I have often thought they might feel some disappointment with us non-official Europeans that we have not taken the floor oftener in their support. As I have tried to explain, this has been from want of eloquence, not want of sympathy, and that is one of our main reasons for asking now of the Simon Commission the strengthening of the Government party in the Central Legislature.

A CONSISTENT POLICY

I maintain that the attitude of Europeans in India has been wonderfully consistent throughout. Criticizing, as we did criticize the first and second reforms, recognizing many of their defects, we have been the principal party to attempt consistently to work them. We cheerfully admit we first go to India with the idea that it is for our own advantage and progressive career. We soon come to love the land, the life, and many of the people. When there we do play the game. We claim nothing from the Government that we are not willing to share with our Indian colleagues or competitors. We recognize that India is not and never has been a nation, any more than Europe is a nation, that its population is as diverse and distinct as the population of Europe, and that its various races and creeds have lived side by side for centuries always liable to break out one against another. We claim with pride that the British system of government has maintained the peace longer than any Oriental Government ever has or could do, that this peace has brought great prosperity to the country and made her one of the greatest trading nations of the world, though it has not, of course, divided the spoils equally amongst the inhabitants.

Believing in the principle of self-government, we admit the right of Indians to wish for and to take an increasing

share in the Administration, and we wish to help them to that end, believing that our help is essential in working this Western institution. But we are cautious, we mistrust speed in this matter as much as we mistrust their motor-driving. We cannot help mistrusting the clamant politician, and why should we not? He tells us frankly he wants us to go, and one of the few uses he has made of the Constitution is to endeavour to harm our interests, to limit our activities, to expropriate our concerns and, in the Nehru report, to disenfranchise and deny citizenship to British residents in India. As Britons we shall defend ourselves by all means in our power, and continue to regret that more Indians have not definitely ranged themselves on our side in an attempt to uplift the destiny of India, though we still hope and expect that this will happen with the passing of time and the fatigue of the professed wreckers and non-co-operators.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Monday, March 11, 1929, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., when a paper was read by Sir Walter Willson on "Europeans in India and the Reforms."

Sir Clement Hindley presided, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., The Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Dane, General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Lady Blackett, Lady Hirtzel, Lady Willson, Lady Hindley, Sir William H. Vincent, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Campbell W. Rhodes, C.B.E., Sir Francis Spring, K.C.I.E., Sir Joseph Nunan, K.C., Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Reginald Mant, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Mant, Sir Alfred Pickford, Sir Evan and Lady Cotton, Sir John Batten, Lady Chatterton, Lady Maynard, Colonel Leo. Lenfestey, C.I.E., and Mrs. Lenfestey, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Lieut.-Colonel A. J. O'Brien, C.I.E., C.B.E., Mr. H. Harcourt, C.B.E., Mr. A. B. Kunning, O.B.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., Khan Sahib M. H. and Mrs. Kothawala, the Misses Kothawala, Mr. J. S. Wardlaw Milne, M.P., Mr. J. E. Woolacott, Mr. Edwin Haward, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mrs. Ameer Ali, Dr. Abdul Majid, Mr. H. S. Noah, Mrs. Dewar, Mrs. Rosenthal, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. and Mrs. Percy Brown, Mr. A. R. Willson, Miss Curteis, Mrs. Martley, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Mr. G. B. Coleman, Mr. Scott Bremner, Mr. J. Thakor, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Miss Corfield, Mr. C. A. Bird, Mr. R. S. Greenshields, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. J. A. Dubash, Mr. M. Farzand Ali, Mr. J. W. Golsby, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Rev. O. Young-husband, Mr. J. Nissim, Dr. A. Shah, Commissioner F. Booth-Tucker, Mr. F. W. Richards, Mr. E. Grindlay, Mrs. Frank Watkins, Mr. A. E. Mitchell, Miss Bacon, Miss Lloyd, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

Sir LOUIS DANE announced that at very short notice Sir Clement Hindley had kindly consented to preside in the unavoidable absence of Sir Basil Blackett, who had been called to Paris by League of Nations business. Sir Basil Blackett had written to the Hon. Secretary as follows:

I much regret that I shall be unable to take the chair at the East India Association meeting next Monday as I have to go to Paris. Will you please convey my apologies to Sir Walter Willson and to the Association? Lady Blackett will do so herself also in the case of Sir Walter Willson.

The CHAIRMAN: I wish to introduce to you Sir Walter Willson. I do not think that he really needs any serious introduction from me, because

you probably all know who he is, but I might put before you one claim, at any rate, that he has on your attention this afternoon. Sir Walter Willson, who was a very prosperous merchant prince in Calcutta, was not content to leave India when his business career was finished, but, with great public-spirited feeling, he determined to remain in India and devote his time to representing European commercial interests in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi and Simla. For the last five or six years he has been doing this honorary political work in the interests of the Empire, of British commerce, and of the Europeans in India. For that reason I think Sir Walter Willson has great claims on your attention this afternoon. (Hear, hear.)

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN : I think you would like me to congratulate Sir Walter Willson on the extremely interesting account he has given us of the activities of the European non-official members of the Legislature during the last five or six years. (Hear, hear.) I must apologize for not being prepared at such very short notice to give what is described on the agenda as the Chairman's address. I am afraid I am not competent to give an address of any kind, but I should like to make one or two comments on Sir Walter Willson's interesting paper. He has given us a very interesting picture of the position in which Europeans engaged in commerce, particularly in Calcutta, found themselves when what we call the Reforms came into shape. The first shock to the Calcutta commercial merchant princes took place when the capital was removed to Delhi, and they have never really got over that shock yet. They were accustomed to the time when the Government of India looked to the European commercial community in Calcutta for advice and guidance. I am sorry to say that my early recollections of Calcutta, when I was in contact with the European commercial community there, gave me the idea that, except for a few giant personalities who in any country would have made their name, the tendency among the Europeans engaged in commerce in Calcutta was to regard India as bounded at one end by Barrackpur and at the other end by Tollygunge. (Laughter.) They believed that over the mysterious river there were some people living, but they knew very little about the country except that the trains kept them in communication with the hinterland. I remember one occasion when I had the honour of taking the head of a commercial firm in Calcutta on a new tour to him up-country as far as Mussoorie. He looked out of the window on both sides of the train and said that although he had been in India for thirty years he had never seen such interesting country before, and he was surprised to find the interior of India was so interesting and so beautiful. (Laughter.) After the first shock of the removal of the capital to Delhi, Europeans in Calcutta began to wake up and found that they had to take an interest not so much in politics as in the legislative business of the Government, and it is really the record of the activities of these commercial gentlemen in the legislative business of Government rather than in the sphere of politics that I think is so interesting. During the last five or six years, which have been a period of

transition in all Indian affairs, we have had the extraordinary spectacle of a Government in a permanent minority in its own Parliament having carried through a very amazing series of legislative acts, unparalleled, I should think, in the history of any nation. That carries its own testimony of credit to the ability of the leaders of the Government at headquarters, but it does give us, in view of what Sir Walter Willson has told us today, an insight into the methods by which the legislation was carried out, and I think I can testify that the influence of the small European non-official party in the Legislative Assembly and in the Council of State was a very valuable asset to the Government during that intensely interesting period. There was hardly one of the great legislative acts that have taken place in the last five or six years which did not find in the long run a majority in the Legislative Assembly; and it was the quiet and unobtrusive influence of Sir Walter Willson and his colleagues of the European non-official party which very largely contributed to the feeling which brought about the majority in favour of the Government at many critical times. (Hear, hear.) I do not say for a moment that the European non-official always supported the Government. I have myself had words with Sir Walter Willson across the floor of the House on matters which he considered to be vital policy and on which I generally managed to convince him. (SIR WALTER WILLSON: No.) At any rate, in the result we generally carried out what we wanted to do.

It was not in the sphere of initiating legislation or of engaging in active political controversy that the efforts of these gentlemen were so valuable, but, as I say, in their quiet influence in the lobbies, in the House in their speeches, and outside the House at their garden parties and their tea parties, and the personal influence which they exercised over those who might otherwise have taken extreme views on what the Government were trying to do.

I have no more to say on this occasion, because I am very unwilling to follow Sir Walter Willson into the subjects dealt with in the larger part of his address. He has endeavoured to show you a kaleidoscopic picture of the new India at the moment, and I cannot attempt to follow him in his prophecies with regard to the future; but I do wish to say that the advances which have been made in the last five years in India in the direction of co-operative legislative action, co-operation between Europeans and Indians, between Government officials and non-officials, ought to give us very great hope for a satisfactory solution of the difficulties that beset India at the present moment. (Applause.)

Mr. CADELL said he wished to mention one point in Sir Walter Willson's address—namely, the great necessity for local work on the part of Europeans in India. In his opinion it would be beneficial if the Europeans served on the local councils, instead of being, as Sir Walter Willson had said, turned straight out from their Association meetings into the hurly-burly of political life on the Legislative Council. Sir Walter Willson had laid stress on the disadvantage of the want of eloquence on the part of the European gentlemen. That was not due to any lack of ability; it was

simply due to want of practice. If the Europeans would take the trouble to serve on the local councils they would obtain a great deal of practice in public speaking which would greatly add to their usefulness afterwards. With regard to the suggestion that the speakers in the Legislative Assembly were mostly loquacious lawyers, that did not apply at any rate so far as Bombay was concerned. The lawyers who spoke in the Assemblies certainly had a great knowledge of practical administrative work and practical local legislation, which, of course, was a great advantage when they went to higher spheres. It was equally necessary that Europeans should, if possible, have the same preliminary experience by entering into local municipal work, where the work was more constant and less troublesome. He had heard members of firms complain greatly when they had to leave their affairs in Bombay or Calcutta and go to Delhi or Simla, but it always seemed to him that they had a comparatively pleasant time when they were there. They were free from their own daily work, and the legislative work did not occupy the whole of their time. (Applause.)

Mr. HAWARD said there was little he could say except to express his admiration for Sir Walter Willson in explaining some of the proceedings which he had had the pleasure of watching from the Press gallery when Sir Walter Willson was a member of the Assembly. There was, however, one small point which he considered should be pressed home. Members of Parliament at Westminster felt much trepidation on making a maiden speech, but they could not say they were not already in practice, especially when they came straight from an election campaign. The unofficial Europeans in India went straight to New Delhi into what was very often their first experience of making a speech in public. If when the Assembly was not sitting they wished to address meetings in their constituencies, there would be no meetings to address. What success had been achieved by them in the sphere of speech-making had been achieved in face of disadvantages which did not apply to the Members of Parliament at Westminster.

Mr. WOOLCOTT said he had listened with admiration to Sir Walter Willson's address. There was no doubt whatever that there was great need for the removal of the apathy towards political affairs which unfortunately existed among the British commercial classes in India. They had very good examples in Sir Walter Willson himself and in Sir Campbell Rhodes of what European commercial men could do in the Legislatures. These gentlemen had given years of their lives to public service in India, and their work afforded a fine example to the European community. He wished to say a word with regard to the terrible apathy that existed in England in regard to India. (Hear, hear.) The question might be viewed from two standpoints. In the first place, the people of this country had a great moral responsibility for India. Again, we had an enormous trade with India, vast commercial interests in that country, and it would be reasonable to suppose that the prosperity of India would be regarded seriously by people here, inasmuch as employment and commercial prosperity in England depended to a great extent upon the prosperity of

India. If something could be done to remove the apathy it would be a great boon not only to this country and to India, but to the Empire at large. Trivial questions affecting India often received great prominence in England, while matters of the utmost importance to India and to the Empire were entirely ignored. The ignorance of British Members of Parliament with regard to India was stupendous. He attended a meeting a short time previously at which an Indian gentleman delivered an interesting address on Indian affairs of an elementary nature. The Chairman, who was prominent as an Imperialist, having expressed his admiration for the address, went on to say that he had been amazed at the information which the speaker had given. If they could help to dissipate the ignorance that existed and to stimulate greater interest in Indian affairs, it would be for the benefit of the Empire as a whole. (Applause.)

Mr. S. N. MALLIK, referring to the lecturer's remark that the speakers in the Assembly and councils in India were mostly loquacious lawyers, said he felt that remark had been meant for people like himself, who agitated against the Government. He did not see why they should not be loquacious. Why should they, like the British people, be stolid and with glass eyes? They were bound to be loquacious to press their claims on the minds of people who were either quite apathetic or notoriously ignorant. The lecturer had appealed to Europeans in India to take an interest only in political matters, but he was surprised that the lecturer did not mention that they should join the Indians also in their social struggles, otherwise they would not command the confidence of Indians. Some of them, he was pleased to say, had done so. If they only entered into politics, the Indians would come to the conclusion that they were there merely to help the bureaucratic Government, but if they joined them like elder brothers in their struggles with regard to education, sanitation, and other social matters, they would progress side by side, and there would be a chance for true "Empire feeling." (Applause.)

Sir ALFRED PICKFORD, referring to Sir Walter Willson's allusion to the apathy of firms in India with regard to political work being done by their representatives, said their lack of interest in Indian affairs was due not to apathy, but, he feared, to a form of selfishness. He had expressed the opinion on a great many occasions that if more effort had been expended in connection with social work, as apart from politics, he was certain India would have progressed further politically than it had done at present. Some of them had had to do with social work in India—in his own case in connection with the Boy Scout movement—and the results achieved were remarkable. That work had brought out the splendid qualities of the boys in such a remarkable way that he was justified in suggesting that more effort should be made on the part of the Indians themselves on the social-ameliorative side rather than only on the political side. They had to remember that any advance depended to a great extent on the character of the people, and work such as had been done in connection with the Boy Scout and other movements was calculated to raise the general average of character, and so make it not only possible but inevitable that political advancement should follow. (Applause.)

Commissioner BOOTH-TUCKER said he had always found Indians ready to meet Europeans more than half-way. Having been in the Government service in India, he knew the difficulties of the Government class. Having mixed up with Indians, he had always been met in the most friendly spirit. He remembered the story of two goats that had to pass over a plank bridge; they met each other in the middle, and there was not room for them to pass each other; but one of them lay down and the other walked over it, and then they nodded to each other after they had got successfully across. He thought that the attitude of allowing the other man to go over first often met with more than a generous response on the part of our Indian fellow-subjects. (Applause.)

Mr. SORAJI agreed with Sir Walter Willson that the Indian lawyers in the Councils were very voluble. The English members of the Assembly should follow their example and take lessons from them. It was no use saying they had character to match the eloquence, because character could not be heard, whereas their voices could. He agreed with the lecturer's remarks as to the failure of his countrymen to recognize facts and to shoulder responsibilities. He took Sir Walter Willson's figures to be correct when he told them that there were only 100,000 British people in India, 45,000 of whom were women and children. That being so, it was ridiculous for 320 million people to say that so small a body had exploited or bled them. He wished Sir Walter would not use the word "British" to represent "English," because the Indians were as British as were the English. (Hear, hear.) Wherever he went, especially amongst Americans, he always said he was British. With regard to the suggestion that Indians had not shouldered their responsibilities, the lecturer was right; they ought to have shown that they were worthy of the amount of responsibility which had been given to them and then to have demanded more, but their leaders had non-co-operated and so lost their chance. The lecturer had spoken of the Indian as a man who wanted something without working for it. He had found the same thing applied in England, that being what the Socialist party wanted. The lecturer had said that Indians made promises and did not keep them. The same thing applied in England; for instance, Mr. Lloyd George was ready to promise to put an end to unemployment in one year. Mr. Malik had said that Europeans did not take sufficient interest in Indian social affairs. He did not blame the men, because they were unable to do much in that direction, as they could not enter the zenanas, but he thought the English ladies could do more. He had helped to found a Purdah Club in Allahabad, and had had the greatest difficulty in getting English ladies to go there. In his opinion, all English ladies should be trained to do social work in India. He wished the lecturer had said more about the officials. He thought the way the official had altered from one merely giving orders to one trying to persuade and sympathize was truly admirable. He regretted Sir Basil Blackett was not present, as he would like to have paid a tribute to him for having taught India to balance her budget. (Cheers.)

Sir EVAN COTTON thought it would be wise of large firms in India to encourage the younger men in their service to take an interest in politics.

(Hear, hear.) They might, in that case, go on the Municipal Corporations, learn their work there and then pass on to the Councils and Assemblies. During the time he had spent in Calcutta as a spectator of the proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council, he could not help observing that they had a constant succession of "burra sahibs" on the Council who came on the stage, never opened their mouths and then passed away. He could never understand why, instead of sending up this succession of transient, embarrassed phantoms, the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce had been unable to persuade the large firms to allow their young men to go on the Corporation and the Councils. Some training was required for politics, and the only way to give that training was to catch the birds young. He did not know whether Sir Walter Willson still preserved the immense influence that he formerly had with the Chambers of Commerce, but if that was the case perhaps if he thought it worth anything he would pass on the suggestion that he had made. During the time he was in Calcutta he was glad to say that one firm had been persuaded to allow one of their men to go on the Corporation, but that was the utmost that had been done, and he could not help feeling how much better it would have been for the Corporation if there had been more of these young men on that body.

SIR CAMPBELL RHODES said that European members were obliged to exercise some reticence in the Legislatures, because of the relative smallness of their number. When he was in the Assembly there were merely ten units in the European party, who were just beginning to form themselves into a real party. Sir Walter Willson had set himself to the task with very great vigour, at some expense to himself, and had left behind him a real party. Mr. Haward had suggested that European members never addressed their constituents. That was not true in the case of Sir Walter Willson, whose constituency extended throughout the length and breadth of India, because in the recess he had travelled about among the various Chambers of Commerce, consulted them, learned their views, and expressed those views in the Assembly. He regarded Sir Walter Willson as the only really conscientious representative of the electors they had ever had in the House. (Applause.) He, personally had never addressed his constituents, firstly because he had not known where to find them, and secondly, because if he had made the suggestion they would have looked at the Indian Year Book to see if he was really their representative. (Laughter.) They had heard much concerning the apathy of Europeans. Personally, he thought that was really only relative; it was much less than at home, but the demand was much greater. He noted the remarks made as to European support of social welfare work in India. In Calcutta there seemed to be one charity for every business house, and generous support was given. To take one instance, the Indian Blind School: 75 per cent. of the contributions came from Europeans, and not a single white or Anglo-Indian patient was in the school. With regard to Mr. Sorabji's very ungallant attack on the English ladies, he was of opinion that they pulled their weight in India. With regard to Sir Walter Willson's statement about the societies and

associations, as soon as there were representative bodies in a country the societies and associations formed outside those bodies were naturally bound to decline in importance. It had been so with labour organizations in England since the Labour Party had come into prominence in the House of Commons, and had had a constitutional platform from which to speak; and the same applied to India. Sir Walter Willson had pointed out that the Associated Chambers of Commerce might lose in future the presence at their annual meetings of representatives of the Government; but he wished Sir Basil Blackett had been present, because he had often spoken at those meetings. It was of great benefit to the European community in Calcutta, and furthered their interest in political work that they should meet members of the Government, and hear their views on various questions. He regretted that there were two federations of Chambers of Commerce—one English and the other Indian. He himself had been President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, and no one realized more than he did the difficulties which had to be faced in bringing them together. It would take time; but he thought the extension of a little courtesy on either side at the commencement would pave the way for a better understanding between Indians and Europeans engaged in commerce in India. Their interests were really one: the British firms were competitors of their Indian friends, but they were also and still keener competitors of their European friends in India. He hoped that as time went on commercial and industrial opinion would be brought closer and closer together. He welcomed the action of Sir George Schuster in recently getting representatives of the two bodies together to consult on the question of the Banking Inquiry, because nothing but good could come of such joint meetings. If Europeans in the Assemblies were not reputed for their eloquence, they had a much better effect on the House, because they only spoke when they had something to say, and sat down as soon as (and sometimes sooner than) they had said it. He did not agree with Mr. Sorabji's suggestion that they should take lessons from Indians with regard to oratory, for some Indian members of the Legislature were given to speaking at inordinate length.

SIR WILLIAM VINCENT said that the whole of Sir Walter Willson's paper was so interesting that it was difficult to deal with it at all thoroughly in the time at his disposal. One point appeared to him to be of great importance: the co-operation of Europeans with Indians in working out the reforms. From his own experience he endorsed the statement made by the lecturer as to the value of the work done by the European members of the Legislative Assembly. He had had considerable experience of the work for five or six years, and he could assure the meeting that the work of the European non-official members was of the greatest possible assistance. There had been a certain lack of interest in politics among Europeans in the early stages, but that had been very rapidly dispelled, particularly when their rights were affected. Some of the speakers had suggested that Indians had shown a lack of any sense of responsibility, but he did not think that suggestion was entirely justified. It was, indeed, a matter for surprise to him that the reforms had succeeded as

well as they had. It was not to be wondered at that a new system of responsible government such as had been introduced in India had been difficult to inaugurate, and in some directions the success was notable. He asked them to compare the position of education in many of the Provinces at the present time—for instance, in the Punjab—with what it had been before the reforms were introduced. That showed that the Indian Members of Council, in spite of a good deal of wild talk, were not as irresponsible as some people imagined. They must remember, too, the large number of Bills which the Government of India had been able to put through the Legislative Assembly without serious objection, the fact that very few had had to be certified, and still fewer had had to be vetoed by the Viceroy. That was a strong and convincing argument to show that the members of the Assembly were not always as lacking in a sense of responsibility as was sometimes thought. The Government of India were responsible to the British Parliament for administration, and at the same time were dependent very largely on the goodwill of the Legislative Assembly, in which there was a majority of non-officials, to carry them through, and in that sense he thought the Assembly had shown a realization of their responsibilities. If, indeed, a sense of responsibility had been totally lacking, he could not understand why the Government of Madras had proposed a complete transfer of power to the Legislature. This was the recommendation of a Local Government, a very responsible body with full knowledge of the difficulties of administration, and it would be idle to treat it as if it had no weight. All the same, it seemed to him that the Local Governments and the Central Government were more interdependent than was realized; for instance, one could not divorce the police administration entirely from the military. In conclusion, he wished to say that he was sure all present greatly appreciated the very valuable address which had been given by Sir Walter Willson.

LORD LAMINGTON, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Walter Willson and the Chairman, said that the lecturer had given a comprehensive sketch of Indian political life at the present moment, and his address had also brought out many illuminating speeches from other gentlemen present. There was one point he would like to mention: he thought the reason why young Europeans were unable to attend meetings of central bodies was owing to the tremendous amount of time and loss of money that it entailed. They must remember that the Europeans were in India for the purpose of making a livelihood. This he had read, he thought, in the book on Indian Government of which Mr. Cadell was joint author, but he gathered that Mr. Cadell had just said that there was some recompense for being in Simla or Delhi; but one of the great difficulties in getting Europeans on the central bodies was that they could not, generally speaking, afford it, although there might be a few who could afford to give their time to legislative work. He included in his vote of thanks Sir Clement Hindley for his occupancy of the chair. In view of his valuable work in India, his presence was particularly appreciated.

The resolution was carried by acclamation, and, the Chairman having thanked the meeting, the proceedings terminated.

THE INDIAN STATES INQUIRY

A CONVERSAZIONE of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall on Monday, January 21, 1929, when many members and other guests were present to meet Sir Harcourt Butler and his colleagues of the Indian States Inquiry Committee. Sir Harcourt Butler and Lieut.-Colonel Ogilvie (Secretary of the Committee) were kept away by illness, but Colonel the Hon. Sidney Peel and Professor Holdsworth, members of the Committee, were present with Mrs. Peel and Mrs. Holdsworth. During the proceedings

SIR LOUIS DANE said : I have to apologize for Lord Lamington's absence in Scotland owing to a slight accident. We have with us among our honoured guests today Colonel Peel and Professor Holdsworth, members of the Committee which has been inquiring into the general position of the Indian States. Sir Harcourt Butler, the Chairman, and Lieut.-Colonel Ogilvie, the Secretary, are unfortunately laid up with influenza and cannot come. I am sure that you wish me on behalf of the Association to congratulate the members of the Committee on nearing the end of their labours in a calm and peaceful spirit, and let us hope that those labours will be successful in placing this—perhaps the most important and difficult problem of the Indian Empire—upon a clear, sound, and satisfactory basis.

In this Association few can be ignorant of the genesis of the Indian States or of the present position of the Princes. During the past three or four years the question has frequently cropped up in our papers and discussions, and last summer an excellent paper on the subject was read by one of the leading Princes, the Maharaja of Patiala, who is Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. But even in these quiet surroundings the voice of *soi-disant* Indian democrats has been heard denouncing the Princes as pampered and obsolete autocrats, an anomaly and a hindrance to a visionary, new, democratic India, who must kiss the rod or be swept away. These views have not commended themselves here, and the immense value to the Indian Empire of these States and their Princes (the faithful allies and supporters of the British Crown), with their prized internal autonomy and privileges buttressed by treaties and usage, has throughout been fully recognized. Indeed, I remember that in one such discussion I ventured to describe them as our sheet anchor in India, and I stand by the phrase. (Cheers.)

More it is not necessary, therefore, to say, as, though the flood of professional oratory on the subject was confined to the Committee chamber, from notices in the Press and lectures and the presence of many of the Princes all now must have a general knowledge of the meaning and uses of the Indian States, and we may confidently hope that Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee will put the final polish on these diamonds of the Indian Empire, so that they may for ever stand sharp and clear against the dimming breath of ignorant if well-meaning political criticism or the

poisonous corrosion of anarchic sedition as some of the brightest jewels of the British Crown. (Cheers.)

I am sure that you will agree that Sir Harcourt, to whom we wish a speedy recovery, was a wise selection as Chairman of this important Committee, as not only has he been Lieut.-Governor and Governor of two of the most important provinces, but in his earlier days as Secretary in the Foreign Department of the Government of India under Lord Minto he had an excellent opportunity of learning from the inside what the States were, and how delicate and yet strong was the silken cord of diplomatic influence by which alone they are controlled. What perhaps is not so well known is that a Secretary of State and a Viceroy—I was going to say "fought," but perhaps that is too violent a term to apply to such eminent personages, one of whom was a persistent pacifist, so I will substitute "vied"—for so valuable a possession as the person of Sir Harcourt. The Secretary of State wanted him for a Commission, but happily the Viceroy called his bluff and secured him for the Foreign Department, and now he has been able to use the knowledge which he acquired in that Department, where he was my successor, for the good of the States and of the Empire. (Cheers.)

Colonel the Hon. SIDNEY PEEL said that no one regretted more than he did the absence of Sir Harcourt Butler. He did not suppose that any Indian civilian for the last half-century had held a succession of more important posts than he had. In his most distinguished career he had maintained a liveliness and youthfulness of disposition which made him one of the best chairmen and one of the best travelling companions to go round India that could possibly be imagined. Both he (the speaker) and his colleague, Professor Holdsworth, found it very necessary to have someone to guide them both in their travels and in social ways and usages, and in this connection they were under the deepest obligation to Sir Harcourt Butler as well as to their accomplished Secretary, Colonel Ogilvie. They were able, with this assistance, to travel a great deal in the Indian States and to know the local colour affecting the problems with which they had to deal.

Remarking that he must avoid the temptation offered in the speech of the Chairman to make any observations on the probable findings of the Committee, Colonel Peel said that if the report failed to come up to everybody's expectations—as no doubt it would—(laughter) it would not be because the members of the Committee failed to appreciate the variety and importance of the problems they had to consider and the importance and interest of the part in India with which they were dealing. It seemed to him that those problems were not so difficult and intricate as those of British India; and his whole-hearted sympathy went out to the members of the Statutory Commission in respect not only to the intellectual, but also to the social, difficulties of their task. The members of the States Committee happily had no boycott or hartals to encounter. Everywhere they were received alike by the British authorities and by the Princes and Ministers of States with the utmost kindness and with even more than the

traditional hospitality of India. One of the subjects they had to consider was that of the incidence of the customs duties in connection with the States. In the last three years he had been brought into contact with tariff questions in China. It seemed to him that whereas in that country it was easy to know the right thing to do, but almost impossible to do it, in India it seemed quite possible to do the right thing, but very difficult to know what the right thing was. (Cheers and laughter.)

His conviction was that the success of any scheme formulated by a commission or inquiry in India depended not so much upon the plan that might be produced as upon the spirit in which it was received and worked. Success depended upon British and Indian co-operation in bringing it to the test of experience. For that co-operation to be effective the Englishman in India must be fit. One of the things that struck him on his tour was the scarcity of the Englishman, seeing that so much was heard of British rule and British influence in the country. But another impression that he received, and one that filled him with great hopefulness, was that the Englishmen working in India were extremely fit and able to carry out their duties and help to build up the progress which they hope to see. He wished to pay tribute to the assistance they received from many high officials and especially from the Viceroy. From the point of view of "Indian India" it was a most valuable asset to have the influence of a high-minded and sincere administrator like Lord Irwin with his wonderful sympathies towards the people of India. (Cheers.)

NATIONAL AND RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERSIAN NATION

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR ARNOLD T. WILSON,

K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O.

ONE of the outstanding features of world history for the past few hundred years is that contacts between peoples are multiplying, with the result, or perhaps in consequence of the fact, that the world has become a single economic unit. We are further than ever from the Golden Age foreshadowed by Virgil in the 7th Eclogue when

No more shall tall ships sail the vasty seas, or merchandise be carried
in the same.

Each country then all good things shall produce.

In these circumstances, it is more than ever necessary that those whose duty or inclination brings them into contact with races other than those with whom they have been familiar from childhood should study with sympathy and without bias, with respect but without sentimentality, the characteristics of other races. On few subjects is there more loose talking, confused thinking or dogmatic writing. In a recently published novel, for example, a writer whose literary abilities claim a respect which is not merited by his views, tells us that

The East is peopled with boobies. Boobies who laugh about nothing, chatter about nothing, and murder one another.

Other writers claim, with equal assurance, but no greater truth, that the Oriental outlook is the antithesis of the "materialistic" outlook of the West, and that we must look to the East today, as in the past, for guidance in philosophy and in matters spiritual.

Of both attitudes of mind (they cannot be dignified with the term schools of thought) it may with confidence be said the truth is not in them.

Excluding physical attributes, which are beyond the scope of this essay, it is possible, though it is not easy, to indicate certain mental and moral qualities which are common to individual members of a nation as a whole.

Such characteristics may be *universal*, inherent in substantially all individuals in a given nation, and therefore not open to modification by suasion, precept or example, just as are certain physical attributes, but only when a nation is of one race, without admixture with other races, and not influenced by other civilizations. It is rare to find such conditions today, except in races in a very elementary stage of development. In the Middle East, and nowhere more than in Persia, national characteristics are almost wholly acquired as the result of environment, and can therefore be developed or repressed in the individual by external agencies.

The term environment includes, amongst other things, geographical and climatic considerations, including the prevalence in certain areas of widespread disease such as malaria, occupation (urban, agricultural or pastoral), religion, law and custom.

"Arabia," writes the late Dr. Hogarth,* "has been subjected, more uniformly than any area of like extent in the world, to three of the strongest forces which make for political unity—namely, common speech, common faith and common racial tradition. Their community has resulted, in the main, from a similar uniformity of physical conditions."

Of Persia, precisely the opposite is true: six different languages are currently spoken.† Though the Shiah religion is predominant, at least a tenth of the population is Sunni, and there are numerous and collectively important minorities of Nestorians, Christians, Armenians and Parsees (Gabr), whilst Sufism and Bahaism, though seldom publicly avowed, have a strong hold upon the educated classes and have a great influence over them. The Zoroastrian culture of Persia resisted assimilation by the Arab invaders of Persia in the seventh century. "The Arab conquest of Persia," writes Hogarth, "proved so little a victory for pure Islam that wave after wave of Iranian influences, which the Prophet would have anathematized, washed back to the very cradle of the Faith. Never has captor more swiftly and subtly been captured by his captive than Arabia by Persia."

Of common racial tradition there is not a trace in Persia. A "typical" Persian does not exist, because there are within the limits of the Empire many distinct types, easily recognized, though these types represent different geo-

* "A History of Arabia." Hogarth. 1922.

† Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic, Luri, Brahui, Persian, each subdivided into numerous widely differing dialects.

graphical and climatic areas rather than different racial origins. Yet no other race, except perhaps the English, has such a mixture of blood in their veins.

The original Tajik inhabitants of Persia, whose descendants are to be found, comparatively unaltered, in Gilan and Mazanderan, on the shores of the Caspian in forest country, were replaced in places, and in others assimilated, by Aryan-speaking Nordic nomads from Eastern Russia, and by Turanian-speaking Mongolians from Western Siberia. This took place as early as 2000 B.C.* and continued for many centuries.

In the seventh century Persia was overrun by Arab armies, bringing with them their language and their religion, but not their women. In the fourteenth century there was a fresh Mongol invasion, that of Genghiz Khan. In the seventeenth century Turkman tribes extended their wanderings over Persia. In the eighteenth century there was an invasion of Afghans which spread as far west as Isfahan. The list might be extended almost indefinitely; throughout the whole period there was a steady infiltration of successful bandits and soldiers of fortune into the Persian highlands from all sides, sometimes as freebooters, sometimes as colonists, sometimes as enemies, oftener as mercenaries of the ruling dynasties, who were wont to reward the chiefs of border tribes who had done good service by substantial grants of land in places distant many hundreds of miles from their home lands. Examples of this practice are to be found in every province: some of the leading tribes of Luristan and Fars are of Arab origin; Kurdish tribes will be found in Luristan, in Fars and in Isfahan; Turkish tribes in Luristan and Fars. Afghan families have taken root in Kirmanshah, Isfahan and Kirman and on the borders of Baluchistan. Successful Baluch raiders have founded families and populated villages in Kirman and beyond.

Nor is there, in Persia, any sort of uniformity in physical conditions. From north to south the traveller passes through the humid swamps and dense forests of Gilan and Mazanderan, where rice, tea, timber and tobacco are the main products, to the plateau, alternately torrid and frigid, of Qazvin. He wanders across endless deserts, varied by oases in which patient cultivators coax with endless labour a bare sustenance from the soil wherever water can be brought to the surface, over the romantic sierras of the Zagros, rising to a height of 13,000 feet, the home of half a million virile nomads, till he reaches the burning plains

* "A Study of Races in the Ancient Near East." Worrell. 1927.

of Arabistan, whose vast marshes hide thriving settlements of Arabs, whose sole avocation is to tend the fruitful date-palm and to grow rice in the ever-fertile swamps.

Though African slaves have never entered Persia in large numbers, there are thousands of families between Karmanshah and Karman whose progenitors were "Kaka siah"—"black brothers"—first the slaves and later the trusted retainers of local chiefs. They have left their mark on the Gulf population of every degree, but only in male tail, for the number of female slaves imported is negligible.

Finally, the very widespread practice of giving brides in settlement of blood feuds, or with a view to ensuring friendly relations between different tribes, often of different race, is in effect a species of exogamy, which, practised principally by leading families in every part of Persia, has undoubtedly had the effect of maintaining a high standard of intelligence amongst the nation's leaders. Amongst the Greeks, Miltiades, Thucydides and Demosthenes were the offspring of marriages between Greeks and Syrians. Shah Ismail traced his descent from Musa, the seventh Imam, and his successors brought to the nuptial bed damsels of Turkish, Arab, as well as of Persian race.

Adaptability.—It is clear therefore that the Persian is from the racial point of view ideally composite, and it is probably on this account that Persians, more perhaps than any other Asiatic race, and certainly more than most European races, respond so readily to a change of environment. The average Persian abroad is *par excellence* a man of the world; Persian students in the universities of Europe and the U.S.A. do not tend, as do many Orientals, to keep to themselves: still less do they tend to fraternize with other Oriental students. Whether they come to Europe as children, as youths or as adults, they mingle with local society far more effectively than do the majority of Europeans in foreign countries. This is, perhaps, the outstanding characteristic of the race, and it is not confined to social qualities: in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's refineries and workshops, on the oil-fields and pipe-lines, Persians, especially the nomadic Bakhtiari, have proved themselves capable, after training, of handling machinery, and generally of adapting themselves to the exigencies of European industry in its most modern aspect, to a degree that is as unusual as it is satisfactory. Nor is this aspect of Persian culture of recent growth; Herodotus evidently liked and admired Persians: to him a Persian grandee was fully as cultured a man (and in many respects a more

thorough gentleman) than the best of the Greeks. The account he gives of Persian education and Persian manners especially confirms this (*cf.* Mahaffy: "Social Life in Greece," p. 342).

We must next touch on the effect on the Persian mentality of religious belief and tradition, the latter embodying laws and customs often of far greater antiquity than the official religion of the Persian State. There is no doubt that amongst Shiahs their religious tenets and the philosophy of life which is embodied therein have a profound effect upon their attitude towards life and their conduct towards others—an effect more profound than that of the Sunni faith, and comparable with that of the other great religions of the world.

Dissimulation.—Born under the stress of persecution, and maintained with unwearying tenacity by its adherents in Sunni countries, the Shiah faith has developed the doctrine of *taqiya*, or "religious dissimulation." The extent to which this maxim has permeated the daily life of the people is as remarkable as it is regrettable: it has become part of the life of every Persian man, woman and child; its existence militates against confidence and mutual trust between Persians and foreigners of whatever race. The doctrine is enshrined in the maxims of 'Ali (Qalamat al Qassar), in the phrase, "Hide your gold, your destination and your religion." The practice has inevitably spread more widely than its founders first intended, and false oaths and perfidious practices generally are part of the stock-in-trade of Persian historians and storytellers, and are scarcely reprobated, but it is essentially the weapon of the weak against the strong; and as the nation, and individuals, find themselves able to meet their adversary on equal terms, on a basis of mutual confidence, so do they tend to abandon *taqiya* and to revert to a higher ethical plane. In this connection it should be explained that business in Persia is done for the most part on personal, not collateral, security: a merchant's word said before witnesses is by common consent better than his bond; *la itibaran filqartas* ("no reliance is to be placed on paper"), to quote another common aphorism. "A hundred meanings may be read into a document," men have often said to me, "but we know what we have agreed on—and we know each other—what need is there of a bond?"—and mutual confidence established on this basis has not been unjustified by events.

Courtesy.—I was once attacked, held up and robbed by

a band of sportive nomads: good-humoured bargaining, in circumstances of difficulty, ending in an expensive but not abject compromise, led in the course of a few hours to friendly relations. Having robbed me of all I possessed, and having restored to me what I treasured most, and my captors least, their leader, who had throughout held language of dignified courtesy with me (and I hope I with him), even as his men despoiled me of my outer garments and belongings, insisted on my being his guest, once a settlement was reached, and right royally he did me the honours of his mountain cave. Two days later, when I left him, with guards of his own providing, he swore a voluntary but binding oath to befriend me if ever need should arise. Two years later I had occasion to call upon him to assist me, in circumstances of difficulty and some danger, to avoid the pressing attentions of a neighbouring hostile tribe. I rode almost alone to his tents in the oak forest on the slopes of a great mountain, told him my story, and asked him to see me through to the nearest town seventy miles distant. The old man turned out a guard of 150 mounted men for me, and, refusing all reward, sent his eldest son with me the whole way, with orders to fight if need be; he reminded me of his oath, which I had not mentioned, saying that he would show that my confidence was not undeserved; nor would his son take money.

Honour.—Honour was at stake, in a country where men hold honour more precious far than life.* Such incidents have happened to me not infrequently, and justify the generalization that whilst double-dealing and verbal quibbling are regarded with complacency, and deceit and dissimulation in State affairs are regarded as legitimate weapons, when the honour of the tribe or of the individual, be he gentle or simple, is recognized to be at stake, considerations of expediency or gain are thrown to the winds.

Loyalty.—In no other country has it been my good fortune to possess servants so loyal, so faithful to their trust, and so completely identified with their master's interests. How often have I heard my muleteers and body-servants discussing my affairs with outsiders, and using invariably the first person plural in their conversation as to my intentions, my properties and my methods. "We shall meet the Governor tomorrow, we shall lunch with him; we shall distribute alms when we leave the gates of the town; we

* "Rely on their honour," says Burton, speaking of Arabs, "and you will be safe; rely on their honesty and they will steal the hair off your head."

have, praise God, a good table and can entertain the Governor in return as befits his rank. We are tired today, and shall remain in seclusion; we hold grey-beards and Sayyids (may God prolong their days) in respect and seek their company after the evening meal"—and so on.

One such servant was with me for fifteen years: from butler he rose to be chief steward, and as such had the disbursement, almost uncontrolled, of very large sums to muleteers and others, for the purchase of food for frontier commissions, etc., aggregating thousands of pounds. He could barely read or write, yet his accounts were never out by more than a few shillings, and when he died, as a Persian would wish to die, on the march even as he rode, his only savings consisted of a little house in Hamadan, another in Karbala, where he hoped to end his days, and a few mules. He was the soul of honesty, shrewd but kind in his relations with his fellow-men; generous to the poor, hospitable to all, with a gift for saying the right thing to high and low, which he inherited no doubt from his father the farrash-bashi. He had a store of tales of old Persia, of proverbs, and of adages which enlivened long marches, and a fundamental honesty and simplicity of heart for which I revere his memory. And there are many such in Persia.

Hospitality.—Amongst Persians, as amongst Arabs, hospitality is a primary virtue and an outstanding characteristic in every walk of life. The poorest recognize the obligation to share their crusts with wayfarers as poor as themselves; the upper classes dispense hospitality, which is as delicate as it is generous, with a genial courtesy to which every European resident in Persia must bear grateful tribute. In a country where hotels scarcely exist, and where wayfarers must perforce travel light, this custom not only sweetens life, but is an essential part of the social fabric.

Love of Travel.—The good manners of the poor, no less than of the rich, are another pleasant feature of the ancient and cultured race and an outstanding characteristic. Perhaps the Persians owe something to the fact that they are great travellers. Few villages are without at least half a dozen men who have made the great tour to Mashhad and Qum in Persia; Karbala, Najaf and Samarra in Iraq, and at least one who has been to Mecca and Medina. On their pilgrimages, generally on foot, or with one mule or donkey for two or three persons, they meet and exchange views with Persians from every corner of the Empire and with other nationalities, and the general level of interest in and

understanding of the outside world is in consequence remarkably high, notably more so than in India.

A brother officer in July, 1918, when the Allies appeared to be losing, heard the following conversation between some Persian pilgrims in a tea-house on the Khanaqin-Karmanshah road, as our troops were toiling over the passes to Qazvin. Said one: "This much is clear, the English will win or lose; they will not agree to a compromise." Said another: "If the Turks lose, courage will disappear from the world; and if the Germans lose, science; if the British lose, there will be no more justice on earth." "If that be so," said a third, an old man, "the English will not lose, for God will not permit justice to disappear from the earth."*

Love of Poetry.—Blind men often take to reciting poetry and telling stories for a living. Their ability to memorize vast quantities of poetry is astonishing. One such man I well remember meeting on a lofty plateau where caravans halted on the road from Ahwaz to Isfahan. He had made the spot his centre for that season, and he regaled the muleteers after the evening meal round the camp-fire with recitations from Sadi and Firdausi and from religious history, with a mastery of histrionic art which left on me an indelible impression. Seated in pitch darkness, relying solely on his subject and on the modulations of his voice, he told the tragedy of Sohrab and Rustam, of Laili, and Shirin, and, after an interval, of the fatal field of Karbala, with a pathos which brought tears to my eyes no less than to those of his co-religionists. Thanks to such men and to a system of elementary education which, though not under State direction until recently, is far more widespread than is generally known, the population, though unlettered, is not unlearned, and has a better knowledge of the Persian classics than the average European has of the masterpieces of his own race.

Sense of Humour.—To these traits must be added, as an outstanding characteristic, a sense of humour which is distinctively European in its manifestation. "There is nothing," says Goethe, "in which people more completely betray their character than in what they find to laugh at."†

* The curious may compare this opinion with that of Abu Hayyan Tauhidi (379 A.H.)—viz., that the Persians excel in administration and in the formulation of rules and ordinances; the Greeks in science and philosophy; the Indians in subtlety and sorcery; the Turks in courage; Arabs in fidelity, generosity, and eloquence. But Abu Hayyan was an Arab.

† "Elective Affinities," ch. iv.

Fondness for Generalizations.—The Persian has none of the Arab's disinclination to laugh, whether the joke be against himself or his companion, and Persians have, moreover, an exceptional fondness for generalizations and show unusual aptitude in the discussion of abstract questions. This trait is no doubt of great antiquity, for, from the earliest times of which we have any record, it is typical alike of the national religion and of their literature. A good example is to be found in the First Book of Esdras, Chapter IV. (the Apocryphal Old Testament), where three Persian soldiers argue at length before King Darius as to what is the greatest thing in the world. "Wine," says the first, "for it maketh every heart rich, so that a man remembereth neither king nor governor." "The King," says the second. "Woman," says the third. "Have not all men more desire unto her than silver or gold, or any other goodly thing whatsoever?"—yet woman is not the greatest thing—"Wine is wicked, the king is wicked, women are wicked . . . but as for the truth it endureth . . . and all the people shouted, 'Great is Truth and mighty above all things'" (*magna est veritas, prævalet super omnia*).

Such masterly generalizations are common currency to-day amongst unlettered men wherever they congregate, on the roads and in the tents, in the ante-rooms of nobles and in the caravanserais. A people who take their pleasure in philosophical discussions of this sort are not good material for revolutionary propagandists.

Social Equality.—In common with other Islamic nations in the Middle East, Persians are wholly free from caste distinctions, as we should term them in India, or class consciousness, to adopt the jargon of followers of Marx. The only exception to the social equality which Islam grants to all men is the widespread respect in which the priesthood and the descendants of Muhammad are held—a respect which the Safari dynasty turned to good account. The idea of social equality was, however, deeply rooted in Persia before the Arabs overran the country, and it is tempered everywhere with a willingness to accept a leader of signal power, whether he springs from the lower ranks of life, or is of ancient lineage. The descent of leaders, be they tribal chiefs or kings, is of little consequence in the minds of a people who accept the personification of power as the embodiment of the right to rule. Indeed, the fame of a leader is in proportion to the lowliness of his origin.

Kawah, the legendary blacksmith who headed a revolt against the monstrosly cruel usurper Zuhaq, used his leather apron as a banner, and after slaying Zuhaq placed Faridun of the Pishdadian dynasty on the throne that he might himself have occupied. This blacksmith's apron was for ages the royal standard of Persia. Yaqub bin Lais, Suffari "the Pewterer," made his way to the throne in the ninth century by force of character, and remained a popular hero to the last. In the tenth century Sabuktigin rose from soldier to sovereign, as did a simple trooper of the Afshar tribe, Nadir Quli, in the eighteenth century, and Riza Khan, the present occupant of the throne, in our days.

Endurance.—Another characteristic of the Persian to which reference must be made is readiness to endure the vicissitudes of fate—a quality which we in Europe are apt to stigmatize as "fatalism," because Persians themselves are apt to describe events as *kismet* and *taqdir* ("ordained" and "pre-determined"). Whether this philosophy is related to the European conception of predestination, as opposed to the doctrine of free-will, is perhaps a moot point; that it constitutes a better working hypothesis for the conduct of life than the rampant egotism of the apostles of free-will and "progress" is at least arguable.

"The present," once said a Persian to me, "does not exist outside our imaginations. It is an immeasurably small moment of time, which has taken its place in the past before our senses are aware of its happening. The past and the future alone exist and the future events are continuous with and contingent on past doings."

The Persian accepts heat and cold, hunger and thirst, pain, sickness and death as a necessary part of life, not things to fear or to avoid contact with in others, but things to face stoically and even light-heartedly, as the common lot of man.

I have seen villages, that had been spoiled by Russians and looted by Turks, so ravaged by famine that dead and dying men and women were lying in every street. When the British forces at last arrived, and commenced to distribute flour and seed-grain, the officers charged with distribution found little difficulty in dealing with the starving crowds. They had not lost dignity in their extremity, and twelve months later I found communal life re-established and the traditional hierarchy of the village restored in a way that would be impossible in Europe. This power of endurance is, it is true, inevitably accompanied

by a certain callousness to suffering alike in man and beast; but of deliberate cruelty, of pleasure in causing pain, there is, I believe, less in Persia than in most countries.

Love of Beauty.—Akin to the Persian's love of poetry is his love of things beautiful, whether natural or made by hand. It is a distinctive characteristic, not noticeable amongst Turks, Arabs or Afghans in anything like the same degree; it is not confined to the educated minority, but is instinctive in townspeople and nomads alike, and especially in craftsmen. The art of Persia is of another convention than ours, but flowing in a stream side by side—both streams from the same source; they are a divine gift to humanity—the love and perception of the beautiful. Of Eastern art, that of Persia, whether in the design of carpets or in the painting of miniatures, is better known and more highly appreciated than those of any other nation if we except the pottery of China, but even in this branch of art Persia has undisputed pre-eminence in the Middle East.

Courage.—Of Persian military capacity and courage I have written at some length elsewhere.* It is as a martial race that the Persians are first known to us in the pages of history. Plato refers to them ("De Leg.," III., cap. ii.) as a nation of shepherds and herdsmen, occupying a rude country, capable of supporting both cold and watching, and when needful of enduring the toils of war.

Herodotus (I., 136) speaks of the bravery of the Persians at Platada in the highest terms; Xenophon ("Cyropædia," VII., 5, 67) refers to ancient Persian bravery as proverbial, as also does every succeeding writer of importance—notably Albuquerque, Pietro della Valle, Olearius, Chardin, Hanway, and a long succession of later writers, including Malcolm, Morier, and Sir Henry Rawlinson. Indeed, the list might be indefinitely prolonged. We in Europe are apt only to remember Haji Baba's classic gibe, and to refer it to the Persian nation as a whole. Nothing could be further from the truth. There is no more striking observation in the final volume of the late Professor Browne's "History of Persian Literature" than his observation that what arrested Ottoman conquest in Europe was Persian pressure from the East. "Professor Browne would seem in that observation to have furnished the key to a great historical problem." "What was it that arrested and ultimately turned back the Ottoman flood, which after engulfing South-East Europe threatened to swallow the whole of the

* *Journal Royal Society of Arts*, May 31, 1926.

Continent? What averted it was the fact that the Ottoman had to fight on two fronts, one of them the Persian front, and this gave Europe a breathing space."* Historical parallels are not always a safe guide, but Persia's geographical position has not altered, and Persians may yet have an analogous part to play in the policies of Europe and Asia.

Considerations of space forbid that I should write at length of the personalities that abound in every part of Persia and in every walk of life, men and leaders of men—tribal chiefs in their mountain fastnesses, lean, bronzed, hawk-eyed, with sons like unto themselves; contemplative grey-beards in the villages, patriarchs whose word carries more weight than the law of the land; and in the towns, perhaps, the high priests. One such I shall always remember—the embodiment of gentleness, prudence and kindness. Tall, erect, and of fine presence, with clear bright eyes, his aquiline nose, aristocratic and commanding, belied the gentle voice. A diplomat and a leader, but, above all, a priest, who never forgot his double responsibility.

Nor can I forget my humbler acquaintances—the patient, gentle-mannered peasants who, under the oaks at the foot of the passes, dispense tea to travellers, eked out with acorn bread; the untiring but ever-cheerful muleteer, the drudge of all the world, but honest and enduring to a point which few reach in other walks of life; the tent-pitcher and the serving men, loquacious, cheerful, often lazy, sometimes pert, always merry, but at their best when things are bad; the tribal guards, talking in sentences that follow each other like gusts of wind, hardy, undisciplined, bursting with spirits, boastful as children, and as easily vexed, yet as lovable withal. Amongst such people the primitive passions run free, hardly deflected by moral or cultural conventions. And, lastly, those who have lived on the road will remember in their reveries the blacksmith and the carpenter, the weaver and the potter in the villages and towns on their way. To quote again from the Apocrypha (Ecclus. xxxix.):

Without these cannot a city be inhabited: and they shall not dwell where they will, nor go up and down.

They shall not be sought for in public counsel nor sit high in the congregation; they shall not sit on the judge's seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment; they cannot declare justice and judgment; and they shall not be found where parables are spoken.

* Margoliouth, "The Place of Persia in the History of Islam." 1925.

But they will maintain the state of the world, and all their desire is in the work of their craft.

The reader who has had the patience to peruse this very inadequate attempt to summarize within the limits of a review article such a many-sided concept as the mentality of a nation cannot fail to observe that the characteristics on which stress has been laid are common to many other nations. The observation is just. No longer is the claim made, even in the U.S.A., that all men are born equal. At the same time, it is becoming increasingly clear, by exact observation and experiment, that popular verdicts on race differences are not well founded. "The upshot of all experimental tests seems to be that the racial differences in fundamental qualities independent of training are slight."* The inborn differences are between man and man, rather than between groups or races.†

If this be true, as I believe it to be, it is scarcely to be expected that inherent racial differences of importance can be found between such a mixed race as the Persians and other races of the Old World.

The geographical situation and climatic peculiarities of Persia, the lack of great resources of coal, iron and steel, which have been the foundation of the amazing development of industry in the U.S.A., the United Kingdom, and of Europe, all militate against any such radical change in the conditions of life in Persia as would cause any great change in national character. Nor should this be a matter of regret. When the orgy of nationalism which at the moment afflicts Asia has spent its force, Persia will again supply, as she has so often done in the past, to neighbouring countries, statesmen and soldiers, artists and poets, who, adapting themselves to their surroundings, will contribute something to civilization and to progress.

I will conclude, as I began, with a definition. By civilization I mean a higher standard of intellectual and communal life, an increase of material comfort in keeping with local environment, the growth of individual freedom of thought and action, and the spread of education in the Miltonian sense, as something "which fits a man to perform, justly, skilfully and magnanimously, all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war."‡ Progress lies in the changes of structure in the social organism which

* Poffenberger, "Applied Psychology." 1927.

† Woodworth, "Racial Differences in Mental Traits," *Science*, xxxi, p. 171, 1910.

‡ John Milton, "Of Education, To Master Samuel Hartlib" . . . 1644.

entail or make possible such consequences. A belief in the possibility of progress is not the least important contribution of Christian thought to the world; and this belief Persians share with us, more wholeheartedly perhaps than any other Eastern race, and with more discrimination than most, for, whether rich or poor, they have hitherto retained their freedom of that burden of endless personal wants which we call comfort and the lust for the possession of chattels which oppresses us of the West. Their reputation and their sense of personal dignity are independent of material circumstances; that is, perhaps, the most important lesson that we may learn from them.

HISTORICAL SECTION

SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD—II

(1736—1791)

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THE proceedings against Sir Thomas Rumbold in the House of Commons mainly deal with his administration at Madras, even though his earlier career in Bengal and at Patna was incidentally drawn upon when the alleged imputations of corruption were discussed on the floor of the House.

The first of these charges, in the order of priority, brought forward against him, was the suspension of the Committee of Circuit appointed by the Court of Directors of the East India Company on April 12, 1775, to conduct a survey of the districts commonly known as the Northern Sarkars with a view to review the revenue administration prevailing before and after the Company obtained its cession in 1768 from the Nizam, and to suggest measures for the improvement thereof.

Sir Thomas Rumbold arrived in Madras on February 8, 1788. On February 27 he desired his Council to allow him sufficient time to inform himself of the position of the arrears of revenue in the Chicacole Sarkar, one of the most troublesome of the Sarkars, and of the Circuit Committee that was appointed during the administration of Lord Pigot and issued its two reports before his arrival at Madras. He then declares to have directed his attention "to the balances due from . . . the [*samindars*], the state of the Company's finances, the apprehension of the approaching war, the dislike of the Zemindars themselves to the Committee of Circuit, the ideas they entertained of it, the dread they had of being deprived of their hereditary possessions which no assurances could remove. . . ." By a unanimous vote the Madras Council resolved on March 24 that the President's motion advo-

* "Briefs," vol. i., f. 8. "British Museum Additional MSS.," No. 28,159.

cating the suspension of the Circuit Committee do take immediate effect, and the *zamindars* of the Sarkars do proceed to Madras for the settlement of a new *jamabandi*. The lesser officials of the revenue establishment, such as the *majumdars* and others, were ordered to repair to Madras to assist the Government in arriving at a new revenue agreement with the *zamindars*.

Rumbold's suspension of the Circuit Committee was received with great misgiving by the Court of Directors. They wrote to Madras: "The Court's instructions were positive and unequivocal. They could not be mistaken. No discretionary power was given you to depart from them. You have done it at your own risk, without one good reason for so doing. . . . Disrespect to the authority and wilful disobedience of the Company shall not be permitted, nor delinquents suffered to escape with impunity."* But this irregular action of Sir Thomas need not have demanded from the Court of Directors such strong words of disapproval and condemnation.

By the time of the arrival of Sir Thomas at Madras certain irregular events took place, which were on the one hand condoned by the Court, and approved later on. For about a year the Committee of Circuit did not proceed on its duties. This dilatoriness on the part of Lord Pigot was never taken notice of by the Court, of which Sir Thomas was a member, when the Madras despatches announcing this event came under their consideration. On the other hand, when the Stratton Government announced the appointment of a committee with three junior servants on its panel, which is contrary to the orders of the Court, the Court was silent on the matter when it came under their consideration on April 2, 1777, three months before Sir Thomas sailed for Madras.† The Court of Directors were also silent about the whole transaction of the suspension of the Committee by Rumbold till as late as January 10, 1781.‡ This was only after the wirepullers were abreast of their schemes to make a scapegoat of Sir Thomas, and thus shield Warren Hastings, against whom popular feeling was already getting furious. Curiously enough, Sir Thomas drew upon the lessons supplied by the fate of the Bengal Committee of Circuit, which was

* "Madras Despatches (Revenue)," January 10, 1781.

† "Briefs," i., f. 21; see also Mr. Bearcroft's speech for the prosecution of Sir Thomas Rumbold in the House of Commons on January 23, 1783, in "Speeches for the Prosecution of Sir Thomas Rumbold, British Museum Additional MSS.," No. 28,161, f. 13b.

‡ "Second Report," Appendix, No. 153.

appointed nearly a decade earlier, with the proceedings of which the Court was dissatisfied, and finally ordered the members of the Committee to be prosecuted for acts of cruelty.

The special difficulties of Sir Thomas when he took charge of the Madras Government were not inconsiderable. Hostilities with Hyder Ali and the French were imminent, if not immediately expected. "He had the disgusted nation to conciliate, an exhausted treasury to repair, a defensive to form against Hyder Ali's hostilities, which he was also to avert if he could."* The work of the earlier Committee of Circuit had been seriously obstructed by impediments thrown in their way by several interested persons. The tentative arrangement of annual leases and the attendant results of hesitating but none the less rapacious activities of the renters, which militated against sound principles of fixity of tenure and reasonableness of revenue assessment, showed at once the imperative necessity of a long and stable revenue settlement. The revenue assessment was excessively immoderate, and was alleged to have increased by half over and above the assessment of the Muhammadan government of the Dekkan; while Hyder, whose intention of making the Sarkars part of his own territory was no secret, was "said to be contented with an established moderate tribute."† Undue expectations were formed of the Circuit Committee, which was clearly declared to be at once inadvisable and unnecessary by Edward Cotsford, who was one of the most important and cautious servants of the Company in the Sarkars, and who conducted the first settlement of the Chicacole and Ganjam districts when the Sarkars were first ceded to the Company, and who was later on chief of the Masulipatam Council, when he tendered evidence before the Committee of Secrecy which issued the "Fourth Report."‡ The Committee itself had cost the exhausted treasury Rs. 36,000 a year, which was clearly condemned by the Court of Directors.§ Rumbold argues convincingly that "had a Committee of Circuit been harassing the Zemindars, which must have been the case, for I am persuaded that Europeans in general in the Company's service are very little acquainted with the Business of Revenue in Hindostan,|| and supposing the servants themselves to act rightly and

* Harding, "Defence," p. 7. London, 1782.

† "Briefs," i., f. 12. ‡ "Fourth Report," Appendix, No. 23.

§ "Second Report," Appendix, No. 153.

|| Loosely used for India in general.

without views to their own interest, the number of Dubashes, Officers, &c., that would of course attend the Committee and on whom they must have relied for the Chief part of their Information, could not fail to prove an Expense and Burthen to the country through which they were to pass."* Further, "this was no time for the slow operations of a travelling Committee. Nothing was to be done that might give cause for Delay, disgust the Zemindars, or involve us in any disputes or trouble."†

The Madras treasury at this time was in such a squalid state that the Court of Directors expressed their "great concern" at "the enormous deficiency of the Revenues and . . . the increase of your current Expences," and did not "hesitate to declare . . . that in all events Fort St. George cannot be suffered to remain a losing settlement." Sir Thomas took charge of the Government on February 8, 1778, and the revenue of the Presidency, including the Northern Sarkars, for the year ending April 30, was less by pagodas 6,77,621 than the previous year, while the expenditure showed an increase of pagodas 88,862, and thus "the total difference to the Company, Buildings excepted, is pagodas 7,66,483." Again, revenue collections for the year under review fell short of the expenditure by pagodas 3,21,657, while charges under the head of buildings and fortifications amounted to pagodas 2,05,016, the net balance against the Company being pagodas 5,26,673.‡ And this was the situation before the capitulation of Pondichery on October 17, 1778. The individual balances of the *zamindars* in the Sarkars were alarming and demanded the closest scrutiny by the Presidency. "The Exigency of the Situation called for some decisive Remedy; Delay was Ruin; and the flow of Inquiry, recommended by the Court of Directors, was equally useless and impracticable."§ "The single Expedient," which was the suspension of the Circuit Committee, in which decision Sir Thomas had the unanimous support of his Council, "which Policy could suggest, or the Crisis of Affairs would admit, was adopted by the Presidency."||

The political as well as the general situation of the time

* "Briefs," i., f. 11.

† *Ibid.*, f. 13.

‡ "Madras Despatches (Revenue)," May 17, 1780.

§ "Answer to the Charges exhibited against Sir Thomas Rumbold in the Reports of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, and in the General Letter from the Court of Directors of the 10th January, 1781," by himself, p. 31.

|| *Ibid.*

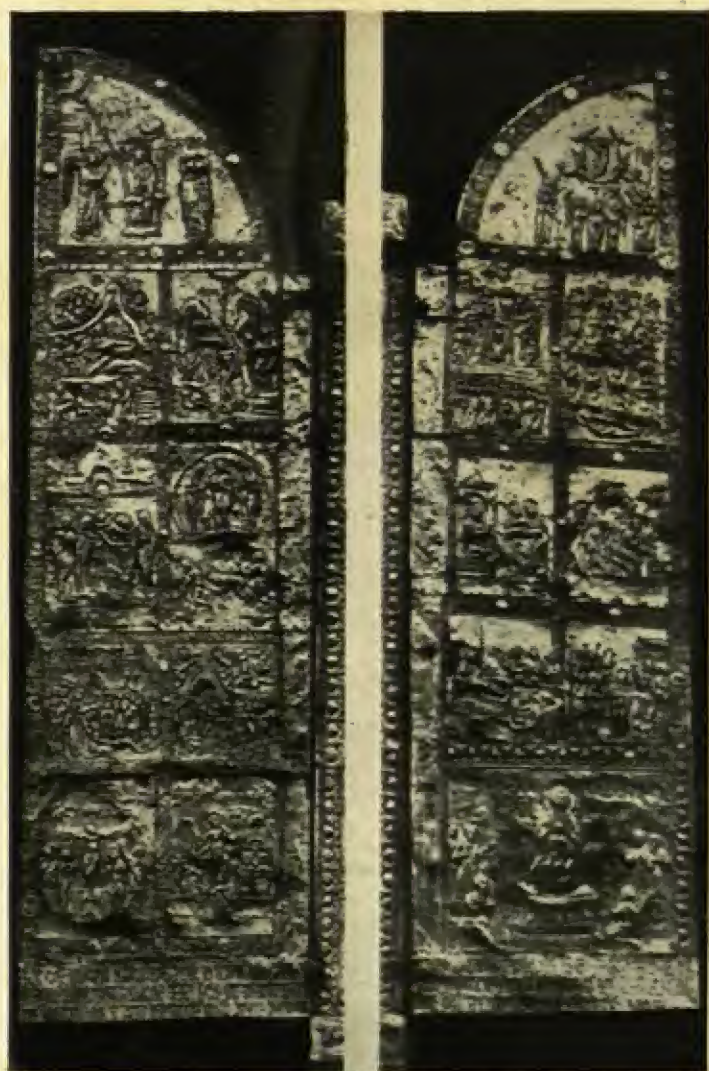
demanding economy and definiteness of revenue returns, and the suspension of the Circuit Committee in the circumstances in which it was suspended was justified on the whole. Two significant points are to be noted here. There was a shortage of senior servants who could be conveniently supplied for the work of the Committee.* Secondly, Rumbold was hastily accused of imposing his own ideas on his colleagues who showed precipitancy in the adoption of the measure for the suspension of the Committee.† But Whitehill, Johnson, Smith, and Perring, members of the Whitehill government who previously reshuffled the Circuit Committee with three junior servants on it, agreed with him only four months later. All these four persons occupied important positions in the Northern Sarkars, and their concurrence is capable of a dual construction. Ostensibly, they were alive to the peculiarly grave situation of the times and saw the necessity of a changed policy. Secondly, they were obviously obsessed with the idea that any investigation by the Circuit Committee would bring to light their former acts of maladministration.‡ In either case, the onus of the responsibility does not solely rest with Rumbold, and to incriminate him with definite prior motives, as the Secret Committee attempted to do, is not wholly justified.

* Lord Pigot's Council consisted of nine members, Stratton's seven, and Rumbold's only five.

† Charge No. 4, in "The Case of Sir Thomas Rumbold and Peter Perring."

‡ This is an act of collusion, and suggests a deliberate attempt to preclude investigation of a corrupt revenue administration in which they were principals, as the forthcoming papers show.

(To be continued.)



SIDE PANELS OF FOURTEENTH CENTURY ICON.



CENTRAL PANEL OF SIXTEENTH CENTURY ICON (SILVER).

THE INNER EAST

GEORGIAN ART IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY TALBOT RICE

GEORGIA, the legendary province of Alexander the Great, the battlefield of Persian, Byzantine, and Turk, and the vassal state of the Sassanids and the Caliphs of Damascus and Bagdad, is known to most Europeans but as a distant province of the Russian Empire. Its monarchs ruled either alone or under the protection of some neighbouring power for a period of over 2,000 years, but their lives and machinations are as unfamiliar to the West as is the art which flourished under them until the end of the Middle Ages. Unfortunately in this paper no idea can be given of the history of this country, which served as a buffer state between the Near and Middle East, nor can more than cursory reference be made to the brilliant Bronze Age and Sassanian period in Georgia, since her early Christian art, and more especially that branch of it which comes under the heading of metal work, constitutes our subject. But though the term "metal work" comprises articles of plate, harness, arms, and personal adornment as well as icons and crosses, it is only the two latter which will be dealt with here, since they alone were brought into being by Christian art.

It is curious that icons, which have as much claim to recognition as all other important artistic productions, are scarcely considered in Western Europe. Yet æsthetically they are quite as attractive as the religious pictures from the hands of Italian primitives and early Flemish masters, whilst historically they are exceedingly interesting on account of the powerful and long-lasting influence which they exercised over the whole of European art. Nevertheless, regardless of the efforts of certain scholars and travellers* in the Near East, museums eschew them, collectors laugh at them, art critics ignore them, and the general public remains unaware of their existence.

* Two notable attempts to bring this art to the fore in England have recently been made, the one that of Professor Minns' admirable translation of Kondakoff's "The Russian Icon," the other that of Mr. Probert, who organized an exhibition of icons at the Claridge Galleries.

The origin of icons is to be found in the portraits of mummies of Greco-Roman Egypt, which were executed in tempera upon wooden panels, first coated with gesso. In the fourth and fifth century similar panels, religious in subject, began spontaneously to appear in Byzantium. They met with universal adoration throughout the Empire, which grew in intensity, developing with time into an almost hysterical form of veneration. The Crown and the clergy, shocked by the unseemliness of this attitude, placed themselves in opposition to icons, while the people and the lower clergy rose in revolt against the measures which the Crown enforced. The iconoclast struggle broke out, and during the some hundred years of its existence almost every icon which had formerly been wrought was destroyed.

Consequently, when the iconophiles again came into power, there arose a great demand for icons of every description. Byzantine artists set to work with immense intensity, producing painted wooden panels for the poorer members of society and fashioning delicate metal and enamel ones for the wealthier citizen. The technique of these two latter types is essentially Persian in origin; but though the Byzantines inherited the style from the East, they excelled in the skilful treatment of both metal and enamel, and attained unrivalled mastery in the working of these crafts. Through contact with the more cultured and more religious influences of the Empire, these Persian crafts became modified and altered to such a degree that the art which the Byzantines evolved from them is outstanding in its individuality.

Curiously enough, though Byzantine art inspired that of many countries, even giving to those lying near her borders the outlines and bases of their national art, it did so only in the realms of architecture and painting. With the one exception of France, no West-European country has ever aimed to create metal or enamel articles of the Byzantine type, and the French attempt at Limoges shows so great a difference between enamels of the two schools that instinctively all will apply the word "charming" to the Western examples, but will at once recognize the Eastern as "lovely."

To Georgia alone falls the distinction of carrying on Byzantine traditions in the most delicate and difficult of its branches, for Georgian icons—apart from an exceedingly small number of painted ones very inferior in quality—are all made of metal and richly decorated with enamel. In the eleventh century Georgia became an important centre

of the enamellers' and metal-workers' art, and the best Georgian productions, though marked by certain individual peculiarities, are in no way inferior to those which come from the workshops of Byzantium. For Georgia, though Byzantinized, was no outpost of the Empire nor a blind follower in its wake. No country who had produced first-rate works of art at an earlier period in her history could have adopted a new form of art without bringing some individual additions to it.

This must more especially have been the case with Georgia, whose art had always been strongly personal. Already several decades before the birth of Christ there had flourished in the Caucasus a Bronze Age of such brilliance that scholars today can account for it only by reference to Hittite influence. She was known for it even to the ancient Greeks, who, because of her bronze wares, attributed the discovery of iron to Georgia. The Sassanian remains which exist in the country prove that at a slightly later date a very definite form of this culture flourished there, the importance of which will only begin to be appreciated when the monuments become more familiar. It is thus in accordance with the laws of evolution that the Georgians, who had been enthusiastic admirers of early Persian art, should, after the fall of the Sassanids, have turned to an art which had been to a great extent inspired by Sassanian influence, namely, the Byzantine.

However, though the Georgians became ardent admirers and followers of Byzantine art, they did so only in its minor branches, for, in accordance with their national taste, it was metal-work and enamelling which most appealed to them. Chardin, who was, as luck would have it, a jeweller, travelled through Georgia in the seventeenth century. He notes the way in which the average Georgian prefers to live an entire week upon a pound of millet in order to buy luxuries with the rest of his money. Tournesfort, another traveller of the same period, states that he acquired the goodwill of the Georgian peasantry by giving presents of cheap enamels from Nevers.

It is therefore not surprising that the Byzantinized Georgians should have chosen to follow the Byzantines in the most Persian and most gorgeous branches of their art. Of course, their preference for these two crafts may also partly have been due to an earlier knowledge in metal and enamel work which they had acquired from the Persians at the time when they were vassals of Iran. Even so, however, their choice is of great significance, for it serves both

as proof of Georgia's subservience to Byzantium, as well as an indication of Byzantium's indebtedness to Persia. For, on the one hand, had Georgia not been imbued in Byzantinism almost to a state of satiety she might have developed a form of art entirely her own; on the other hand, were Byzantium not indebted to the East for her knowledge of these crafts, it is exceedingly probable that other Western powers would have been able to acquire her technique.

The fact that only countries lying in the vicinity of Persia have achieved mastery in them seems to suggest that only Eastern genius is really suited to this type of work. This explains the presence of enamels in Byzantium and Georgia and to a lesser degree in more distant Russia. Armenia's lack of contributions in this field should rather be imputed to want of interest felt for minor arts than to an inability to produce them. The amazing fitness of the Armenian for this kind of work is aptly shown today by the excellent forgeries of Byzantine enamels produced by workmen of that nation, some of the examples even having found their way into the most famous private and public collections of Europe and America.

It is impossible to ascertain the exact time of the appearance of icons in Georgia. All that can be affirmed is that those of the ninth century are already lovely, whilst those of the tenth century are very definite works of art. Specimens abound in Georgia, but the most famous examples can be seen in the cathedrals of Mtskheta and the Sion; in the monastery of Gelati; in the district of Guria, in the churches of Shemokmedi, Djoumati, Likaouri; in Mingrelia in those of Martvili, Khoni, Khopi, Kouliskari; in Abkhazia in the churches of Pitsunda and Illori; and also in the districts of Ossetia, Ratch and Chorapan.

These icons are of various forms, shapes and sizes, and appear equally often as single panels, diptychs and triptychs, on which are represented the single figure, a series of figures, or a scene. The work is executed in high relief. But almost equally important is the background against which the figures are placed. It is formed, in earlier icons, of bands of vine or pomegranate leaves in repoussé work, in later ones, of nail or interlaced designs. The entire panel is bordered by a floral scroll, interspersed with medallions containing the busts of saints. The icons are made of copper coated with silver, of silver, silver gilt, or gold. They are formed of a single sheet of the metal, onto which the entire design of the whole icon is embossed. The only exception to this rule is occasionally to be found in the case

of the medallions containing the half-length figures of saints. These are placed at regular intervals upon the icon's scroll border, thus accentuating its frame-like effect. They are sometimes soldered to it instead of being worked in the metal.

Three methods were resorted to to obtain these repoussé effects: in the first, which went by the name of printing, the central design was cast from a copper mould and the subsidiary ones were impressed by means of a small stamp; the second consisted in placing the metal over a wooden dummy and hammering it until the entire pattern became transmitted to the metal; in the third and most popular manner the composition was copied freehand onto the metal and then beaten out from behind with a small hammer. The icon, once completed, was filled with a waxen or resinous matter and fixed either to a board or its wooden dummy, which was hidden from view by a sheet of metal covering the back. This manner of preserving icons has proved most satisfactory, for it has transpired that the most damaged examples are those which were left unmounted.

So far Georgian icons may appear to be similar to Byzantine ones, as well as to the few metal Russian ones in existence, but a closer inspection will reveal that they differ from both. The main dissimilarity between Georgian and Byzantine icons will be found to lie in the strong, non-representational element of the former, for Byzantine icons generally have a plain background, though an embossed frame-like border, whereas the background of Georgian ones is entirely filled by a design. Now the essence of non-representational art consists in filling flat surfaces with formal and decorative patterns, but where it is combined with representational art it assumes the attribute of a frame and accentuates the two-dimensional elements of the icons.

The Georgians, like certain Orientals, were quick to realize the advantages to be derived by a combination of both forms, and being admirable designers—in the fields of enamelling and architecture quite as much as in that of metal-work—they delighted in the execution of these elaborate backgrounds, which as often as not constitute the icons' chief beauty. On the other hand, the difference between the Georgian and the Russian icon is to be observed in the domain of representational art, for the decorative element is equally and almost similarly developed in both schools. The figures on Georgian icons are, however, far more Byzantine in pose and Armenian in type than in Russian art, where the severity of the former and the

characteristic features of the latter are replaced by stateliness and a more Western form of face.

The art of making metal icons was at its zenith from the tenth to the thirteenth century in Georgia. The results then were so admirable in quality that they can favourably compare with the best known examples both of Western and Eastern workmanship. By the fourteenth century they began to display definite signs of deterioration, and by the end of the sixteenth century they are absolutely worthless. They lose all sense of sincerity and conviction and become imbued with the mollifying spirit of the quattrocento, which proselytizing Capuchin monks were bringing into the country. Certain artists who were in sympathy with the East made attempts to counteract this influence, but the pseudo-Orientalism which they introduced into their works merely accentuated the decadence of Georgian art.

Though icons of the ninth and tenth centuries show marked signs of Persian influence, those of the best period of Georgian art are purely Byzantine in inspiration. The sentiments which they express are as Byzantine as their technique. The elongated proportions of their figures and the garments which they wear are identical with those found in Constantinople. This is especially the case in a group of icons representing the archangels Gabriel and Michael, which are some of the finest in existence. The archangels are either represented wearing the short tunic which one is wont to consider as the dress of the Good Shepherd, or else they are adorned in the gorgeous garments which one instantly associates with the robes of the Byzantine emperors. In this respect Georgian icons can be charged with following the letter as well as the spirit of Byzantine art, for the Byzantines, like the Sassanians, insisted on making all things subservient to the Crown. Neither religion nor art escaped from this domination, and in accordance with it saints and most dignitaries of the Church were represented wearing either regal dress or the military clothes which warrior kings would sometimes don.

Two other notable types of Georgian icon are those where both the Saviour and the Virgin and Child are represented seated upon high-backed thrones. These thrones are always severe in line, but gorgeous in ornamentation, being studded with precious jewels. Cushions of rich brocade are attached to the backs, and bejewelled footstools are placed before them. The Saviour is represented seated very upright, holding a Bible in one hand and performing a benediction with the other. He is some-

what severe-looking, and recalls the judge rather than the teacher and guide. His hair falls upon His shoulders in a somewhat Sassanian manner, and He is no longer young. The Virgin is likewise represented in a very severe and formal manner. She holds the Child somewhat stiffly, and this atmosphere of aloofness is perhaps further accentuated by the very small tucks of her dress and the fall of her skirt, which clearly defines her knees and legs, making them appear to be encased in armour. Her throne is similar to the one described above.

The early icons of the second period of Georgian art are the first to show signs of the deterioration which was later to set in. They represent mere mechanically rendered repetitions of icons of the first period, and, consequently, lack that conviction and sincerity which is the necessary element of all true works of art. Likewise, when carefully examined they will be found to abound in errors of detail, as is inevitable in all cases where craftsmen content themselves with blindly copying earlier models, and many articles of dress and attitudes of Byzantine origin are incorrectly reproduced in them. The proportions of their figures are exaggeratedly elongated, the drapery of their costumes is unintelligible, while the meaningless insertion of a multitude of small and unnecessary tucks in the garments of saints renders them unpleasingly clumsy. However, on the whole, until the end of the fifteenth century, the technique and workmanship of these icons continue to remain good and attractive to the eye; whilst the multitude of precious stones which adorn the icons, though giving them a curiously baroque effect, likewise invest them with a very definite charm.

Even when the art of icon-making was at its best, the Georgians were wont to accentuate the gorgeousness achieved by the mounting of jewels upon icons and by adorning them with enamels also. Set against the beautifully worked metal icons, onto which the shining lights of the church candles reflected, rendering them countless times more glistening, the enamels produced an unparalleled effect of gorgeous and delicate colour. The demand for colour was thus supplemented by enamels, which, though small, fully compensated for the absence of painted icons by their richness and beauty.

On the whole, Georgian enamels are perhaps slightly coarser in drawing and more careless in finish than Byzantine ones. Their cloisons are higher and less neat, and their colour scheme a trifle less delicate in tone, though

equally wide in range, containing, as it does, eight colours. Although their representational enamels show great vigour of design and purity of colour, it is in the elaborate ornamental plaques of the non-representational variety that the Georgians excel, and here the slightly cruder quality of tone helps to accentuate the daring colour schemes of the design, so that they may be said to gain on the one hand what they lose on the other.

The enamels were generally of the *cloisonné* type, and, consequently, were small in size. They were used to adorn icons, reliquaries, and crosses, and are so numerous in Georgia and, irrespective of their origin, of so fine a quality that no lover of the Byzantine should remain in ignorance of them. Perhaps the famous Kakhulsky icon of the Gelat monastery is the most important monument of this kind in Georgia, or even in the world. It is a *tryptich* of beautiful twelfth-century metal-work, adorned with ninety-four enamels, of which fifty are Byzantine in workmanship. They are of the first quality, ranging in date from the ninth to the twelfth century. The remaining ones are of Georgian workmanship, but so high is the standard of the work that it is hard to say which are the finest.

Another gem to be seen in Georgia, and one which furnishes the standard by which Byzantine achievements should be judged, is a small enamel icon belonging to the monastery of Shemokmedi. It is mounted onto two sheets of gold, the lower of which forms the back, and is ornamented with admirable twelfth-century embossed work. The upper sheet forms the base of the enamel as well as its ornamental border of about 2 centimetres in width, which gives a frame-like effect. The enamel itself is undoubtedly of the tenth century, both on account of its fine drawing and because of the admirable purity and clarity of its colours. Represented on it are : in the centre the descent into hell and Christ leading Adam and Eve out of hell ; at the sides are David and Solomon rising from their tombs, and close by is the Annunciation, showing the Virgin starting up from her throne as she awaits the advancing archangels. Above are three plaques, with busts of the Saviour, SS. Peter and Paul, and below are medallions, with busts of SS. Pantelaemon, Cosmo, and Damian. The whole is admirably conceived and executed, and the icon has that simplicity and vigour which is characteristic of the best examples of Byzantine art.

Another treasure is a reliquary for the wood of the true

cross. It consists of a box with a sliding-lid, encased in thick gilt silver, adorned with admirable enamels, representing the Byzantine Emperor and Empress, Constantine and Helen, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, John the Baptist, and the Apostles Peter, Paul, and John. The reliquary and its enamels bear a very definite resemblance to a similar reliquary belonging to the treasury of St. Mark's at Venice, and the latter being of the twelfth century, it seems probable that the Georgian ones are also of that date.

Unfortunately the cross which this reliquary should have contained no longer exists, but a very admirable one belonging to the Martvili monastery gives a good idea of what it must have been like. This cross is 15 centimetres long and 9 in width. It is entirely of gold and of excellent workmanship. Enamels and high relief figures are fixed to the back and front of it, whilst the sides, which are studded with jewels, overlap onto them, giving a frame-like effect. Set on the front of the cross is a smaller one of blue enamel, upon which Christ is seen upon the Cross. Medallions of the Virgin and John and the archangels Gabriel and Michael are placed in the vacant extremities. On the back is a full-length figure of the Virgin holding the Child, with busts of St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John. All are of the finest quality, but though some have certain eighth-century features, judging by the general character of the cross it seems more probable that it is of the tenth century.

Crosses of similar quality are, of course, but infrequently met with in Georgia as elsewhere, but even the more usual ones are attractive and not devoid of artistic merit. Like the icons, they consist of embossed sheets of metal, generally of silver, fixed to a wooden mould. They vary in shape, having either straight thin arms, arms elongated at the end, or sometimes arms which broaden out to form a cross of the Greek type. But unlike crosses of other countries, which generally bear a representation of the Saviour or the Virgin, these almost invariably have the figure of St. George upon them. They are also marked by a certain peculiarity, which renders them unique, for they are surmounted by a small round or pointed cap, originally intended to protect the skull of St. George, which used to be fixed to the top of Georgian processional crosses.

A curious feature of the altar cross consists in it being fixed to a stone base 70 to 105 cm. high erected in the church in front of the royal doors of the iconostasis. This

is an interesting survival from early Christian times when a stone representing Golgotha and the cross itself were always set up in the centre of a Byzantine church. The position of the iconostasis itself in a Georgian church is also remarkable, for it has likewise retained its early Christian site. It is erected between the two columns of the bema and made to act as a barrier or fence in order to separate the major from the minor apse. Until the end of the Middle Ages the iconostasis was always made of delicately carved stone, but since then it has been executed in wood. The icons are set in the upper section, in the spaces formed by the arches which surmount the columns forming the lower section. In this setting of cold wood or stone the bejewelled and enamelled metal icons look extraordinarily gorgeous and majestic as they stand out vividly from the sombre and denuded walls. Their presence in these simple country churches creates an unique atmosphere, which all who enter them cannot fail to appreciate.

The monks of the Russian monastery on Mount Athos tell a story, perhaps not entirely devoid of malice, which may account for the fact that Georgian art will bear comparison with the best that the Byzantines produced. According to this tale, during a council held in Heaven, lots were drawn to indicate the holy personages who should set out to preach Christianity in distant lands. Georgia having fallen to the Virgin's share, she set sail to accomplish her mission. However, when the ship she was on rounded Cyprus it was met by contrary winds, which shamelessly buffeted it about for many hours and finally tossed it ashore upon the coast of Mount Athos.

The heathen inhabitants of the island inquired of their idols as to the nature of the travellers who had been cast upon their shore. The devils, who lived in the idols, suddenly possessed by some external force, were compelled to disclose the Virgin's true character to the people. These, smashing their idols, instantly became converted to the new religion and turned to worship the Virgin. So gratified was she by the success with which she had met that she exchanged Georgia, the land which had fallen to her by lot, for Mount Athos, the place where she had gained so rapid a victory over paganism. Thus, the Georgians having had contact, even though of an intangible kind, with the Virgin have been enabled by her occasionally to achieve greatness. Thus, too, they have produced an art which it is hoped will soon be appreciated throughout the world.

MARCO POLO

BY N. M. PENZER

(Author of "The Ocean of Story")

III

To return to our text, we notice that in Chaps. 76-104 inclusive *Z* does not yield a single line, while *R*, on the other hand, contains over 450 lines, nearly every word of which is unique.

The chief chapters in which the longest passages of *R* occur are 81 (Christian festivals and Kublai's remarks on Christianity); 82 (his methods of selecting his harem); 84 (his palace); 85 (his son's palace, Canbaluc, and the murder of Achmach); and 99 (his posts and runners).

Although these passages are all important, the outstanding one is that added to Chap. 85, describing Achmach's murder.* This extraordinarily interesting account of the revolt against the oppression of Kublai's tyrannical minister is fully substantiated in the Chinese records, as well as in the contemporary Persian version by Rashīd-ud-dīn (whose account tells of two separate attempts to murder Ahmad—*i.e.*, "Achmach"—and also connects it with the siege of Saianfu—of which more anon). After carefully weighing over all the evidence, Rev. A. C. Moule has come to the conclusion† that if the story of Achmach does not come direct from Polo, it cannot in any case be much later in date than his lifetime. But he thinks that Murray's arguments against his authorship deserve perhaps more attention than they have received,‡ and that there is reason to

* It corresponds to Yule, Book II., Chap. 23, and is given by B. in a long footnote (p. 78, *et seq.*) to Chap. 85. It should be remembered that this Chap. 85 of B. corresponds to Yule, Book II., Chap. 10 (last 15 lines) and the whole of Chap. 11.

† "The Siege of Saianfu and the Murder of Achmach Bailo." *Journ. North China Branch Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. lviii., 1927, pp. 1-35.

‡ Murray's argument ("Travels of Marco Polo," pp. 32 and 124) is that in the Achmach chapter is a statement that the Cathayans detested the Khan's rule, while in Chap. 105 (*i.e.*, Part I., Chap. 29 of Murray) they are said to "worship him as he were God." Such contradictory statements, he suggests, would never have been passed by Polo. But are they *really* contradictory statements? The Mongol conqueror, Kublai, would doubtless inspire fear, and possibly hate, in a conquered foe, as well as "worship," if he extended royal munificence to the poor.

hope that new light will be thrown on the question of the Ramusian text from recent discoveries. It is, therefore, to be regretted that *Z* is silent, and that *R* remains the sole Polian authority for the story.

To proceed, Chap. 105 (on the Khan's charity to the poor) contains over fifty lines of *Z*, which is only slightly less than the corresponding *R* passages. A similar, though much smaller, correspondence occurs in Chaps. 118 and 120. Chap. 135 (on the city of Tandinfu) has over sixty lines from *Z* which are entirely new. They deal mainly with marriage customs and the importance attached to virginity. The customs somewhat resemble those prevalent among certain tribes in Egypt and the Sudan. Of special interest is Chap. 147 (on the city of Saianfu), as it contains statements which the Chinese records prove to be false. Polo informs us that Saianfu (Siang-yang) held out three years after the rest of Manzi had surrendered, but that with the help of his father and uncle he made mangonels and so brought the siege to an end.

Now the siege of Siang-yang and its sister town Fan-ch'êng on the other side of the Han river was the prologue, not the epilogue, to the conquest of Southern China (Manzi). In the annals of the *Sung shih* the siege is continually mentioned. It began in the winter of 1268-69, and ended on March 17, 1273. Thus Polo could not possibly have been at the siege. He was not even in China at all during that time. The trio did not reach Kublai till 1275, or late in 1274 at the earliest. It has been suggested that Marco's name was added, and that Nicolo and Maffeo were at the siege before their return home. In support of this view we find that Ramusio makes no mention of Marco. But we already know that the brothers had reached Acre by April, 1269, and were in Venice during the next two years, so that no possible explanation seems forthcoming. As Moule has suggested, we can only suppose that Rustichello felt that the names of the three Muhammadans who *did* cause the mangonels to be built would not have nearly so much interest for his readers as those of the heroes of the book, and so the alteration was accordingly made. We look to *Z* for information, but neither it nor *R* sheds any light on the mystery.

Chap. 153 has important *R* passages on Quinsai, but of their 215 lines only 45 are found in *Z*. In Chap. 157, however, matters are changed, and *Z* has 70 lines, while *R* has nothing. This seems to prove without doubt that Ramusio was consulting some of his other sources, which

we have already enumerated. In Chap. 153 we find him working chiefly from the lost MS. (probably Benedetto's *Z*¹), while in Chap. 157 he made no use of it at all. The next important *Z* passages are in Chap. 175 (on Maabar, which are largely found also in *R*). In Chap. 180 *Z* gives us more details on betel-chewing customs, while in Chap. 191 it adds a note of about forty lines on ambergris, as compared with the seven corresponding lines in *R*.

Finally, Chap. 220 contains nearly sixty lines of *Z*, which are entirely new. They deal chiefly with certain intimate Russian social customs necessitated by the extreme cold.

Having thus briefly surveyed the extent of the fresh information contained in *Z* and its distribution throughout the work, we find much, though by no means all, of the unique passages of *R* accounted for. At the same time, we feel bound to agree with Benedetto that there are other members of the *Z* family that are still to be found.

Attention has often been drawn to the fact that Polo makes no mention either of the Great Wall or of tea. Various suggestions to account for these omissions have been made from time to time, but none appear satisfactory. Unfortunately, *Z* has no reference to either, so the mystery still remains unsolved. We may note in passing that considering the great antiquity of tea in China, it seems very curious that it remained unknown in Europe till so late a date. It was so common in China that in the ninth century a tax had to be imposed on it. Yet it was entirely unknown in Europe till after 1517, and does not appear in literature till 1588. The first English mention was in 1615, and it was still a novelty in Pepys's day!

The text is followed by a "Postille Supplementari," which contains several additional variants to fr. 1116 from other MSS., as well as the interpretation of a few place-names. We may here mention that a complete list of Polian place-names, with their Chinese (or other) equivalents, and their modern identity wherever possible, is greatly needed. Until that is done we cannot hope to trace Polo's itinerary with any certainty of detail.

A word of warm praise should be said on behalf of the excellent Index which closes the volume.

In conclusion, it will be as well to summarize briefly the main points of this great work:

1. Fr. 1116 of the Bib. Nat. is the best MS. of Polo's book that has come down to us.
2. It does *not* represent a direct copy of the Genoese

original, but is a later version, which, together with its three brother MSS., $F^{1,2,3}$, is descended from a common Franco-Italian MS. of earlier date, now lost.

3. From $F^{1,2,3}$ were derived respectively the lost prototypes of the Grégoire, Tuscan, and Venetian recensions (FG , TA , VA).

4. There was an ante- F phase, as yet only represented by Z , L , V , and VB .

5. Ramusio drew from Pipino; from an important version of VA ; and also from several MSS. in the ante- F phase (the Ghisi codex, L and V).

6. The most complete account of Marco's travels is that based upon fr. 1116, supplemented with the unique passages of Z and R , with occasional references to some of the other MSS.

A word must be said with regard to the *format* of the volume. The publishers have had a very difficult task to arrange the text and two sets of notes in such a way as to be both attractive and easy to use. They have, nevertheless, succeeded admirably, and have produced the book in a scholarly and beautiful manner. Its size was necessary in accordance with the author's manner of treatment, as a smaller volume, or volumes, would have meant the continual turning over of pages. The price of the work is high, and will keep it out of the reach of many students. We hope, therefore, to see a cheaper edition (in English if possible) at no very distant date.

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

THE ORIGIN OF CASTE—II

BY STANLEY RICE

IN the article which appeared in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for January, 1929, we saw that while caste is at the strongest in the South of India, which is predominantly Dravidian, and therefore that the ascription of it to the Aryans by most Sanskrit scholars is open to question, the utilitarian theory advocated by Dr. Slater is defective in many important particulars. The "Aryan" theory which is based on the Sanskrit word "varna," is similarly based upon a conception probably too advanced for such primitive times, especially as caste is hardly ever mentioned in the *Rig-Veda*. It was then contended that the origin of caste must be sought in early religious institutions, that it was probably in existence in some form or other before the Aryan invasion, and that the Aryans only adapted it to their own special needs and in conformity with their own ideas. The form of primitive religion which seemed best to fit in with the known characteristics of caste was totemism. Caste and the particular attributes of it—especially marriage institutions—having begun in this way, were slowly evolved into the system as we know it now.

Now all the information we have—and it is derived from Aryan literature—shows that caste in early days by no means followed the rigid lines which we are now accustomed to associate with it. Thus in the age of the *Brahmanas* Professor Keith says that on the scanty evidence available a change of caste was not impossible, and it also appears that at that time "while we have no reason to doubt that priesthood and nobility were hereditary, these castes seem to have been free to intermarry with the lower castes including the *Sudra*." And in the later age of the *Sutras* "the only test when one seeks a wife" according to Professor Washburn Hopkins "is that of the family: They ask the girl in marriage reciting the clan names." The evidence is important; it indicates, as far as it goes, that

the important point was the family—that is, in totemic terminology, the totem clan and not the phratry. But caste was, it seems, still in the malleable state, and it is not until the time of the Maurya Empire or the fourth century B.C. that, as Dr. Thomas says, "the great complexity of the caste system" arose and "the beginning of the association of caste with craft." We know, of course, that in the present state of our knowledge all Indian chronology before Alexander is conjectural and that estimates are apt to differ violently. The earlier period of the Rig Veda is called 1200-1000 B.C., and if there is any value in the argument caste in its primitive form was in existence before that; at the lowest estimate therefore it took about 1,000 years to reach the complexity which we find in the Maurya period. And when we also add to this the universal tendency even of branches of the same stock who start with the same institutions to develop them on lines of their own, a tendency illustrated by the American and colonial branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, it would be absurd to find an exact coincidence between ancient Indian and modern Australian systems.

When the Aryans became established in India they found there a system which, however primitive, suited their purpose admirably, and they gradually set to work to adapt it to their own ends. They evidently looked upon the dispossessed inhabitants with some contempt, or at any rate as inferior beings—Danavas, Dasyas, Asuras—whom they figuratively described as demons. They did not set up caste nor did they find it developing on occupational lines, for as we have seen the first association of caste with craft is only to be found some centuries later, and it is hardly likely that had it existed no reference would be found in earlier works. That they did not invent caste in order to preserve its purity of the stock is shown not only by its vigorous life in the South, but also by the fact that caste to some extent differentiated the Aryans among themselves and that distinct traces are to be found, in the earlier works, of a non-Aryan population which were not slaves or even "Sudras" who occupied a place of some importance. We are entitled also to call in the aid of all historical experience, for all history shows that where two peoples settle down together in the same country, miscegenation inevitably takes place. We find it in England, we find it in Spain, but we also find it in parts where the white race has come into contact with coloured peoples, and the Eurasian population of India itself is a sufficient example. It is preposterous to imagine that

the Aryans did not mingle with the inhabitants except on the supposition that they came into India with a ready-made system or that they invented it themselves later on when they found that their own stock was becoming degenerate in their eyes by mixture with others. But in order that such a precaution should have its full effect, it must have been rigid and it must have been fenced about with religious sanctions. It was not enough to trust to social conventions. In spite of them, gentlemen still occasionally marry cooks and ladies run away with chauffeurs. But that caste was not rigid to this extent is shown by the passage already quoted from Professor Keith in which he says that "these castes seem to have been free to intermarry with the lower castes, including the Sudra." But "the test of caste is not marriage alone but defilement by eating and touching what is unclean." This passage no doubt refers to the age of the Sutas, and it may fairly be argued that as the purity of the stock became the dominant consideration, more drastic sanctions were applied to prevent mixed marriages, and that one of these would be the religious prohibition of intercourse involved in inter-dining. But apart from the obvious criticism that even if such intercourse were common, the argument does not explain the interdict against the acceptance of food or water casually offered nor the defilement which was the consequence of touching unclean things, the context of the passage quoted shows that Professor Hopkins was not suggesting any connection between marriage and defilement. On the contrary he seems to indicate that the defilement was analogous to that suggested by the famous passage in the Acts in which, at the instance of James, the Gentile converts were advised to "abstain from meats offered to idols and from blood and from things strangled." Such defilement seems to have been in the nature of a taboo, one of the objects of which is, according to Mr. Thomas, "provision against the dangers incurred by handling or coming in contact with corpses, by eating certain foods, etc." Clearly Dr. Slater's contention cannot be sustained that food interdicts followed naturally upon marriage prohibitions and that these latter arose from a desire of the parents to marry their children within the occupational caste or community in order to keep the trade as a close preserve.

The mention of defilement opens up a subsidiary branch of the subject. Hitherto we have been considering the public aspects of caste, its origin in the community as a whole, and its probable evolution from the rudimentary stage up to the time when it became occupational. But the

notion of defilement is also brought into the house. It is common knowledge that it has long been attached to birth as well as to death, and that the child-bearing mother as well as relatives of a deceased person must undergo ceremonial purification. It is also well known that a similar idea is attached to the normal menstrual periods of women as was attached to them by the Mosaic law. But the extreme sanctity of the kitchen can hardly be explained by the obvious considerations which would apply to the matters just mentioned. Now it has been said earlier on the authority of Mr. Andrew Lang that in Samoa the totem animals have become the vehicles of the gods, but these gods are "clan" or "family" gods. This custom of the "family" god is well known in India, and on ceremonial occasions special worship is offered to this deity; it is, moreover, usual to keep one room of the house especially for this god. In fact, the worship of the family god together with the prevalent ancestor worship is exactly analogous to the worship of the Lares and Penates in Rome. The analogy is indeed so remarkable that no apology is needed for a lengthy quotation from Sir J. G. Frazer's article on "Penates":

"The storeroom over which they presided was in old times, besides the atrium, the room which served as a kitchen, parlour and bedroom in one, but in later times the storeroom was in the back part of the house. It was sanctified by the presence of the Penates and none but pure and chaste persons might enter it, just as with the Hindus the kitchen is sacred and inviolable. . . . Closely associated with the Penates were the Lares, another species of domestic deity who seem to have been the deified spirits of deceased ancestors. . . . In the household shrine the image of the Lar (dressed in a toga) was placed between the images of the Penates which were represented as dancing and elevating a drinking horn in token of joy and plenty. . . . The shrine stood originally in the atrium, but when the hearth and the kitchen were separated from the atrium and removed to the back of the house, the position of the shrine was also shifted. . . . The old Roman used in company with his children and slaves to offer a morning sacrifice and prayer to his household gods. Before meals the blessing of the gods was asked, and after the meal but before dessert there was a short silence and a portion of the food was placed on the hearth and burned."

And then, after considering and rejecting various ancient theories of the origin of these gods, Sir James Frazer makes the significant remark:

"A comparison with other primitive religious beliefs suggests the conjecture that the Penates may be a remnant of fetishism or animism."

Now it is surely obvious that among the Hindus food is invested with something of a sacred character. The prohibition of inter-dining could not have arisen as Dr. Slater

suggests from the simple custom of only asking people of the same caste or craft to dinner, neither could it have arisen from the desire of the Aryans to keep the race pure. If it could be traced to such common-sense origins, there seems no reason why the kitchen should have been regarded as sacred nor why it is necessary to employ a caste cook. Following up the common-sense theory we can see no conceivable reason why the guests of a single community should not partake of food cooked by a respectable man whatever his caste, or how the sacred character of the kitchen can have any effect whatsoever on the choice of brides. So long as the proper young people are thrown together, why should they not eat food which is wholesome however prepared? That is, in fact, what is always done in countries where there is no caste system properly so called. If you, an Aryan or a carpenter, wish to marry your son to an Aryan or a "carpenter" girl, by all means invite nobody to dinner but the Aryans or carpenters; but the girl is not going to marry the cook nor the boy the cook's daughter.

But the moment you regard the kitchen as a holy place the case is altered. Unclean—*i.e.*, ceremonially or religiously polluting—people are not admitted into holy places. Incidentally, though it is not material to the argument, it may be remarked that the prohibition appears to arise from a species of taboo, since unclean persons are thought to communicate an evil influence to what they touch, and food would thus acquire qualities injurious to those who partook of it. So important is the ceremonial purity of food in the South of India that Brahmans at any rate before eating change their clothes to a silk cloth which should be free of defilement by the excreta of the body and do not break their fast until they have purified themselves by ablution and prayer, as signified by the putting on of the so-called caste mark or *namam*.

We have already seen that the Samoan totem animals became the vehicles of the family gods and that the family gods of the Romans involved the sanctity of the kitchen. We know that the Hindus worship family gods, that the kitchen is sacred, and that various animals are regarded as the divine vehicles. The argument would be complete if some kind of link could be established between such widely different countries as Samoa, Italy, and India. The only link that at present it seems possible to adduce is that totemism and its allied forms of religious superstition were in early times much more widespread and more closely connected than has been realized. Mr. Lang says that

totemism is found "among many savages and barbaric races in America, Africa, Australia, Asia, and the isles." That is pretty well to begin with. And if to these we may add the animal forms of worship in ancient Egypt, and the attribution of special animals or birds to particular gods in Greece—possibly even traces of such practices in the ancient religion of uncivilized Germany—we shall surely have a body of evidence which at least makes it probable that totemism was or may easily have been an original cult of pre-Aryan India.

In pre-Aryan times then, the Dravidians, having entered India in the time-honoured manner, found there an indigenous population. Possibly by amalgamation with the cults then existing, possibly by introducing one of their own invention, they succeeded in establishing a form of religion accompanied by social customs which were closely akin to totemism. Round this system, from which the conquered aborigines were excluded or into which they were only admitted for the purpose of certain menial services, there grew up exogamous and endogamous conventions based upon the totem clan, until by a natural extension of the idea the clan totem itself became a household god and in some instances the vehicle for the anthropomorphic gods, while the tribe which still preserved the customs relating to marriage, ceremonial purity, taboo, and the like now adopted the name and symbol of the totem. Then came the Aryan invasion, which drove the Dravidians to the south of the Vindhya and the Narbada, but much of the population remained behind and among these the Aryans settled. The notion of caste or of that system which preceded it was foreign to them, but they found it useful, and as usually happens when two civilizations of equal or similar grade meet, they adopted it, consciously or unconsciously, and modified it to suit their own ideas. But as civilization advanced life grew more complex and the needs of society compelled artisans and others to combine or congregate together for mutual convenience. These workers had probably appropriated certain trades according to the original totem clans, but the rules were not rigid and others were admitted. Gradually the rules became more complex; the totem idea disappeared completely; the Nature gods gave place to higher and more metaphysical conceptions. But though caste now became transformed upon occupational lines, the reservations already mentioned persisted and the casteless folk remained without the pale. This rapid survey perhaps suggests violent and relatively rapid

changes ; we have, on the contrary, to imagine every modification taking place by imperceptible degrees and the whole process slowly evolving itself through many centuries.

Much, of course, remains unexplained—in particular the origin of the four great divisions and the institution of the sacred thread. The most that can be claimed for the theory is that it provides in broad outline a more rational basis for the caste system than those usually accepted, that it accounts for much that is otherwise inexplicable, and that it takes into consideration the Dravidian element to which sufficient weight does not seem to be given. Details may be wrong; the argument may now and again seem strained. The origin of totemism remains as hitherto obscure. But the broad fact remains that the origin of caste is carried one stage further back, and thus we are enabled to harmonise the opposing theories of the Aryan invasion and of occupation.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

L'INDE ET SON AME. (*Publications Chitra*, 20, Rue Mahias, Boulogne-sur-Seine.)

(Reviewed by Professor L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, C.B.E.)

THE project of allowing a country to interpret itself through the mouth of its leading men and women is, of course, no new one. But the lady who, under the name of Andrée Karpelès, has already been responsible for the artistic background of the French editions of many Indian classics must be congratulated upon the care and thought which she has devoted to making this method a success. It will obviously occur to the critic that the process of interpreting a nation's message with reference only to the thoughts of its noblest sons and daughters is one which may, unless carefully related to an objective background, produce upon the mind of the uninstructed reader an impression of unmixed *couleur de rose*. But it is only fair to the compiler to notice the strict limitations which govern her purpose. She designs to afford Western readers the opportunity of studying the soul of India. In such a study it is plain that we have to concern ourselves rather with the ideal than the actual. No one can fairly judge of the religious merits of Hinduism by confining his examination to the daily practice of the temple-priests at Benares, any more than the ethical merits of the Christian faith can be estimated from the deeds of the Inquisition or the words of the casuists. We imagine that it is upon some such lines as this that the compiler of the work before us would defend at once her aim and her execution, and we think that the defence will be accepted as valid by any competent literary tribunal.

With this initial objection satisfactorily removed, there remains little but praise for this collection, which is remarkable alike for its catholicity and for the intrinsic excellence of its component parts. Indeed, it is a notable example of what may be called literary impressionism; since it is designed to convey to the mind of the reader a picture which for its unity of effect depends but little upon the verisimilitude of individual detail.

Thus it is that the collection ranges over an area so extensive as to cover the major portion of the field of the creative arts, but, very wisely, the compiler has been careful to select, for the most part, a comparatively small number of examples, each of high intrinsic merit, in order to convey the impression which she desires her readers to derive concerning considerable provinces of creative activity. She does not hesitate to impose upon her reader the duty of feeling as well as comprehending—she demands from him sympathy rather than the eclectic spirit. Herself

profoundly convinced of the message which India holds for the West, she bids her readers to admire in reverence, rather than dissect in a spirit of scientific enquiry.

This present volume is divided into sixteen sections. It commences with a message from Mr. Gandhi, which unfortunately falls oddly short of satisfying the interest aroused by M. Romain Rolland's admirable study; but any defect in this quarter is more than made up by Rabindranath Tagore's brilliant exposition of the ideals of an Oriental university which he has himself gone so far to realize at Bolpur. In passing we may notice that Tagore's contributions are the most numerous in the book—a fact which is perfectly justifiable in view of the place which he holds in contemporary thought. The second section strikes one as being somewhat in the nature of an afterthought. It professes to deal with science, but is limited to a single article by Sir J. C. Bose on the "Unity of Life-Mechanism." It would have been easy to have expanded the heading of "science" to an extent more adequate, in view of the attention which Indian thinkers are now devoting to the systematic study of natural forces, and in view also of the triumphs of the Hindu mentality in the spheres of physics and mathematics. The third, fourth, and fifth sections deal respectively with art, with music, and with literature. They are entirely admirable, and may be commended to all who desire to attain a perception of the creative achievements of the Hindu mind in these spheres. Very wisely the compiler has devoted two lengthy sections—six and seven—to poetry; and has not hesitated to include, side by side with Tagore, Chattopadhyaya and Naidu, classical examples of ancient poetry and of romantic ballad.

Under the heading of religion, the eighth section, Mr. K. M. Panikkar contributes a competent little study of medieval religious movements in India, which forms the natural introduction to Sir John Woodroffe's learned exposition—"What is Hinduism?"—which is the leading feature of the ninth section. The next section is of great interest since it deals with the place of women in the life of India, ancient and modern, including in its comprehensive scope studies of Savitri and of Sarojini Naidu. The enquirer will learn much of the movements of social reform which characterize the present relations of the sexes in India, and will gain an impression more just than current of the part which women play in Hindu cosmogony. In section eleven we come upon short personal reminiscences of Mr. Gandhi, of Sister Nivedita, of Sir J. C. Bose, and of Rabindranath Tagore—a section which does not altogether prepare us for the careful study of an aboriginal tribe with which twelfth section begins! The rest of the section is devoted to folk-lore and folk-melodies derived from a variety of sources, and its interest is unquestionable. Traversing a short section devoted to Bengali and Singhalese proverbs, we come to the fourteenth section, containing four essays broadly outlining India's mission and India's influence. These will be read with respect by those to whom this volume makes an appeal. The fifteenth and sixteenth sections are devoted to letters from the pen of cognoscenti, and to notes

explaining the purpose of the compiler, and some of the sources from which she has worked.

From what has been written in the course of this review, it will be plain that this collection deserves close attention from all those who are interested in the cultural side of Hinduism. For a complete synthesis of Indian culture it is perhaps necessary to place greater stress than the compiler has found possible upon those sources through which the life and learning of Islam have been transmitted to form part of India's heritage; but it none the less remains true to say that a study of this volume will bring the sympathetic enquirer more closely into touch with certain essential realities of the life of modern India than will a perusal of scores of formal treatises of the more stereotyped variety. We wish the book a success in its original version which will justify its speedy translation into English.

THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGOL: A TRANSLATION OF DE LAET'S DESCRIPTION OF INDIA AND FRAGMENT OF INDIAN HISTORY. By J. S. Hoyland. Annotated by S. N. Banerjee. (Bombay: *Taraporevala*.) Rs. 5.8.

Habent sua fata libelli. When in 1631 Joannes de Laet published in London his book on India, "De Imperio Magni Mogolis," he could hardly have foreseen that three hundred years later two enterprising students of Indian history would find sufficient interest in that little volume to warrant an English translation. Yet this fact in itself bears witness to the value of De Laet's impressions, and a perusal of them makes one wonder that this has not been done before. It is true that the old Elzevier book was not an original work based on personal experiences, but a well-known geographer collected the very best material from authentic sources and moulded it with discrimination into his "Descriptio." The first part contains the geography and administration of the Mughal Empire, and the second gives a history of the reigns of Akbar and Jehangir, originally composed by Pelsaert and Van der Broecke. The book is tastefully printed, and the text is embellished by scholarly notes.

HISTORY OF TELUGU LITERATURE. By P. Chenchiah and M. Bhujanga. Heritage of India Series. (Oxford University Press.) 3s. net.

This slender volume gives for the first time, at least in English, a history of Telugu literature. The authors commence with the general background of Telugu literature and then trace its various periods. Brief, but quite satisfactory, accounts are given of the poets and authors and their respective works. The book serves as a handy introduction to the subject, and may lead to a greater interest in the literature of Southern India.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE: LETTERS TO A FRIEND. Edited by C. F. Andrews. (Allen and Unwin.) 7s. 6d. net.

The author has collected the letters sent to him by his friends between the years 1913 and 1922, and has edited them in a very attractive form.

There will be found here renewed evidence of the wide range of the poet's thoughts, but there are no means of discovering what impression was made upon his mind by the countries on the European Continent which he visited after the war.

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS. By Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (Bombay: *D. B. Taraporevala.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by K. M. P.)

The appointment of the Parliamentary Commission to review the work of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms has given rise to a series of books discussing Indian constitutional problems. Very few of those who have written on the question can claim the same experience of affairs and the knowledge of details as the author of this book. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar is a Brahmin politician of moderate views, who was Advocate-General of Madras and Executive Councillor under the Minto-Morley dispensation. After the introduction of the Reforms of 1919 he played a leading part in the work of the first two Assemblies. A discussion of Indian constitutional problems from the pen of one so loyal and so experienced in the service of the Government should be of considerable value to the British public and to the Simon Commission.

The present volume is an enlargement of a course of lectures delivered by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar at the University of Madras. The book bears the marks of its origin in the academic character of its discussion of more than one important problem. It is also possible that the mode of exposition suited to lectures before university students and the amplification of analogies and precedents which are of interest only to constitutional theorists are responsible for the bulk of the volume, which runs to over 380 pages.

Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar bases his book on three assumptions with one of which the present writer is in entire agreement. He holds strongly that schemes which are based on the assumption that Parliamentary government is unsuitable to the conditions of India and of the East in general are out of the question, partly on *a priori* grounds and partly because the British Parliament is committed by the declaration of 1917 (embodied in the preamble of the Act of 1919) to the introduction of responsible government. This is in accordance with progressive Indian opinion.

Sir Sivaswamy's second assumption is that the dominion status does not imply unrestricted powers for the Dominion Legislature. Though this may be technically true, I do not think anyone in India would accept the implication that, while the Government of India may be declared as possessing the powers of a dominion government, its responsibility to the Central Legislature should be seriously restricted. This, as one writer has put it, would only be enthroning the Grand Mogul at Delhi, instead of continuing him at Whitehall. The essential point is that whatever independent authority is possessed by the Indian Government should be subject to the direct control of the Indian people. The extent of the power surrendered by the Secretary of State should be the extent of

responsible government attained by India. The assumption made by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar is capable of the implication that even while the responsibility of the Government to the Central Legislature is restricted, it is possible for the Government of India to be of full dominion status—that is, totally independent of the control of Whitehall. This, I am afraid, is a wholly unacceptable point of view.

A third assumption of Sir Sivaswamy is that a real federal union is impossible because of the attitude of the Princes. This I consider to be quite untrue. The Princes have never declared that they are against any union with India. They have merely claimed—with perfect justice—that in every proposal of that nature which would affect their rights and prerogatives they should be consulted. It stands to reason that federalism cannot be established in India at the decree of one of the parties to such a scheme. The Princes' claim is that, while British Indian politicians and the British Indian Government have every right to decide on their own affairs, any determination of questions affecting British India and Indian States jointly should be not on the basis of dictation by one to the other, but on the basis of agreement by negotiation.

It is unnecessary to discuss in detail the proposals put forward by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar. His main proposals amount to the extension of self-government in the Provinces, making the provincial administrations responsible to the legislatures, and the introduction of a modified form of dyarchy in the Central Government by reserving foreign policy and defence in the hands of the non-parliamentary executive. In support of the latter proposal, he quotes the Constitution of Malta in which the control of naval, military and air forces, territorial waters, wireless, and numerous other important subjects are excluded from the purview of the legislature. He would abolish the Council of the Secretary of State for India, but would evidently continue for some time more the powers of the Secretary of State as the representative of the ultimate authority of the British Parliament.

Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar discusses the communal question at some length. He holds that the evils that flow from the recognition and encouragement of communal claims are far too serious and patent to require any elaborate argument to convince any unprejudiced outsider. While the method of separate representation is undeniably open to numerous and valid objections, it is not so clear to others—as no doubt it is to Brahmin politicians—why the recognition of communal claims and the encouragement of backward communities should, if pursued within reasonable limits, lead to any administrative or political difficulties. On the whole, however, Sir Sivaswamy's discussion of the question is marked by broad-minded Liberalism and an analytic insight into political affairs.

The chapter on defence is a lucid and valuable contribution on a subject which is intimately connected with the whole question of self-government. The four chapters dealing with Indian States constitute interesting reading. His general conclusion is: "I am firmly convinced that the policy of *laissez-faire* and non-interference in the affairs of the States is the wisest one to be followed. Any attempt to force the pace

will cause revulsion and provoke interference and opposition on the part of the ruling Princes. The social and communal intercourse of peoples, the interchange of ideas, and the working of political institutions in British India are all forces which cannot fail to influence the minds of the Rulers and the peoples of the State. The one thing that is necessary on the part of all is to keep a clear eye on the goal and to take no steps that will encourage centrifugal forces or discourage the action of centripetal forces." With this statement most Princes and their advisers in India will cordially agree.

The book would have benefited greatly by a little compression. As it is, Sir Sivaswamy's weakness of discussing in many pages what he could have said in a paragraph has made the book rather an unwieldy volume. Sir Sivaswamy's style is pleasant and at times effective. The book is extremely well printed and got up.

FAR EAST

NIPPEN SHINDO RON, OR THE NATIONAL IDEALS OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE. By Yutaka Hibino. Translated by A. P. McKenzie. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 7s. 6d. net.

Mr. Hibino's work reminds me of Dr. Nitobé's "Bushido, The Soul of Japan." It will be remembered that General and Madame Nogi's self-immolation soon after their Emperor's death came as a great shock to the British, while to the Japanese it was an expression of the greatest loyalty and intense patriotism. The writer of this notice accepts and favours the Japanese outlook. What nobler self-negation can be imagined than that the General placed his own sons in the fight for Port Arthur into the most dangerous position and both of them died for their Emperor and for their country. When Nogi returned from the war, a demi-god, and covered with glory, he alone would hardly look anyone in the face, knowing that he could not bring consolation to those families who had lost their sons. What a noble spirit, and what a great man!

The reader of this volume will feel inspired by such devotion and will find in it the causes of Japan's greatness. It comes at an opportune moment when the sense of duty and loyalty, nay, character itself, is being weakened. It is to be hoped that the many fine lessons contained in this lovely book are taken to heart by teachers and by pupils not only in England, but also in the rest of the world.

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF JAPAN. By Herbert H. Gowen. (*Appleton.*) 15s. net.

Professor Gowen of Washington University wrote a few years ago "An Outline History of China" which registered an unusual success, being sold out within a short time. After the author's absence in the Far East the work was reprinted, and is now again available. It is safe to predict a similar fate for the present volume. It opens with a pertinent chapter on the Origin, Race and Language of Japan, and then proceeds to relate in

chronological order the history from legendary to the present time. The author has been assisted in his task of collecting or extracting the most important passages of the nation's history by Japanese and American professors, in this case, at any rate, a happy combination, and has produced what may become a standard work in outline which the rapid enquirer may prefer to the detailed and larger volume by James Murdock. It is, however, a pity that the author has not included reference in the bibliography of works by continental scholars.

OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE JAPANESE DRAMA. By F. A. Lombard. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 16s. net.

The author is well known for his work on "Pre-Meiji Education," and has now placed us under a further obligation by his study of the Japanese drama. First the origins are traced, and we then arrive at the Kagura or evening entertainments. There follows a study of the Noh, of which Mr. Waley has given an excellent account, and finally the Kabuki, or the art of song and dance, concludes this valuable volume. Naturally it was not possible to give in 350 pages a complete history of the drama, which requires the presentation of much detail, but it is sufficient for the purpose the author had in mind. A welcome feature are the very varied selections of translations from the Japanese, and the illustrations by Japanese artists reproduced both in the text and as plates.

MALAYAN FOREST RECORDS. (*Forest Department of the Federated Malay States.*)

1. Commercial Woods of the Malay Peninsula.
2. Minor Forest Products.
3. Commercial Timber Trees.

This is a valuable series on forest products, and all three parts have been compiled by Mr. F. W. Foxworthy. The first part contains a chapter on the Consumption and Supplies of Wood in the Malay Peninsula. There follows a technical treatise, with a long list of Malayan woods in alphabetical order and other articles. The second part is devoted chiefly to palms, gums, oils and resins, and a number of plants. The third part is a stately volume of 195 pages, with a map and numerous plates. It is the first complete manual on Malayan trees and timbers, all the names being given, with their various designations, the districts where the trees are to be found, and a full description. These volumes fulfil requirements in every respect, and are, indeed, a model of what such publications should be.

SIAM AND CAMBODIA IN PEN AND PASTEL, WITH EXCURSIONS IN CHINA AND BURMA. By Rachel Wheatcroft. (*Constable.*) 21s. net.

The author of this volume is an artist who combined business with pleasure by giving lessons in painting during her travels in the East. Her approach was through China, and a large portion of the book is

devoted to Siam, the life of which, in its varied aspects, is admirably described. The illustrations, some in colour, and the sketches are by the author, and are a valuable source of information for intending travellers in search of the picturesque.

EASTERN WINDOWS: AN ARTIST'S NOTES OF TRAVEL IN JAPAN, HOKKAIDO, KOREA, CHINA, AND THE PHILIPPINES. By E. Keith. (*Hutchinson.*) 21s. net.

Miss Keith has had the good fortune to stay some time in the Far East, and was able to paint some very interesting portraits and landscapes, which were then cut on wood by Japanese artists. The twelve coloured illustrations are copies of these woodcuts, and are accompanied by a text of 125 pages. The street scene at Soochow and the night-scenes in Peking and Hongkong are especially attractive, and it is a pity that the illustrations are not more numerous.

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. (*Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch.*)

NO. 25. BAS-RELIEFS OF BADAMI. By R. D. Banerji, M.A. 17s. 9d.

NO. 33. PALLAVA ARCHITECTURE. Part II.: Intermediate or Māmalla Period. By A. H. Longhurst. 21s. 9d.

NO. 34. A NEW INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS FROM HAMADAN. By Professor E. Herzfeld. 10d.

(*Reviewed by E. B. HAVELL.*)

Since the Government of India from motives of economy ceased to supply the Bodleian and India Office Libraries with copies of all the photographs taken yearly by the officers of the Archæological Survey art students in Europe have been deprived of very valuable material for original research, and have to depend upon the selections made for them in the departmental reports and in the rather highly priced "Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India." Though the department has always been very helpful to outsiders engaged in original research, an artist looks upon sculpture, painting, and architecture with a different eye from the scientific expert, and the printed lists of subjects published by the department are an insufficient guide unless they are accompanied by the actual photographs.

It is obvious that the departmental experts engaged in the strenuous work of exploration and conservation can find very little time for the preparation of artistic monographs, and Mr. Banerji must be complimented on the valuable material he has collected for his essay on the bas-reliefs of Badami. He treats the subject, however, entirely from the point of view of iconography, and his text is very difficult to follow, as he omits all reference to the plates which illustrate it. Moreover, he has been unfortunate in his proof-reader, for the list of illustrations does not correspond with the legends of the plates, the illustrations of Cave IV. being wrongly attributed to Cave III.

The most striking of the sculptures are the six beautiful brackets in Cave IV., illustrated in Plates XIX. and XX., and the ceiling panels in the same cave shown in Plates XXVI. and XXVII. The photographs generally bring out the artistic beauty of the sculpture by a judicious choice of light and shade; but the artistic value of the monograph would have been much increased if a few plates had been added showing the co-ordination of the parts with the whole decorative scheme, especially that of the interior of Cave IV. Though some of the sculpture is very fine in itself, it can be better appreciated when viewed as part of a grand architectural scheme rather than as a series of *objets d'art* arranged in museum cases.

Mr. A. H. Longhurst, in his description of the famous rock-cut temples, "raths," and palaces of Mamallapuram, has given an excellent summary of historical facts, and a very interesting account, illustrated by photographs, of the methods employed by the masons in cutting these monoliths out of the living rock. He has added a very careful detailed description of the monuments, accompanied by plans and illustrations, which make it easy to follow. In discussing the subjects of the sculptures he gives a number of interesting facts ascertained by exploration in recent years, which make it quite clear that the subject of the great rock-sculpture, known by local tradition as "Arjuna's Penance," is really—as proposed by Dr. Vogel in 1910 in "Iconographical Notes on the Seven Pagodas," and M. Victor Goloubeff in 1914 in a lecture before La Société Asiatique—the descent of the Ganges at Kailāsa, or "The Penance of King Bhagīratha," described in the "Rāmāyana," i. 38-44.

Mr. Longhurst believes with Dr. Vogel that Mamallapuram was the port from which the Pallavas sent out emigrants to found colonies in Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and further East. This is probably true; but so far as the sculptures are concerned, the bas-reliefs of Badami show closer affinities with the art of Borobudur and Prambanam than those of Mamallapuram.

Mr. Longhurst's monograph is a valuable contribution to the study of these great South Indian monuments; but unfortunately the illustrations will fail to satisfy artists acquainted with the beauty of Pallava sculpture, as the departmental photographer seems to have been obsessed with the idea of bringing out all the details in the highest possible light for the iconographical expert to study. A little more reticence on the part of the iconographical enthusiast might add to the artistic value of these memoirs.

Professor Herzfeld's notes on a new inscription of Darius from Hamadan, in which the King of Kings defines the boundaries of his empire, are of considerable interest to the historian, and are not open to any artistic criticism.

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN SCULPTURE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.
(Paris: *Van Oest*.)

The above is an English edition of Vol. XI. of *Ars Asiatica*, and the first volume that deals with the Near East. The publisher here continues

the fine series of reproductions which has been a noteworthy feature of the series from the beginning. The objects seem to stand out in absolute relief, and are so clear to the student that he scarcely needs to visit the Museum. In fact, the inscriptions, whenever they appear on the objects, are plainly legible. What finer examples of reproduction can be seen anywhere than Plates 43, 47-49, or 59? Mr. Hall, the successor of Mr. King at the British Museum, has selected the illustrations, which he has prefaced by a somewhat brief introduction. A description of all the plates follows on thirty pages, and although these descriptions are generally of sufficient length, some might have been, with advantage, more detailed. But this volume is in every respect a worthy addition to a remarkable series.

BURIED TREASURES OF CHINESE TURKESTAN. By A. von Le Coq.
(Allen and Unwin.) 18s. net.

The learned professor's works on Chotscho and Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien in six volumes have already familiarized us with his success as an archaeological explorer. The present volume furnishes the English reader with an opportunity of keeping abreast with his achievements, and he owes also a debt of gratitude to the publishers for the excellent presentation of the work. Dr. von Le Coq, somewhat belying the general reputation of German books of travel, is very clear in his account, marshalling his facts and drawing his conclusions with mathematical precision. Miss Barwell, the translator, can claim credit for her share of the labour, as also the publisher for the faultless illustrations of the scenery, statues, and frescoes. It is a worthy and indeed almost indispensable complement to the publications of Sir Aurel Stein.

THE POEMS OF NIZAMI. Described by Laurence Binyon. (*The Studio*)
30s. net.

This very beautiful volume contains in a folio size coloured plates of a manuscript which was written for Shah Tahmasp of Persia from 1539 to 1543 by a celebrated scribe, and is now preserved in the British Museum. According to Dr. F. R. Martin it is the finest sixteenth-century Persian MS. in existence. No praise could be too high for the presentation of the plates. The first two give an illustration of the text, which is written in the Nastalig character with exquisite decorations of floral ornaments and birds and animals. There follow the miniatures by Mirak, Mirza Ali, Sultan Muhammad, Mir Sayyid Ali, and Muzaffar Ali.

The text is by Laurence Binyon, and contains notes on Shah Tahmasp and his artists, painting in Persia, the life of Nizami, and his poems. Reference may here be made also to the English translation of the Seven Portraits, or Haft Paikar, which was the latest of Nizami's great poems, by Professor C. E. Wilson. The price at which this scholarly and artistic production is issued to the public is commendably low.

PALMYRENA: A TOPOGRAPHICAL ITINERARY. Being No. 4 of Oriental Explorations and Studies of the American Geographical Society. By Alois Musil. (New York.)

The volumes of this series follow one another in fairly quick succession, and one marvels at the way the author is able to read all the proofs and attend to its general publication. The proof-reading in this particular case is a very difficult task owing to the numerous Arabic words, all correctly transcribed. The State Printing Press at Prague deserve praise for their part of the work. Professor Musil is not only an excellent geographer, but also an historian and philologist. The plentiful notes show a wide knowledge and great learning. In the appendices classical authorities are quoted at length, and Arabic geographies are examined. Again, a long bibliography, Arabic and European, has been added, and a complete index. The final volume of this publication will be awaited with interest.

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA. Being Lithic and other inscriptions of Ceylon, edited and translated by Don Martino de Silva Wickremasinghe. Vol. III. Part I. 1928. (Oxford: *University Press*.) 5s. net.

Although the progress of this undertaking is somewhat slow, it must be acknowledged that its composition is so difficult and scholarly that the delays appear inevitable. The new part contains a complete chronology of Ceylon from 483 B.C. to A.D. 1815, when the last King of Ceylon was deposed by the English. Almost the whole of the remainder is taken up by a truly wonderful Index to Vol. II. of the "Epigraphia," which is a work in itself. It is to be hoped that the editor will have time and health to continue his laborious work, and thus place scholars under a further obligation.

ORIENTALIA

THE OCEAN OF STORY. Edited by Mr. Penzer. Vols. IX. and X. (*Charles J. Sawyer*.)

(*Reviewed by M. E. R. MARTIN.*)

The publication of the ninth and tenth volumes marks the conclusion of the remarkable collection of stories contained in "The Ocean of Story," and it is fitting that, fulfilling the hope expressed in the preceding review, the final Foreword should be written by an Indian. Sir Atul Chatterjee has wisely chosen for his subject the light thrown on the social and economic life of India by the stories, which date from the century previous to the establishment of the Muslim capital at Delhi. Amongst many points of interest to which the Foreword directs attention is the reason adduced for the conquest of the Hindus by Islamism: "The synthesis of the philosophic tenets of Hinduism and Buddhism and the animistic rites and practices of the forest tribes had produced a mixture which was not calculated to impart either social or political stability to Hindu India in the coming struggle with Islam." It is also suggested that the lack of patriotism on the part of the general mass of population largely contri-

buted to rendering India an easy prey to the Muslim invaders. Sir Atul helps us to visualize the enormous changes wrought in India by the introduction of the printing press, which has eliminated to a very great degree the picturesque rôle of the *Kathak*. Although it was necessary that the latter should pass away with the increasing tide of modern civilization, it must not be forgotten that to his office was due the "maintenance of the literary standard in the vernacular" and "the gradual development of a vigorous literature" in Hindi, Bengali, and Gujarati.

With regard to the pressing questions of modern India—marriage restrictions, the seclusion of women, and the remarriage of widows—it is pointed out that no marriage restrictions are alluded to in the stories, and that caste did not influence occupations or professions. It is possible that the question had not yet been decided how or when those barriers became fixed, and how far they were due to the arbitrary power of the Brahmin priests. As regards the seclusion of women, it was customary even in Europe to deny women belonging to the upper and richer classes the freedom accorded to those of the middle and working classes. American and English women have finally broken down these barriers for their own sex, and other countries are benefiting from their action. It would be interesting to collect an anthology of Indian opinion on the position of women and whether they should be allowed to attain complete liberty. Modern India might possibly re-echo the opinion of Ratnaprabhā (see Vol. III., 169) that she considered "the strict seclusion of women" was "a mere social custom or rather folly produced by jealousy. Women of good family are guarded by their virtue as their only chamberlain. But even God Himself can scarcely guard the unchaste. . . ."

The ninth volume contains the author's Epilogue, translated by Dr. L. D. Barnett, and published for the first time. It consists of thirteen verses, and the only allusion the author makes to himself is in the twelfth verse in which the "Ocean" is ascribed to "Soma" as follows: "May this Ocean of Streams of Story, composed by the stainless-minded Soma, which has the semblance of very widespread waves, be for the delight of good men's hearts." This pious wish has been amply fulfilled! In the Terminal Essay, and also in the Retrospect from the pen of Mr. Penzer, there is a full account of the circumstances leading to the re-publication of Mr. Tawney's original translation of "The Ocean of Story," and the lines on which it should be produced. Mr. Penzer pays a well-deserved tribute to the excellent series of Forewords, each of which deals with the "Ocean" from a different and most instructive point of view. In the Terminal Essay is also included a résumé of the framework of the stories, their arrangement and the position of the various sub-stories, together with the relation of the whole to Guṇāḍhaya's *Bṛihat-kathā*. The latter is considered far superior to the K.S.S., notwithstanding the efforts of Somadeva to rearrange the material at his disposal. This volume also includes a detailed Addenda and a complete Bibliography.

The tenth volume is concerned only with technical matter. It comprises a correlation table between Tawney's original edition of 1880-1884

and the present work; an alphabetical list of all the stories, *motifs*, and Buddhist Jātakas; a list of books into which the "Ocean" is divided; and, finally, a chronological list of works on the Bṛihat-kathā, with their recensions. Mr. Penzer explains that the Index at the end of the volume does not merely amalgamate the eighteen Indexes already published, but that it is largely an original and distinct work. He says that many references which were considered redundant or unnecessary have been omitted and others have been inserted for the first time. The whole forms a fitting conclusion to the preceding nine volumes. In closing these inadequate and imperfect notices we most heartily commend the perusal of the books to those who may desire to find themselves also immersed in "The Ocean of Story."

SURYA NAMASKARS (Sun-Adoration). By His Highness Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Chief of Aundh. (*Printed and published at the Aundh State Press*). One Rupee.

(*Reviewed by* JOHN CALDWELL-JOHNSTON.)

His Highness the Chief of Aundh has presented us with a remarkable book, and one which we could wish that the students and followers of the wilder flights of (so-called) Oriental occultism would read and ponder, because here is beyond doubt a fragment of the authentic mother-lode. Just as in Japan there survives to this day some trace of the old Atlantean or possibly Polynesian nature-magic in the *judo* or *ju-jitsu*, which was the carefully guarded secret of the old, and now dying, noble caste; so do these traditional *mudras* or sacred postures of the Hindu with their accompanying *mantras* or ejaculatory phrases place within our hands the keys to many hidden places of the human heart. They were taught by the wise *rishis* of old, and they live still in the oral teaching of the *guru*, the religious instructor who is the necessary tutor and father-confessor combined to every well-brought-up high-caste Hindu.

In the space at our command it is impossible to give a satisfactory account of the contents of this strangely beautiful book. To the average seeker of Oriental marvels it will have the same effect as the first farmhouse food had on the town child in his country holiday, who complained that the country eggs possessed no taste. The others who chance across it will be bewildered, perhaps, by the weird postures and the wild whirl of Sanskrit *mantras*. To the few it will come as a cup of cold water in a thirsty land, and in their name at least we render thanks to our good friend His Highness the Chief of Aundh.

THE MOST ANCIENT EAST: THE ORIENTAL PRELUDE TO EUROPEAN PREHISTORY. By V. Gordon Childe. (*Kegan Paul*.) 15s. net.

Professor Childe is the first authority to provide a handbook for the appreciation and understanding, in anticipation, of certain publications which have, as a matter of fact, not yet seen light. The great discoveries in the Indus Valley and at Ur have only just become known, and only very few people realize their value at the present moment. The Director-

General of Archaeology is preparing his work on the excavation, and Mr. Hall and Mr. Woolley have only lately completed the first volume of their work. Professor Childe's object is not to forestall these authorities, but to allow future readers to understand the importance and the contents of the works which will be issued in time. We read in these fascinating pages of the culture of thousands of years ago, and marvel at the achievement of those highly civilized people by what they have left behind.

Here is a great opportunity for the public to prepare itself for the gifts which will be showered upon it before very long. Numerous illustrations adorn this charming work, and an excellent sketch map familiarizes the people with the places of the Ancient Civilized East.

GENERAL

ASIA REBORN. By Marguerite Harrison. (*Harper and Brothers.*) 17s. net.

(Reviewed by FRANK NOYCE, C.S.I., C.B.E.)

It is hardly to be wondered at that authors who travel as widely as Miss Harrison has evidently done should find it difficult to get all their facts correct. But surely it is not entirely beyond their powers to get their statements of fact verified by those who have a closer acquaintance with the countries they have visited than any traveller, however shrewd and accurate an observer, can hope to possess. On page 50 of her book, Miss Harrison tells her readers that "Lord Curzon's reforms, many of them wise and beneficial, were all nullified by his advocacy of an appallingly impolitic measure, the partition of the Province of Bengal into two separate provinces," and adds that "the proposed measure, *though never enforced* [the italics are ours], gave birth to an era of violence, the like of which had not been seen before." Every Indian schoolboy knows that Bengal was actually partitioned from 1905 till 1912. On page 196 there is the extraordinary statement that the India Office no longer performs the liaison service between the Native States and the Crown, as the States have an official representative in a High Commissioner with the same status as the High Commissioners of the Dominions. It will be news to the High Commissioner for India that he is the official representative of the Indian States in England!

Again, on page 198, Miss Harrison says that formerly all the higher branches of the Public Services in India—"that vast and cumbersome administrative machinery" (India has probably fewer officials in proportion to its population than any other country in the world)—were staffed entirely by British officials, and that one of the chief grievances of the Indian Nationalists from the early days of the Indian National Congress had been that Indians had not been admitted to the Civil Service. The Indian Civil Service has, of course, always been open to Indians through the channel of the competitive examination in England. The grievance of the Congress was that simultaneous examinations were not held in England and in India, a substantial grievance possibly, but one of an entirely different character from that which Miss Harrison declares to have existed

until the introduction of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. On page 213 she gives the number of workmen employed in the "spinneries" of Bombay as 25,000, whereas it is over 150,000.

In comparison with errors such as these that on page 197 is venial. Miss Harrison, in expounding the mysteries of dyarchy, mentions that it is very easy for a Minister who has control of a "transferred" subject like Agriculture, to claim that the failure to carry out important irrigation projects promised to the inhabitants of a certain district is due to the reduction of his appropriation by the Governor in order to provide more money for some unpopular "reserved" subject, such as the creation of a larger police force. The grievance which has been voiced by some Ministers is that they have no power to spend money on irrigation at all, as it is a "reserved" subject.

Those of Miss Harrison's readers who know India will wonder how far an author who is guilty of such misstatements as these, and who puts forward such a palpable exaggeration as that nearly as many lives have been lost through conflicts in Europe and Asia since the end of the War as were lost in the four terrible years between 1914 and 1918, can be regarded as an authority on the Asiatic situation generally. But the book ought not to be lightly dismissed as valueless on account of these blunders. It is true that Miss Harrison's opinions would carry greater weight if she had taken more trouble to make sure of her facts, but, notwithstanding this important limitation, she has given a useful and, on the whole, impartial survey of the political situation in every country in Asia. Like most American writers, she has little respect for the way in which the Allies handled Eastern affairs after the war, and shows an imperfect appreciation of the difficulties they had to encounter and of the way in which they were handicapped in dealing with them by the lack of any assistance from the statesmen of her own country.

It is impossible in the space of a brief review to give even the most summary outline of the conclusions of an author who has surveyed the forces at work in seventeen countries. Some of these conclusions have already been falsified by events, and Miss Harrison's view that "in Kabul, many of the issues between Lenin and Muhammad will perhaps be brought to a head, for King Amanullah may be considered to dispute with Ibn Saoud of Nejd today the right to appear as the champion of conservative Islam" reads curiously in the light of recent happenings.

It is no matter for surprise that this should be so, for Miss Harrison's book demonstrates on almost every page how kaleidoscopic the Eastern scene now is, and how inappropriate is the adjective "unchanging" when applied to it. British readers will welcome her appreciation of the well-being afforded by the British administration in Iraq, "which has the merit of consistency and uniformity so conspicuously lacking in that of the French in Syria," and leaders of advanced opinion in India will do well to ponder her conclusion that "if the breach between England and India is widened, India must almost inevitably fall under the domination of Russia and her Eurasian culture, unless, as some people think possible, she is absorbed in a Far Eastern bloc under Japanese domination."

DEBATES IN THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES

OUR MAIN LINK WITH INDIA

[This stenographic report, which was taken in the Chamber of Princes, dealing with the Maharaja of Patiala's resolution, is of such widespread interest that we think our readers will agree that it is worthy of the closest study. We hope from time to time to publish in similar detail such of the debates of the Chamber of Princes—now for the first time open to the Press—as we think of interest from their bearing upon the general problems of the British Commonwealth.]

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD DAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1929,
H.E. THE VICEROY PRESIDING

H.H. THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—The resolution which I have the honour to move deserves, I suggest, our most careful consideration.

It reads as follows:

“While adhering to their policy of non-intervention in the affairs of British India and repeating their assurances of sympathy with its continued political progress, the Princes and Chiefs composing this Chamber, in view of the recent pronouncements of a section of British Indian politicians indicative of a drift towards complete independence, desire to place on record that in light of the mutual obligations arising from their treaties and engagements with the British Crown they cannot assent to any proposals having for their object the adjustment of equitable relations between the Indian States and British India, unless such proposals proceed upon the initial basis of the British connection.”

Your Excellency, we have always refrained from any interference with British Indian politics, and we have not the least intention of departing from this salutary rule. But the complete severance of the British connection, which has been advocated by a section of British Indian political thought, is not a matter which affects British India alone. It would be a matter of indifference to us if we had no desire for ultimate federal relations with British India, with proper safeguards, or if we had no treaty obligations with

the British Crown to discharge. But that is not so. Our ties with British India are close. We are linked to British India politically, historically, economically. These ties will, we hope, become even more close in the future. We, therefore, regard it as our duty to give suitable and timely expression of our deep concern lest the developments in British Indian politics should be such as to create an unsurmountable obstacle in the way of closer relations between British India and Indian India, or such as to prove inconsistent with the due discharge of our mutual treaty obligations with the British Crown.

The reasons why such suggestions necessarily evoke our lively concern are not far to seek.

In India, taken as a whole, our interests are of a magnitude only second to those of British India. Territorially, the Indian States, if Burma be excluded, constitute nearly one half of the total peninsula, while their population numbers upwards of seventy millions. We feel we are entitled to an adequate voice in shaping the ultimate policy of the whole country. Your Excellency, it is our profound conviction that in the best interests of India herself, the British connection should be maintained. Provision must, of course, be made for changing times and for progressive developments, but, granted these, we believe that India will be a greater and a more prosperous land as a federation of autonomous states and provinces within the Empire than she would be outside the Empire. This being our conviction, we can only regard any movement in British India in the direction of complete independence as likely to injure the best interests of the country, and also as calculated to postpone the establishment of an equitable and friendly adjustment of interests between the States and British India for the good of India as a whole.

So far, Your Excellency, I have been looking at the matter from the common-sense material point of view. But there are other factors to be considered. We ourselves have entered into solemn reciprocal obligations with the British Crown, which we must discharge in the future, as we have done in the past. These obligations entail the maintenance of an honourable connection, importing respect by either party for its own duties and for rights of the other, between India and Britain. Without such a connection, we feel that these mutual rights and duties cannot be discharged. Hence, quite apart from our conviction that the inclusion of India within the British commonwealth is vitally necessary to the well-being of the

country, we feel that the suggestion of independence conveys a menace to the due discharge of those reciprocal rights and obligations which arise out of our solemn treaty obligations, and are the foundation of our relationship with the British Crown.

Your Excellency, we desire to make it clear that we imply no hostility to British India. On the contrary, we have always expressed our sympathy with the aspirations of British India which we regard as legitimate. We unhesitatingly reaffirm this sympathy, and not merely in a conventional sense. We have always contributed to the extent of our power, towards the educational, humanitarian, and progressive activities in British India; we have always refrained from doing anything which might thwart or retard the political progress in British India towards dominion status. We have no intention of ever doing that. We recognize that British India has as much right, within its exclusive sphere, to aspire to rise to its full stature, as the States have to enjoy fully the rights they are entitled to exercise. But just as we cannot, fairly, take any step in matters involving the common interest of British India and Indian India, without paying due regard to the legitimate rights of the former, so we on our part claim the same consideration from British India in matters which involve us along with them. Differences with our friends in British India will only arise when their conceptions of their rights extend to a degree which causes them to claim an exclusive control over interests which, owing to considerations alike of history and politics, are not theirs and theirs alone. This resolution is intended, as stated above, to express, in due time, our apprehensions lest developments should occur in British India, which may hinder the cultivation of those closer ties designed to lead up to the equitable adjustment of the interests of British India and Indian States on a federal basis. Our one desire is to cement our relations with British India consistently with the due discharge of our duty to our States and our treaty obligations with Britain.

Finally, Your Excellency, we wish to emphasize our belief that any constructive settlement of the Indian situation must take due notice of the legitimate interest of all the three parties concerned—I mean Great Britain, British India, and the Indian States. Only by taking due account of all three can statesmanship ultimately prepare the way for any permanent constructive work. We ourselves believe that there lies before India a great and worthy future, in keeping with the traditions of her glorious past. Let us,

whether we be the representatives of the British Crown, British Indian leaders or Indian Princes, see to it that our activities and our energies move harmoniously to the task of building up an Indian federation, founded upon a mutual respect for each other's rights, which shall remain a constituent and autonomous part of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

H.H. THE MAHARAJA OF KASHMIR: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—I beg to associate myself wholeheartedly with His Highness, the mover of the resolution, in all that he has said. The loyalty of the Ruling Princes of India to the British Crown is not an empty phrase nor a mere figure of speech. It has been demonstrated on every possible occasion in the past, and we are proud to feel that this sentiment animates us as strongly today as ever. I have always scrupulously kept aloof from British Indian politics, and I have no desire to preach a sermon of any kind to any section of our friends in British India. I confine my remarks entirely to our own interests and obligations in the matter. Our Treaty relations are with the British Crown, and we are bound to treat the friends and enemies of the King-Emperor as our own friends and enemies respectively. In cases of difference of opinion on matters of joint concern to British India and the Indian States, there is obviously only one authority that can decide—namely, the British Crown—just as much as in a case of difference of opinion between New Zealand and Australia or Canada and Newfoundland.

In my own case, as the Ruler of a State having the privilege of guarding hundreds of miles of a frontier where three Empires meet, I inherit a very special responsibility. It is unnecessary for me to say that, as in the past, so in the future, Kashmir will always fulfil the responsibility and the obligations it owes to the British Crown by virtue of its Treaties. Looking at the matter from the point of view of the States, it is a truism to say that our interests are identical with those of the British Government, and whatever affects the stability or the strength of Great Britain in India equally affects not only the stability and strength of the Indian States, but that of the whole of India.

In conclusion, I may say that federation seems to me a higher ideal than isolation. It is my deep conviction that, as the years go by, a self-governing British India and the autonomous Indian States will find greater opportunities of mutual service and promotion of their respective aims and ideals under the common ægis of the British Crown in a

British Commonwealth of nations than under any other scheme of political relationship.

H.H. THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—It is not necessary for me to speak at any great length in supporting the very important resolution which has just been moved by His Highness the Chancellor. It was only the other day—namely, on September 9 last, at a dinner which I gave in Bikaner in honour of my Prime Minister, Sir Manubhai Mehta, on the eve of his departure for England to take part in the Princes' work there connected with the Indian States Committee—that I took the opportunity of explaining at considerable length the views and sentiments and the attitude and outlook of the Princes and States on the various important matters prominently before us at the present moment—views which, I believe I am not incorrect in saying, are held not exclusively by myself, or shared by only a small number of the Ruling Princes of India, but by at least the great majority, if not—as I would fain hope—by our entire Order, and which furthermore represent sober opinion in our Indian States.

At the same time, in regard to a resolution so important as the one now under discussion, and which must of necessity cover a wide field and diverse subjects, it is the duty of everyone, whether belonging to the States or British India, to make as clear as possible the terms of this resolution as well as our attitude in regard to its subject-matter, so as to leave no room for any honest misunderstanding or deliberate misrepresentation. It is also best for us all to be perfectly frank. It pays invariably, at least in the long run, and leaves no room for imaginary calculations or false expectations.

His Highness the Chancellor's resolution moved today on behalf of the Chamber of Princes covers two important points. It attempts to make it clear:

(1) that the Princes and States of India can have nothing to do with any proposals, having for their object the adjustment of equitable relations in India of the future between the Indian States and British India, which, as has been urged by a section of British Indian politicians, have as their goal the complete independence of India, and thus the severance of the British connection; and

(2) the Princes' attitude towards, and sympathy for, the legitimate aspirations of our brethren in British India for attaining full Nationhood under the ægis of the Imperial Crown.

It should not be necessary to labour the first point. Honour and good faith demand that *all* parties concerned should pay scrupulous regard to treaties and engagements, which have created mutual rights and obligations—and here may I in all friendliness add that the States insist upon British India also respecting our treaties and rights. The Princes of India have all along assessed at a very high value the sanctity of plighted faith; and in doing their utmost to live up loyally to the high moral qualities of integrity of word and sacredness of compact, they have often cheerfully carried on the struggle and borne heavy sacrifices. Thus it will be clear that apart from our feelings of personal loyalty and attachment to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, we are intimately bound to the British Crown through our treaties and engagements, which in themselves render it impossible for the Princes even to countenance, much less to lend their support to, any such fantastic and impossible proposals which aim at complete independence and the severance of the British connection.

Moreover, it is my honest conviction, as I am sure it is that of Your Highnesses, that India can find no ampler scope for its continued constitutional advancement or greater security for its future well-being than in the Commonwealth of the British Empire. As a single instance in support of my argument, it will suffice to point to the sure shield offered to us all in India, with our extensive sea coast, by the might of Britain's Navy, not to speak of the defence and protection of our far-flung frontiers guaranteed to India by the British Army. And where else for the orderly and peaceful development of our country can we look for all the resources and facilities which the most powerful Empire in history can offer us?

In this connection I would refer to the significant pronouncement made on the subject not long ago by General Smuts with reference to similar talk about the complete independence of South Africa and its breaking adrift from the Empire. He pointed out, so far as I recollect, in much stronger language, that without the British Navy behind them, the independence of South Africa would not be worth much for any length of time.

We, the Princes and people of the Indian States, are ourselves Indians; and we do most sincerely wish our Motherland and fellow-countrymen well, and we do equally sincerely look forward—as proudly as any British Indian—to the day when our united country will attain to the full height of its political stature, as in every way an equal,

and fully trusted, member of the comity of nations within the British Empire, and as much respected as any other self-governing British Dominion.

This has already brought me to the second point of our resolution. As I have pointed out on more than one occasion, many Princes have within this Chamber and without, and not only in India but also in England, gone out of their way not merely to express their sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of British India, but we have, as occasion demanded, further urged that generous and liberal measures be taken early to accelerate the constitutional advancement of British India within the Empire.

And today we have in this resolution again reiterated that we adhere to our policy of non-interference in the purely domestic affairs of British India and have repeated our assurances of sympathy with its continued political progress—by that towards dominion status, or self-government under the ægis of the British Crown, or whatever other system compatible with our ideal might be desired and found most suitable for British India. But it would obviously be futile and in vain for any section in British India to seek to make terms with the Indian States, the Princes and their subjects for any readjustment in the future policy of this country unless the basis of such negotiations was without mental reservation of any kind, or if the dominion status now asked for is ultimately to be only a cloak for the goal of separation and complete independence.

And here, Sir, may I be permitted to say with what gratification I read, as I am sure was the case with my brother Princes, the words addressed by Your Excellency a few days ago in the Imperial Legislative Assembly, giving an assurance to British India that the memorable Declaration of 1927 stands, and will stand for all time, as the solemn pledge of the British people.

When a few weeks ago in informal discussions amongst ourselves the proposal was mooted for this resolution to be moved by His Highness the Chancellor, some of us naturally also took into consideration the question as to whether such action on our part was capable of being honestly misunderstood in the country; but—as was pointed out during such deliberations—when the text of the resolution was read as a whole it was not only clear that we were not thwarting in any way the constitutional advancement of British India, but that far from opposing we were really lending our moral support to the leaders of British India who—for instance, in Calcutta last December—succeeded

in getting rejected the resolution moved by an extreme section of politicians for complete independence. And it is in this spirit that we all trust that our actions and deliberations today will be viewed by all impartial and fair-minded men in British India. Before concluding, I would incidentally also observe that proof of the wisdom of justification of Your Highnesses' decision last Monday to throw open to the Press and the public the meetings of our Chamber in their entirety is forthcoming in a most practicable manner much earlier than might ordinarily have been the case. For there can be few resolutions and discussions like the one now engaging our attention which, unless undertaken in the fullest light of publicity, are more capable of producing misunderstanding, or even misrepresentation, and of creating suspicions in the minds of the people and the Press of British India. It requires no great powers of imagination to realize what might not have been said in regard to our discussions, and even our motives, in taking up this subject today. It will be easily perceived that had our sittings been held in seclusion and our proceedings not been available to the Press and the public, all kinds of rumours—even distorted versions—would have gone round; and, through ignorance and alarm, and in some cases the deliberate perversion of facts, the wildest canards would have like a snowball gone round and gathered strength, when the Chamber of Princes, as well as individual Rulers taking part in today's debate, would not only have been represented—but believed by many an honest individual in British India—as thwarting India's constitutional advancement. Today, with our deliberations taking place in public, with the reporters of the Press present in this Chamber, and our proceedings freely available to all and sundry both in British India and our States, the Chamber of Princes, as well as each one of us, are in the strong position of being able conclusively to show to the entire world that nothing has been done by the Chamber of Princes contrary to their oft repeated declarations. Except those who are not open to reason, every fair-minded person in British India will now be in a position to understand that we stand for evolution and not for revolution, and that we stand—and stand unflinchingly, steadfastly and irrevocably, and regardless of all sacrifices—for the maintenance of the British connection, as well as for the adequate safeguarding and correct recognition of the treaties, rights, privileges and prerogatives of ourselves and our States.

H.H. THE MAHARAJA OF KAPURTHALA: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—As I am convinced that the resolution moved by His Highness the Chancellor truly reflects the spirit that animates our Order, I rise to give it my wholehearted support.

We invariably scrupulously avoid meddling in the affairs of British India, and, as the resolution clearly indicates, we mean to adhere to that policy. The Indian Rulers have never by covert or overt means sought to retard the progress of the people of British India towards the declared goal of responsible Government under the ægis of the British Crown. We wish British India well and earnestly desire that she should succeed in achieving that goal as rapidly as circumstances may permit, and I believe that the vast majority of our fellow-countrymen in British India hold this view.

But of late we find that in their public utterances certain British Indian politicians have preached the doctrine of independence—*i.e.*, severance of the British connection. In the interests of our country we, the Princes, feel bound to place on record our emphatic disassociation from such a doctrine or policy. We realize that no greater disservice can be rendered to the cause of India than to propound and advocate such a policy. We are fully persuaded that India cannot do without England, that without England's goodwill and assistance she cannot reach her appointed destination, and after achieving it cannot maintain that freedom at which her political leaders are aiming. At all events the Ruling Princes of India have no doubt in their minds as to the course they themselves are determined to follow. They will never consent to the rupture of that connection which has been such a blessing for this country in the past and which in future will be a guarantee of its safety and salvation.

H.H. THE MAHARAJA OF ALWAR: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—Even one day previous to our opening the gates of the Chamber to the public and the Press in order that our secret machinations and our mischievous purposes may be finally disclosed to the public, I noticed that a statement appeared in a paper that I had violently and strongly opposed the resolution regarding the opening of the galleries of this House to the Press, despite the fact that I was the mover of the original resolution, and despite the fact that I said, when the resolution was being discussed, that I wholeheartedly supported it. I merely pointed out two difficulties. Today the resolution that is before us is

one that is still more capable of being misunderstood in British India, unless it is very emphatically and clearly known what our intentions are. Some of Your Highnesses have already spoken on this resolution, and have explained what the motives are behind it. I believe there is not a single voice in this Chamber that has ever said—at least to my knowledge—that they do not very cordially wish British India every success in their endeavours to attain the position they seek, or, even further, than what we in the Indian States already possess with regard to the Government of our own States. The point that really requires emphasizing, the point that really requires to be made perfectly clear, is that we have treaties made with the East India Company. Those treaties, according to the Proclamation of 1857, were taken over by the British Crown, and indeed the responsibilities and the obligations lie on one side with the Crown and on the other side with the Rulers of Indian States; and most of these treaties emphatically state that the friends and the enemies of the one shall be the friends and the enemies of the other. Now these treaties were not made in the time of any of the present generation (I believe five, six, eight, or ten generations ago), and therefore in accordance with those pledges, if nothing else, given by our ancestors, it is surely our simple duty to see that our own obligations and our own engagements are fulfilled. We naturally emphasize, and very rightly so, that having entered into treaty relations with the Company and then with the Crown, we are tied by bonds of mutual contact with the Crown, which is the head of the British Empire, and thus it is inconceivable—unless we are false to ourselves—and I do not think that any of our own countrymen, any one of our own Order, would wish that we should be otherwise than true to ourselves, and in these circumstances it seems to me perfectly natural, and there is nothing untoward in the fact that we are merely stating, according to the resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, what our treaties have laid down and what our tradition has brought down: the simple fact that our connection remains with the Crown and will remain with the Crown. Therefore any scheme that may be suggested or proposed in any part of the country contrary to that principle, guided by any motive whatsoever, would certainly be contrary to our principles, to our treaties, and to our traditions, and therefore we could in no circumstances be a party towards giving not only our acquiescence to it, but would give our emphatic

denial to the principle itself. But, if I may say one word, I am somewhat astonished myself that the second kind of propaganda should go about even in my own country in the other half which does not belong to the Indian States. (I am not correct in speaking of the other half because it is two-thirds.) However, be that as it may, whatever their policy may be, whatever their principles may be—and it is somewhat strange certainly that the very father and the very son in a matter like that are in direct opposition to one another—nevertheless the fact remains that I am not certain that that is going to be the best way of achieving that which we pray will be their good fortune to achieve in a very short time, in order that with the British Crown as the supreme head, the Indian States and British India may work out their mutual solution of advancement and progress towards the goal which we all wish will be achieved as early as may, by providential grace, be endowed to us of reaching dominion status. Therefore I only want to emphasize that the resolution that has been moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala very clearly and very emphatically states that while we wish, and we cordially do so, British India every prosperity and happiness in its goal, and in its advancement towards that goal of dominion status, we completely dissociate ourselves from any wild theories, apart from the fact whether we do so from one motive or another, whether we do so merely to state facts and to emphasize them, or to blow the trumpet in order to show that which we already possess—namely, our loyalty. Nevertheless from the point itself it seems to me that if I at least belonged to British India, I should certainly think that it was not the earliest and surest method of achieving the goal which they themselves have in view. But I am not present here to offer advice to anybody. I am here only to state that we cordially wish, as one-third of India, that United India, which after all is to a great extent cemented by blood, although divided by political entities, should march forward with their respective obligations to the Crown and the British Government, guiding us towards the goal which the British Government, British India, and the Indian States have in view.

H.H. THE CHIEF OF SANGLI: Your Excellency and Your Highnesses,—I rise to support the resolution which His Highness the Chancellor and His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir have just moved and seconded with their usual eloquence and ability. I esteem it a high privilege to associate myself wholeheartedly with the sentiments expressed

by Their Highnesses regarding the value of British connection for India. A small section of British Indian politicians has recently been advocating complete severance of this connection. Even in British India it is looked upon as a gesture representing extreme impatience at what is conceived as undue delay in giving India a status equal to that of the self-governing dominions in the British Empire. Many prominent Indian leaders have publicly dissociated themselves from the advocates of complete independence for India. We Princes, too, who have ever so great a stake in the country, and who have always definitely ranged ourselves on the side of ordered progress, feel that the snapping of the link which binds India to the Empire will be nothing short of calamity such as we have never experienced before. It is our profound conviction that the British tie is vitally necessary to enable India to rise to her full stature, to make her full measure of contribution to the progress of humanity. Well may we look upon the union of England and India, Europe and Asia, the West and the East as a providential blessing. The bond which binds us to the Empire has had its roots deep down in the personal tie of loyal devotion and attachment which we cherish towards His Gracious Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor. As in the case of my State, so doubtless in that of other States, our union with the Empire has been founded on a basis of mutual appreciation and ancient friendship. It has successfully stood the stress and strain of nearly a century and a half, and has been continually strengthened during the period. We Princes have developed a sense of partnership in the Empire, and we feel that our States can have a complete expression of their individualities in participating in howsoever humble a degree in common realization of the ends for which this splendid British Empire stands—the preservation of peace, the maintenance of freedom, and the furtherance of the culture of the vast units of the Empire. We are, therefore, definitely opposed to any drift towards complete independence. This cannot be reckoned as any indication of our hostility to the continued political progress of British India. There is indeed no reason why we should not sympathize with the aspiration of our brothers across the borders to achieve a legitimate political advance by constitutional means. The British Government are pledged to extend responsible Government to British India, and the Secretary of State's announcement of August 20, 1917, was graciously reaffirmed by His Excellency the Viceroy

so lately as January 28, 1929, in the inaugural address with which he opened the current session of the Legislative Assembly. We are not apprehensive that a self-governing British India will be a source of danger to our future. Under the ægis of the British Crown we can both live and achieve our highest destiny with advantage to each other and to the rest of the Empire.

It might perhaps be urged against us that any protestations of ours regarding the value of the British connection are bound to be taken at a discount, especially at a time when we are representing that our position has suffered not a little in respect of the relations between British India and our States. It is, however, well known that it is only on the basis of our connection with the British Crown that we desire to have any equitable adjustment of these relations. This is the acid test we are prepared to be subjected to as regards the value we attach to our connection with England. We want to make it plain that we would have no redress at the cost of our plighted word. We value our engagements with the British Crown above everything else, and we want to remain loyal to the obligations imposed upon us by our agreements. We have stood by our word in the past, we have fulfilled our obligations on occasions of grave Imperial crises, and we have built up a proud tradition of the highest regard for the sanctity of solemn pledges. We desire to remain as true to our word in the future as in the past. We humbly desire to assure the British Government and His Imperial Majesty that they may count on our keeping up these ideals which we have always cherished. I have great pleasure, therefore, in supporting the resolution.

H.H. THE RAJA OF MANDI: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—I rise to support and associate myself wholeheartedly with the resolution moved by His Highness the Chancellor, and I congratulate him for the foresight he has exhibited in bringing forward this resolution in this House. While I have full sympathy with the aspirations of my brothers in British India to work out their future destiny within the British Empire, I am most emphatically of opinion that the recent movement started by a certain section of British Indian politicians towards independence is most suicidal. We have seen over and over again that the British commonwealth of nations has proved the greatest factor for maintaining world peace; and any person or body of persons who try to weaken the British connection with our country are, in my opinion, the greatest

enemies of mankind. We cannot shut our eyes to the greatness and importance which our country has achieved during the last 150 years due to her connection with the British Crown, and I am a firm believer that India is destined to play a still greater part in the international councils under the guidance of the British Crown. Your Excellency, I honestly believe that the greatest service we, the Princes of India, can render to the British Empire is by reforming our administrations and bringing them up to the present-day standard of Government. It is only thus that we can keep our people loyal and steadfast to ourselves and be of assistance to the British Crown.

H.H. THE MAHARAJA OF DEWAS (SENIOR BRANCH): Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—The subject-matter of the resolution before this House is such that it really requires no comment. The existence of the Indian States in their present form is primarily based on the politically deep-rooted ties with the Crown of England, and it really required no further declaration that the Indian Rulers would have no common ground with that mentality which entertains a proposal having for its basis a total separation of the British connection. However, there are occasions when it is of momentous import to make public pronouncements of even established facts. And the lucid and emphatic declarations that have in this behalf been made by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala are particularly weighty, as he is the Chancellor of this House. After the speech of His Highness of Patiala and the very clear and definite views on the subject expressed by several of Their Highnesses, I feel I can do no better than express my firm belief that in future, as in the past, we shall ever remain staunch to this long-cherished connection and to our treaties and engagements with the Crown of Great Britain. At the same time, I need hardly assure our neighbours in British India that the Rulers of Indian States, while adhering to their policy of non-intervention in the affairs of British India, are in no way unsympathetic with their legitimate aspirations for responsible Government.

THE RAJA OF KOREA: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—As has just been remarked by His Highness the Chancellor, we find that a small section of British Indian politicians has been advocating complete independence for India as their political goal. While it may be unnecessary for us to reiterate our devotion to the British Crown and our view-point with regard to our future connection with the British Government, which facts are too well known

and which have been abundantly tried and proved, it may be as well that we gave a formal expression to our standpoint in clear and unequivocal terms. This is particularly desirable at the present moment, as the future constitution of India is now on the anvil, and politicians of various schools are busy sketching out in their minds the constitutional form India should be assuming henceforward.

It is no part of our business to meddle with other people's affairs; but as any scheme of constitutional reforms evolved by the politicians of British India must contemplate the question of the adjustment of relationship between British India and the Indian States—and indeed it would not be complete if it did not—it is necessary on our part also to speak our minds clearly beforehand in regard to this matter, so that there may be no misunderstanding as to our idea of this relationship because of the reason of our silence. This is, in my opinion, a consideration of no mean weight to lead us to adopt this motion, and it also affords sufficient justification for our supporting it.

After what has been said by the mover, His Highness the Chancellor, with regard to the wisdom of standing for this connection with the British Empire, there is not much for me to dilate upon, and I have only to add that apart from the question of the pledge, resulting from our engagements with the British Government, whose sanctity is inviolable, the connection is one that is of vital importance to our future progress and well-being. The existence and development of these States under the British suzerainty on the basis of a federation and as an integral part of the British Empire is what will secure to us the incalculable strength and protection of the Empire that fortifies us to-day. This and the invaluable guidance and assistance in matters political and economic that accrue from the wise and experienced statesmanship and the vast economic resources that constitute the backbone of the Empire are only a few of the benefits that this connection ensures for our advance. The majority of the politicians of British India have rightly recognized the value of this connection in believing, as we do, that the future course of India should lie within the Empire.

This motion, however, does not call for any debate upon the merits of this question which are quite obvious, and at present we are considering it only in justification of our wish to adopt this motion.

It has been, and it will be, our avowed and steadfast purpose to stand for this connection now and hereafter,

and while the political advance and well-being of British India is a matter we regard with sympathetic concern, we must refuse to associate ourselves with any scheme relating to our relationship with British India which does not rest upon the basic principle of British connection.

H.E. THE VICEROY: I do not think that there is need for me to say anything on this resolution which Your Highnesses have been discussing. It is, I have no doubt, among the most important, if it is not the most important, of the resolutions which this Chamber has ever discussed. I have also no doubt that if and when the Chamber passes the resolution that has been proposed by the Chancellor, it will be expressing not only the opinions of those here present, but also of the whole of Your Highnesses' Order. The motion of His Highness, I think, speaks for itself, and it makes plain once more the position in regard to the relations of the States to the British Crown and to British India, which the Chiefs and the Princes of India have consistently made known. The purpose of Your Highnesses' resolution is clear and speaks for itself. It only remains for me to put the resolution, as I now do, to the Chamber, inviting those who desire to support it to signify their assent in the usual way.

(The resolution was carried unanimously.)

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1929

THE ASIAN CIRCLE

A SURVEY OF ASIATIC AFFAIRS

THE Asian Circle is conducted by a group with personal knowledge of the various parts of Asia, and through the collective experience of its members aims at giving to the public an informed, progressive, and disinterested view of Asian affairs, both in detail and as a whole. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., is President, and its membership includes :

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SOME FEATURES OF THE AFGHAN PROBLEM

BEFORE proceeding to comment briefly on the present situation in Afghanistan, it may be as well to emphasize certain important facts which must always be borne in mind when attempting to appreciate the kaleidoscopic changes now sweeping across the Afghan stage.

Being accustomed to the term Afghanistan, we are apt to visualize the area which bears that name as a "country" in the Western sense of that term, to imagine that it is a "country" as France, Italy, Belgium are "countries." This is, of course, far from being the case. Both physically and ethnologically Afghanistan has many and serious

internal divisions. Amongst the former the chief is the Hindu Kush, which, running from the Pamirs in the east towards the Persian frontier in the west, divides the kingdom into two main parts by a mountainous barrier crossed by infrequent passes, often blocked by snow during the winter months. Likewise the people—or rather peoples—inhabiting Afghanistan are composed of various races and tribes. At least two main ethnological divisions are generally recognized: Afghans and "other Pathans," and "non-Afghans," the latter of Turkish, Persian, Mongol, and Tartar origins, speaking various dialects and mostly belonging to the Shiah sect. The former have Pushtu as their language and are of the Sunni persuasion, but are much at variance amongst themselves. The "other Pathans" are riddled with intertribal feuds, while the Afghans contain two powerful and mutually hostile confederations, the Ghilzai and the Durani. The latter are again divided into the Barakzai—to which Amanullah and his family belong—and the Sadozai sections.

Not that something towards welding Afghanistan into a nation has not been effected both by pressure from outside—fear of Russia and Great Britain—and internally by some able Amirs, notably Ahmed Shah, 1747-1773, Dost Mohammed, 1817-1863, and the great Abdur Rahman, 1880-1901. Unfortunately, as so often has happened in Oriental history, the edifice of law and order which these rulers built up has crumbled away after their deaths, until after a period of anarchy some new man of "blood and iron" has arisen to pull the country out of chaos. It is just these intervals of anarchy which have fatally retarded Afghanistan from becoming, as yet, a real national entity, and it is just this lack of homogeneity which must be remembered when reviewing the Afghan situation. At the same time, however, it may be pointed out in passing that the one thing which will unite all, or almost all, the Afghan peoples, at any rate for a time, is a foreign invasion—as we found out to our cost in 1841-1842, and again in 1879.

The other important factor in the Afghan problem is the foreign menace, the fear on our part that some great Power will use Afghanistan for its designs on India. It was this motive that impelled the Indian Government as far back as 1809 to send a Mission to the Amir of the day to counter the schemes which Napoleon—then intriguing in Persia—had, or was supposed to have, for the invasion of India. Since then Russia has supplied the menace. It was Russian intrigues that were the cause of the first and second

Afghan Wars, and it was the same cause which mainly embittered the political relations between Great Britain and Russia up to the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. On at least one occasion, the Penjdeh incident of 1885, the two countries were on the verge of war. The Bolsheviks have not lost sight of Afghanistan in their Asiatic policy, and in 1925 a serious situation was brought about between that country and Moscow by the seizure of the island of Urfa in the Oxus River from an Afghan garrison by some local Bolshevik troops. The matter was adjusted apparently to the satisfaction of Kabul. It is notorious that the Bolsheviks have fished in troubled waters all over Asia. So far, however, they do not appear to have cast their lines in those of Afghanistan since Amanullah's fall last December, and it is to be sincerely hoped that they will refrain from doing so. Left to herself, the country may regain some measure of equilibrium within a reasonable period. Foreign interference might lengthen this period indefinitely.

With regard to the present situation. The reader may be assumed to be generally conversant with the events which led up to it: the abdication of Amanullah in favour of his brother Inayatullah; the fall of the latter; the rise of Bacha-i-Saqao; the brilliant rescues from Kabul by the R.A.F.; the attempt by Amanullah to rally the Southern Kingdom round him at Kandahar; the personal intervention from his retreat in the Riviera of General Nadir Khan, Amanullah's step-uncle and former Commander-in-Chief, in the Afghan imbroglio; and the attempts of one or two other aspirants to the Afghan throne, such as Ali Ahmed Khan Jan, Amanullah's cousin and former Governor of Jalalabad. The events of the last month have clarified the situation not a little, if perhaps only temporarily. Amanullah, after various abortive attempts at an advance northward on Kabul, which barely reached Ghazni, has retired from his kingdom, and apparently abandoned the struggle for the Afghan throne, while the troops of Habibullah have taken Kandahar, captured Ali Ahmed Khan, who on his cousin's departure proclaimed himself Amir of that town, and sent him to Kabul.

There are thus left in the field Habibullah Ghazi, General Nadir Khan, and the Malik Ghaus-ud-Din, a leader of the powerful Ghilzai clan. Of these three, the strongest is undoubtedly Amir Habibullah. He has a fairly strong hold on the capital, and on a good deal of the surrounding province. In Afghan Turkestan, the important province adjoining the Russian frontier, he has

apparently strengthened his influence and claims at date of writing—June 12—to be once more in possession of its chief town, Mazar-i-Sharif. In the west he holds Herat, and now in the south Kandahar, a town of considerable strategical importance, the meeting-place of caravan routes from the Indian frontier towards Herat and Persia, and the centre of a province rich—according to Afghan standards—both in natural resources and in foreign trade. In addition to these material gains, by the capture of this town Habibullah will undoubtedly acquire much of that intangible, yet most precious asset to a new Oriental ruler, prestige, all the more necessary in his case, since he is of foreign Tajik (Persian) origin, and until a short time ago followed the profession of freebooter. At the same time it would be easy to exaggerate the strength of his position. When we say that he “holds” such and such a province all we mean is that, with the exception of Kabul, where he rules in person, certain areas are held for him by his generals, who are moved to their activities as much by their own private ambitions as by any loyalty to their master, and who may—precedents are by no means lacking in Asiatic history—set themselves up as independent rulers if they see a reasonable chance of success.

The position of General Nadir Khan, apart from his connection with the royal clan, is by no means strong. He has no important town or fortress on which to base the claim to the Amirship which he has made, and though he has received promises of support from various tribes, these promises have as yet brought into the field no armed forces of any size.

Malik Ghaus-ud-Din, while apparently not a candidate for the kingship of Afghanistan, has declared himself Amir of Ghazni, and as the most influential leader of the Ghilzai confederation, whose assistance any aspirant to the throne must covet, is in the strategical position of being able “to straddle the seesaw.”

Whatever the individual fortunes of the various Amirs may be in the future, the general state of the country at the present moment is deplorable. The machinery of government, both central and provincial, built up by the genius of Abdur Rahman, and used by his two successors, is rapidly breaking down, law and order are ceasing to exist, the trade routes are unsafe, the tribal confederations all over the land are taking the opportunity to make themselves completely independent, and there is a distinct danger that Afghanistan may disintegrate into a welter

of its component parts all mutually hostile. On the other hand, one must remember that, as already indicated, the country has passed through similar crises before, and after a period of anarchy has been brought together under the firm rule of a central authority.

A word in conclusion as to British policy. Now, as previously, our Afghan policy, as stated by the representatives of the British and Indian Governments, is non-intervention in Afghan affairs. Since the forward policy, as applied to Afghanistan, which involved us in the first and second Afghan Wars, was dropped after the conclusion of the latter, the British Government for the last fifty years has carried out a stationary policy, enabling us to consolidate our position on the North-West Frontier, and at the same time to avoid war with our neighbour beyond it. Even in face of the provocation of the third Afghan War of 1919, which was none of our seeking, the Indian Government contented itself with repelling with ease the Afghan advance. It wisely refused to repeat the mistakes of the two previous wars, and commit the cardinal error of a counter-invasion.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT * IN NORTHERN INDIA

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REACTION TO CHANGING CONDITIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

ANYONE who comes into contact with different classes of women in Northern India at the present time cannot help noticing the rapidity with which, in so many directions, their outlook on life is rapidly altering. To summarize the extent of such alterations is less easy, since in many instances they are as yet indicated, rather than acknowledged, facts. These changes correspond undoubtedly to women's movements in other countries, in so far as they represent an attempt to meet by adaptation of mode of life and thought the varying demands of modern social and economic life, though

* Cf. previous articles on same subject with reference to (a) The Near and Middle East (April, 1928) and (b) China (April, 1929). This series will be continued.

the reactions elicited do not necessarily conform to the experience of other countries, being modified by their own peculiar environment. For instance, the recent changes in the status of women in Turkey and Afghanistan have had considerable influence on the outlook of Muslim women, especially regarding the relaxation of *purdah*.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE AREA UNDER CONSIDERATION

The term Northern India covers the upper part of the United Provinces, Delhi, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, and the various Indian States lying between. Though it is difficult to generalize about so large a tract of country, the findings of the recent Royal Commission on Agriculture indicate that, compared with the rest of India, this area is relatively prosperous, owing mainly to the extensive system of canal irrigation, but in the south-east and south-west large tracts of land depend entirely on rainfall, and many families are heavily indebted.

DIVISION INTO RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

In Northern India Muhammadans predominate in the north and west, Hindus in the south, and Sikhs in the centre, but there is much overlapping of races, and actually a truer picture is obtained if the population is considered under the headings used for electoral purposes—namely, rural and urban. Women in the country are more conservative, clinging to old customs, and less influenced by the changing conditions of modern life, while town-dwellers come more into contact with, and respond more readily to, external influences; hence it is in urban areas that the women's movement is most marked. But a false idea of the extent of such changes is obtained unless it is borne in mind that the large majority of women in Northern India live in country districts, and in spite of rapidly improving means of communication (numerous motor lorries now run along the main roads, connecting up the railways), tend to lead an isolated life.

The heading "depressed classes" is recognized for census purposes, but the term does not imply that social ostracism accorded to women of similarly named classes in Southern India. In rural areas such women perform the menial duties of village life, but have their recognized place in the microcosm of the village community; for instance, women of the barber class are often the recognized go-betweens in the preliminary discussions of marriage between families of

higher social status. In urban areas there is no sharp distinction between menials and the lower classes of craftsmen, such as workers in leather.

EMERGENCE OF WOMEN FROM SECLUSION

The idea of the restriction of women in *purdah* is foreign to the Hindu code, but following on the Muhammadan occupation of the north Hindu women of the upper classes in Northern India are accustomed to lead a more secluded life than women of equal status in many other parts of the country.

Among certain Muslim women *purdah* may be extremely strict; for instance, the middle-aged wife of a leader of Muhammadan orthodoxy had never left her husband's house since the day she entered it at her marriage at about sixteen years of age, until, when the non-co-operative movement was at its height, she went out with the women of her family under strict *purdah* conditions to sit behind a heavy screen and listen to a meeting presided over by Mahatma Gandhi. But within the past few years there has been a tremendous relaxation of *purdah* among such women. Ladies who formerly rarely went out of doors now regularly take an evening drive in their cars. *Purdah* screens are often omitted from motors, and ladies may be seen with their burkabs thrown back taking a keen interest in their surroundings. Those now living under such modified restriction talk freely of the time when their daughters, at present being educated in *purdah* schools, will finally abandon seclusion. It must require considerable courage for older women to emerge from *purdah*. A middle-aged lady, who came out from her seclusion when herself a grandmother, described how hard she found it at first to join in mixed society, but to Westerners it is amazing how quickly such ladies adapt themselves to changed conditions and hold their own in public life.

In rural areas the wives of agricultural peasants live busy lives, helping when necessary in the fields, and apparently following immemorial custom. Indications, however, such as the allusions contained in modern village songs, show how new ideas are gradually permeating village life. The lives of country women of the landed classes are usually restricted, but the daughters of these ladies are being sent away to *purdah* schools, where with education they obtain more advanced views. From their menfolk, who recruited in large numbers in the Great War, they have also heard of the customs of other lands. Their touch with the outside

world is, however, slight; vernacular newspapers are published for Indian women, but literacy is low in country districts.

A half-way position is observed at present by ladies who observe *pardah* in one place, perhaps their own more conservative country homes, while moving freely in mixed society in a not very distant town. Certain *pardah* ladies accompanied their husbands who were attached to the Simon Commission on their recent tour of India. *Pardah* parties, clubs and meetings have a distinct place in the life of the urban Muslim lady, and in these gatherings Hindu ladies and Englishwomen also join. The reason given by certain well-educated ladies who retain *pardah* is that the men are not yet ready for the women to emerge. Many Muhammadan gentlemen are, however, most anxious for their wives to take their part in a joint social life, and certain larger towns contain flourishing clubs where Hindu and Muhammadan ladies and gentlemen meet for tennis, badminton, bridge, etc. An amusing vernacular poem was recently written purporting to originate from a conservative Indian husband who deplored the excessive bridge, smoking, and use of rouge and lipstick of the modern Indian lady.

"Advanced" Indian women tend to be rather impatient of the slower progress of their more secluded sisters, a rather natural reaction on the part of those who have already braved the publicity of modern life; and one may at times find it is a British woman who remains to cheer on her retiring Indian friend.

The worst features of *pardah* life today are found among the women of the more conservative lower middle classes, who in overcrowded, small town dwellings, often in the midst of very insanitary surroundings, cling to the tradition of a secluded life. Among such women and girls diseases such as tuberculosis and osteomalacia often develop.

STANDARD OF LIVING

In towns a desire has been created for comforts previously unknown, and on the whole among the upper and middle class women the expenditure has increased; in villages less change is apparent, and among villagers barter is still often the chief medium of exchange.

Efforts are being made by the "beneficent departments" of Government towards lessening poverty and indebtedness, the co-operative movement is slowly spreading among women, together with industrial education, and attempts at limiting excessive expenditure on marriage ceremonies.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

One result of modern economic conditions is the gradual breaking up of the joint system of family life, and with it the sway of the senior lady of the household, the often dreaded "mother-in-law." At the same time, although there are many exceptions, there is a gradual raising of the age at marriage.

Various forms of legislation have been proposed in the Legislative Assembly to raise the age of marriage and of consent. Much opposition has been raised against these Bills by members of orthodox communities, but a public opinion has been created in their favour by the ventilation of the subject, and in this the meetings of women organized in each province by the Women's Conference Committee have undoubtedly been effective.

A curious sidelight on the unhappiness to which the present marriage customs may lead is shown by the fact that many of the women now serving long sentences in prison have tried to murder their husbands. Theoretically a Muslim woman can divorce her husband, but in practice the privilege is limited to the husband. The feeling among educated Muslim women against polygamy is evidenced by various resolutions passed at conferences of Muhammadan ladies. Modern Hindu social reformers have worked hard to promote widow re-marriage, and to have inter-caste marriages legalized; but there are still relatively few such cases. There is no barrier to the re-marriage of Muhammadan widows.

In many districts both Hindus and Muhammadans of the agricultural classes follow customary law, under which women have difficulty in inheritance.

HEALTH

The number of women receiving relief at hospitals and dispensaries has recently much increased; for the special diseases of women usually a woman doctor is preferred, but still in many places the indigenous *dai* or midwife carries on with her crude methods. Maternity and child welfare propaganda and the work of health visitors and nurses is beginning to create a demand among the more enlightened public for the better care of mothers and babies. An indication of the value of health propaganda are the increasing numbers of wives and children submitting willingly to preventive inoculation in the time of epidemics.

EDUCATION

Girls' education is chiefly carried on by local or religious bodies with the aid of Government grants. Proportionally very much more is spent on the education of boys than of girls, though recently there has been a great demand for girls' education in urban areas, many of the existing schools being overcrowded from the entrance age till the fourteenth or fifteenth year, when increasing numbers leave for marriage. The actual cost to the parent of a daughter's education is low.

The Indian Christian community, though relatively small in numbers, has a high standard of education, due to the devoted efforts of educational missionaries. The women teachers for girls' schools are still largely recruited from this community.

An increasing number of Indian girls each year seek higher education in Government or Aided Women's Colleges in Arts, Science, or Medicine, where they are taught by British and Indian women graduates. The fees are small and many scholarships are given. The standard of work of women undergraduates compares favourably with that of the men students, but the criticism is sometimes made that women students also resemble the men in not showing sufficient interest in the practical application of their studies—that they seek a degree and not education. In discussing this point, the vexed question as to what vernacular should be the medium of education is bound to arise; there is no doubt that many college students have an insufficient knowledge of English. On the medical side Indian girls in increasing numbers are seeking training as doctors, nurses, and health visitors.

POSITION OF THE WOMAN WORKER

The independent life which a trained woman worker, be she doctor or teacher or nurse, must of necessity lead is often misunderstood, and in certain instances such women living alone do require protection. The demand for such trained workers is usually greater than the supply, and there is no objection to the employment of married women. The work in country districts may be very arduous.

In Northern India far fewer women are employed in industries under the Factory Acts than in either Bombay or Bengal. When women are used, as, for instance, in cotton ginning, it is because they are cheaper than men and will

undertake the dirty work which men refuse to do. Industrial workers are gradually becoming aware of the rulings of the Workmen's Compensation Act. Health Insurance for women workers under a minimum salary is much to be desired.

WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

Educated women, British and Indian, unite with others of mutual interest to form societies and hold meetings, such as Medical Associations, Associations of University Graduates, Teachers' Unions, and Trained Nurses' Associations.

Muhammadan ladies hold an Annual Conference in Northern India, and women of the orthodox Hindus and of the Arya Samaj have their own meetings and activities.

Interdenominational bodies, such as the Y.W.C.A., and the Girl Guides, and the St. John Ambulance Association, are all trying to interest, physically and mentally, Indian women and girls in the towns. Much of this work is of recent growth. Women's Institutes are still in their infancy, but under suitable guidance appear to have a promising future.

At the moment perhaps most interest is centred in the Women's Conference, which is represented in each province by an organizing committee, who are responsible for the special activities along educational and social service lines undertaken in that area. Though British women are represented on the committees, the movement is really indigenous in conception and outlook, and has caught the popular imagination. Several hundreds of women gathered together from all parts of the country for the last (third) annual conference, held this time at Patna, and useful discussions were held on the various problems affecting women's welfare in different parts of India. There is much useful work for this conference still to do. Subjects for discussion are now being arranged for the next meeting.

WOMEN IN PUBLIC LIFE

Women in Northern India are backward compared with their sisters in the south in coming out into public life. Women are, however, represented in the Provincial Councils, on Municipal Committees and on the University Senate, and on special committees, such as that dealing with the censorship of cinema films. A woman from Northern India was a member of the recent committee set up by the Legislative Assembly to tour India and consider the problems bound up with the raising of the age of consent.

The number of such prominent ladies may yet be small, but they indicate a general striving forward of a much larger number of educated Indian women.

IMPRESSIONS FROM THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

BY SIR E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E., PH.D.

[The Author, who is Director of the School of Oriental Studies in London, has recently returned from a tour, and has visited many places which he had not seen since the War.]

I MAY say the turning-points in my trip were my interviews with King Fuad in Egypt, with the intelligentsia of Baghdad, and with Reza Shah Pahlavi in Teheran.

I also had the pleasure of seeing several times King Faizal of Iraq, to my eyes the handsomest of them all. He looks like Charles I. out of a Van Dyck picture, and no king ever rivalled him in manners and grace. Unfortunately, I had no regular interview with him, but this was partly compensated for by the conversations I had with some of the leading intellectuals of Baghdad.

On January 14 we landed at Alexandria, where, taking up a paper, I found I was due to lecture on the following day in Cairo. It was very surprising news. They did not say what the lecture was to be about; and although they fixed the date and the hour, they most considerately left to me the choice of subject.

On the following day I paid a visit to Al Azhar in the company of Mahommed Khalid Hasanayn Bey of the Religious Institutions Department. What struck me most when he offered to take me round Al Azhar was that a man of the effendi class should be the Inspector of a University of the type of Al Azhar. It was the first indication I had of the way things are progressing in Egypt. We went in and listened to some of the classes being held in the big mosque, and had a talk with the head, not the new Sheikh Al Azhar who was away, but the man acting for him. I then visited one of the preparatory schools for Al Azhar, which had 800 students. There are six schools like that, in which they teach all subjects—history, geography, and so on—except foreign languages. The reforms in Al

Azhar, of which I will speak in a moment, constitute one of the most important things happening in the East today.

On the same afternoon I was received by King Fuad at 4 o'clock and remained till 5.15. I was in an awkward situation, because I had to lecture at 5.30, and I had to excuse myself before I felt we either of us had really finished with each other, in order not to disappoint the audience at the American University. However, that conversation I had with King Fuad was one of the most interesting that I have ever had with anyone. He is new to kingship in a way—his life was spent in other countries and in other avocations—but he has entered into the life of the people, and into the reforms of education especially, in a way which commands nothing but the highest admiration. At the expense—I will not say of boring you, but of lingering over this particular subject—I would like to give you some idea of what the King of Egypt is thinking about. I am only going to tell you one-quarter of what he said, because I naturally cannot allude to many things of a semi-confidential nature which I am sure he would not have said if he thought I was going to put them into print. What I tell you are the public things he is thinking about. He began by referring to the wonderful reception he had received in London and Lancashire. He said Oriental history was one of his chief interests; he has established a library in Cairo, in which every kind of document bearing on her history, including photographs of manuscripts, are being brought together. He is collecting copies of all documents relating to Egypt to be found in foreign chancelleries. He did not trust the translations of such documents alone. He is very busy trying to improve the conditions of Al Azhar; he has appointed a new Sheikh Al Azhar, to help him in his task. A large piece of land all round the present building has been purchased, on which class-rooms and dormitories are to be built. No longer are the students to sit in bunches of thirty or forty with a teacher in the middle, and removed by fifty yards or so from other bunches with other teachers all shouting each other down. I think the floor space of the mosque of Al Azhar can claim sometimes as many as twelve to fourteen classes going on simultaneously. The King is going to build class-rooms on this new land, leaving the mosque to be used only as a mosque; and dormitories for the students instead of the poor quarters they now sleep in. When I expressed surprise that such reforms could be easily carried out, His Majesty replied, "It is realized

that the old system is antiquated and out of date and has little to commend it. I have also changed the bread ration. A great many pious men in dying have left rations of bread to be distributed among the teachers every day. This bread ration I have transformed into cash, which is divided among the teachers, who are able to spend it as they think fit." That Act actually was passed, I think, on the day following my interview. He proceeded to say they were to have three faculties—a faculty of letters (*Arab*), of law (*fiqh*), and religion (*dīn*)—in which students will be respectively prepared for the career of teachers, lawyers, or divines. Ultimately he hoped to introduce the study of foreign languages. He also said: "I have instituted the plan of sending students of Al Azhar to reside at five of our foreign legations abroad, in order that they may become men of the world, in addition to performing their religious functions. In ten years' time," said the King, "we may have a real University." Then he said finally, "Why should not the Sheikh Al Azhar of the future be as cultivated a man as the Archbishop of Canterbury? I see no reason why in making progress we should do away with tradition. I always admire the English, for they have preserved tradition more than any other nation in the world." Now I had never thought of that before, but it was significant, coming from someone who certainly knows Europe very well indeed and knows countries outside Europe, and I think on the whole there is a good deal to bear it out.

I think that is all I can tell you, but it gives you an idea of the kind of conversation we had, and shows to what an extent he is in touch with all that is going on around him, and what he means to do. We discussed many other educational questions, but the above will serve as a type.

At 5.30 I went to lecture at the University. Lord Lloyd and a number of foreign ministers were present, and there were speeches in Arabic and English afterwards. Most of my trip has consisted of lectures and interviews.

The following morning, January 17, I lectured at the University, the *ʾāmi'a*. [The *Dār ul-'ulūm* is the training college for teachers.] I had an audience of about 300 students, and a number of literary men, like Ta-Sin, the well-known blind author, and 'Azzām made speeches in Arabic. I talked about the history of the alphabet in general and of the origin of the Arabic alphabet.

Afterwards a tea party was given for me by the Persian Colony at the house of Mirza Mehdi Bey, whose father and

grandfather before him had been the head of the Persian merchants (*malik ut-tujjār*) in Cairo; the family are practically Cairene, but are very patriotic Persians still. We had a wonderful reception there at the tea party, and by the time we had done almost everybody had made a speech, either in Arabic, Persian, or English. The great question they were all interested in was Romanization. One young man said, "Is it true you are going to Teheran in order to change the Persian alphabet into the Latin alphabet?" I said, "No." "Then why is it that the papers say so?" I replied, "That I cannot explain in the presence of so many journalists and newspaper proprietors!" There were indeed several.

In the evening I went to see one of the two large evening free schools established by King Fuad. They are held in houses that are his property, and he pays all expenses. The one I visited had about 500 students of all ages; they were chiefly learning geography, drawing, and caligraphy. This last was taught by a Turk who knew no Arabic, though he had lived in Cairo for twenty-five years. I had a little fun with him in my broken Turkish. The classes are free; the only condition of admission is that you must be a worker or bread-winner. I do not suppose many of my readers have heard of these schools before.

On January 19 I had a long interview with the Prime Minister, Mahmud Pasha. He, as you know, is a Balliol man. I am delighted to see he has just received an honorary degree from his old University. He told me when he first went up to Oxford he had failed in Arabic! They set him a passage from a book he had never read; but the second time he passed. He is a most charming man, and I had a very long and interesting talk with him.

On January 20 we left Cairo by rail and reached Jerusalem on the following morning. It is a marvellous thing to think you can now travel by train from Cairo to Jerusalem in twelve hours. In Jerusalem what interested me most was the Hebrew University. Of course, we saw a great many sights. There is no incident in the New or Old Testament which has not been carefully located, and they do not think the witness of archæologists is at all necessary. We had an orthodox guide who regarded the evidence of the mother of King Constantine as final. If she regarded the place as a genuine spot where anything had happened, it was enough for him, and presumably should be for the rest of the world. So we saw where everything had happened. What interested me was the

new side of Jerusalem. The University has a most marvellous site on Mount Skopos. It is not yet complete, but it is going to be one of the finest Universities in the world, and with one of the finest libraries that has ever been built, which will be capable of holding 400,000 volumes. It is being built at the expense of one man. We visited the Arabic Department, which is temporarily located in the heart of the town. They have bought Professor Goldziher's library, and they have four or five professors working away there at special branches of research. The two main tasks they are engaged in are a complete concordance of all the Arabic poets down to the end of the Umayyads, and an edition of rare work entitled *Ansāb al-ashrāf* by al-Baladhurī, the famous historian, rather on the lines of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. I should think they have half a dozen men all told, working all day at these important undertakings. The concordance of Arabic poets is on cards; they have great big cabinets packed with cards on which you will find quotations of all words with references either to printed texts or to manuscripts.

Then we visited the Masjid al Harām, the site of King Solomon's Temple, including the Mosque of Omar and the Masjid al Aqsā, which was badly damaged by the earthquake of 1927, and Jerusalem, the first *qibla* of the Muslims, is held in such universal respect that a large share of the enormous sums being spent to repair this cruciform building, once a church and now a mosque, has been subscribed from India.

We set out next day in a car for Tiberias, and passed through Nazareth, Samaria, and Nabulus, which last had also suffered from the earthquake. I do not think there were more than 150 Samaritans, and they were all left homeless. I was interested in them because their old Patriarch had arrived in Cairo while I was there with a petition to collect funds to restore the dwellings of the Samaritans. Somehow or other he came to me by mistake first, and, as I happened to know one or two rich people in Shepherd's, I think I sent him away happy; I hope they were happy too.

Leaving Tiberias we skirted the western shore of the lake, which looked very grand in a storm. One rather associates it with storms, because of one of our hymns.

We drove along a very bad road to the Palestine-Syrian frontier on the Jordan, crossing the stream there over a fine old bridge where several battles between the Crusaders and the Saracens took place, one with Saladin in 1178.



GROUP OF STUDENTS AT THE KHAYYAM SECONDARY SCHOOL IN NASIRI
(AHWAZ) ON THE OCCASION OF SIR DENISON ROSS'S VISIT

Author's copyright.

After crossing the rain turned to snow. When we had gone on about an hour, the driver said he could no longer see the road on account of the snow, so we decided to turn round and retrace our steps. It took exactly an hour with a spade and a shovel to turn the car round. If ever you have to turn a large Buick car in the snow, with a blizzard blowing, you will find it is very good exercise. We turned back, but on reaching the Jordan we saw a car coming down the hill; having thus some track to go on, we turned round again and eventually at 4 p.m. we reached a place called Kineitra, where we found a number of cars which had been snow-bound for two days.

At Damascus I spent some time in the Royal Library where I saw a number of interesting manuscripts and visited the great mosque. I have never seen so many carpets in my life—really a wonderful show.

We travelled from Damascus to Baghdad in one of the famous six-wheeled Nairn buses.

At Baghdad I attended a reception given by Muzahim Bey Pacachi in the restaurant of Maude's Hotel. There were ten tables, and at each there were eight or ten people: poets, journalists, philosophers, teachers, and divines. It started at about 3 in the afternoon, and by 7.30 I had gone the round of all the tables. We discussed everything under the sun, from Omar Khayyám to cinemas. Everybody complimented Muzahim Bey Pacachi on having done something original—I will not say for the first time in his life—but he had nearly founded a club without knowing it. I am intensely grateful to him, as he gave me that wonderful opportunity of meeting so many people in one afternoon.

The next day we visited the museum founded by Gertrude Bell. We found there Mr. Sydney Smith of the British Museum. In the afternoon I called on Père Anastase of St. Joseph's Church. The churches are all close together. All the Christian communities live in one quarter, because in the old days they dared not venture out of it, so that the Chaldæan, the Armenian, Catholic, and Syrian are all huddled together in one quarter, each with their own church. From the tower of Père Anastase's church you have the best possible view of Baghdad; he has lived there sixty years, and there is nothing about Baghdad he does not know. He pointed out every object of interest. One of them was the tomb of 'Abd ul-Qādir Gilāni. In India nearly all the Muslims I knew, especially in Bengal, were Qādirīs the followers of this saint; but I

only learned at Basrah station from a local official whose main duty was receiving the pilgrims from India and sending them on to Baghdad to visit this tomb that the saint's tomb was visited by so many Indians. Everyone knows about the pilgrimages to Kerbela and Mecca, but this pilgrimage to the tomb of 'Abd ul-Qādir for which they have to have an officer on special duty at Basrah station, seems to be not at all well known.

One of the things that Père Anastase told me was that the only old tower dating from the thirteenth century in Baghdad has been proved recently to have been built by Hulagu. It is interesting to think the rebuilding of Baghdad was begun by Hulagu, the relentless Mongol who reduced it to ashes.

In the afternoon we went to a tea party arranged by the Minister of Education at a private house, and there my wife and I met a number of Iraqi ladies. They were all beautifully dressed, they were most of them good-looking, and all of them charming to talk to.

I was much interested in the development of the Arabic language in Baghdad, because, of course, what is going on is the change from Turkish to Arabic. All the men of a certain age in Iraq, the cultivated men and the soldiers, were all educated in the Turkish way. It was the same in Mecca: the official classes and soldiers were educated in Turkish. Now the process is going on of cultivating Arabic, and in many cases the Arabic has been learned by men as a foreign language, just as English has been learned by Indian officials in India. The language is, in the case of the Iraqis, much more cognate, but it is interesting because they approach Arabic from a new point of view, and they may possibly bring about some reforms, not in the script, but in the simplification of the language. Many of these men I talked to in Baghdad I found were very anxious to simplify the written Arabic, to drop grammatical endings wherever possible, and not to exaggerate the grammar where a thing was intelligible, to reform the rules concerning the use of numerals, which in classical Arabic are the perpetual bugbear of everyone.

The bazaar is especially interesting in Baghdad, notably the coppersmiths' bazaar, where the little boys not only blow the bellows, but do the roughest and hardest work. They take hammers twice their own length and bang away and generally work very hard. They learn their craft early and thoroughly. In Baghdad they start very young doing the hard work.

From Baghdad we went to Basrah by train; the chief stopping places were Hilla, Kerbala, and Ur. On the journey we saw more of Bedouin life than we had seen before on our journey. All along the side of the railway were little encampments or groups of Bedouins on foot or on horseback. Every type of Bedouin life is extremely interesting, and the mystery of his existence seems to deepen with acquaintance. It is curious that they wear that long cloak which seems so unsuited for walking in a dust storm, but they know best, and I expect it makes a very good substitute for a tent at night. One learns from the Bedouins that its use is as much to keep out the cold as the heat, because the cold of the desert during several months of the year is terrible. The wind blows very cold, and there is absolutely no shelter of any kind. If they have to carry their clothes, I think it is as well to carry them on, and there are a great many days and nights in the year when they need something very warm.

Then we went by train to Basrah, which has, of course, romantic associations for one interested in Oriental history. There the shipping is probably, except for modern steamers coming up the Gulf, exactly what it was, at any rate, in the time of Omar. There is the "Bellam," which is very like a gondola, and the smaller sailing ship, the "Muhaila," and the "Baghala," which is exactly like the Portuguese "caravel," with a huge poop and enormous bows; it is almost higher in the bows than the stern, reminding one of the old pictures. These "baghalas" are used generally for carrying dates. The main feature of the Shatt al Arab, which runs down from Basrah to the Gulf, is the enormous forests of palms. The peculiarity is that every tree is the same height, which makes the scenery a little monotonous. Even Ibn Batuta mentions that he saw more palms near Basrah than he had ever seen anywhere else.

From Basrah we went to Abadan, which is the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's refining station and headquarters, an original mud-bank which has been converted partly into a modern Garden City, partly into an enormous and efficient factory, and partly into one of the wretchedest towns in Asia. It only serves to show that example goes for nothing. Although they have had the European quarter as a model, the Persian town built up in Abadan is deplorably clumsy; I have never seen an Indian bustee more tumble-down. It has a population of 60,000 people, but they seem to be too busy to build themselves more than bare shelters. One of the few solid buildings is the primary

school, in which I saw a lot of intelligent little boys who seemed to be making great progress. In the Refineries I learnt a new Persian word: it was "Try-Khāna," or school for apprentices. I think the mixture is good.

From Abadan we went to Muhammara, which is a sort of Venice of the East, and one of the most beautiful spots I have ever seen. On the one bank are charming houses, on the other date groves. I do not think we saw anything more beautiful on the whole journey. Thence we took a stern-wheeler to Ahwaz, and took thirty-six hours on a journey which we could have done in three and a half by car. But it is a great delight to go by a stern-wheeled steamer: it is never rough, you are quite safe, it goes slowly, everything is agreeable, and the people all seem happy. Ahwaz is now called Nasiri, and is a real Persian town, with a little bazaar, which is more or less unspoiled and simpler than any bazaar I have seen. The chief trade is tailoring: every other shop is a tailor's shop. We here saw the first Pehlevi cap, which every man and child in Persia is compelled by law to wear excepting only the recognized mujtahids or "priests." In Nasiri I visited various schools.

I was enormously impressed with all that I saw in the way of teaching and learning. Persian boys are amazingly quick, and I at once decided that the Persian alphabet offered little difficulty to them, seeing they could master it in four or five months. In one school a small boy who could hardly reach the blackboard wrote "az āmadan-i-shumā khush-hāl hastīm" ("we are delighted with your visit"), quickly and accurately. I came to the conclusion that there is no need to have the Latin alphabet for Persia.

The great event of our stay in Teheran was the interview I was privileged to have with His Majesty Reza Pehlevi. He received me alone in his private study, and discussed various matters connected with the encouragement of the study of Persian history and literature, and especially the foundation of a public library. His Majesty stands six feet three. He is a really fine figure of a man, with grizzled hair and a firm chin. His manner is simple and reserved, and he has a calm, soft voice. His whole personality leaves a very deep impression. One can well believe he is the dominating power in Persia. He is, moreover, the hardest worker in his kingdom. The people who work under him said: "If we work twelve hours, he does thirteen." Naturally I cannot attempt to repeat all the conversation, but he told me what his ideals were, what he

was trying to do for Persia, and how difficult it was to make everybody understand what order meant, and the necessity for strict control. We then discussed public libraries, the Pehlevi hat, and finally hotels. I said I thought, when flying was more popular, Teheran would attract many visitors, and this would bring a great deal of money into the country, especially if it had one decent hotel. We talked of many things of that sort, and I could give you a whole lecture on the Pehlevi hat alone, but I must rapidly finish.

I saw more wonderful manuscripts in Teheran than I have ever seen in my life, especially the historical ones.

As time goes on Persia is bound to change, but let that change be gradual. No traveller should complain of the *jawaz*, or pass regulations, when motoring. They represent such safety on the roads that the journey by car from Teheran to the frontier of Iraq can be made by a woman alone in safety. It was very difficult for any car to travel in safety before.

Nor should the traveller selfishly complain that the men look less picturesque in Pehlevi hats and lounge suits. Persia is not there merely to be picturesque or to be stared at. It is there to go on with its own business. If it becomes less picturesque, we have no ground for complaint. It happened to be picturesque once, but it cannot go on being picturesque for ever. There is, at any rate, a spirit of real endeavour on the part of the King and his Ministers. It is only for this spirit to percolate through to the people, and ultimately to the masses.

(Here ends "The Asian Circle.")

QUESTIONS FOR THE SIMON COMMISSION

II. THE INDIAN ARMY AND A SELF-GOVERNING INDIA

By COLONEL J. D. CRAWFORD, D.S.O., M.C.

(Member of the Indian Legislative Assembly.)

THE whole constitution of India is once more in the melting-pot with the inquiry into the reforms, introduced by Mr. Montagu in his Government of India Act, 1919, now being carried on by the Statutory Commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon.

No one will deny the soundness of an Imperial Policy which seeks to make each portion of the British Commonwealth of Nations self-supporting and a free partner in the Commonwealth. To give practical effect to this policy in India, with its complex problems, is a task of considerable difficulty, but, for the purposes of this article, the writer presumes that in due course Indians will be able to assume the responsibilities which the British Parliament desires to hand over to them.

The writer does not intend, however, to state that he necessarily considers India capable of self-government on the existing lines, but he is prepared to endeavour to solve the Indian problem on those lines.

There are many grave difficulties to be overcome before a satisfactory solution to the Indian problem can be secured. There is a tendency to suggest that anybody who recognises these difficulties and sees the necessity for their correct solution is out of sympathy with Indian aspirations. Indians, in particular, are prone to discourage the British method of tackling the problem. They say we are too material in our outlook, and that we do not understand the psychology of the Indian. But if the problem is to be solved, it will not be by ignoring facts and realities. These must be courageously faced, and an effort made to surmount the obstacles with which India is confronted in her march towards her political goal.

The fact that India is not a nation, that geographically it is a sub-continent nearly as large as Europe, with as many diverse peoples as there are in Europe, that the two major communities are strongly divided on religious lines, that society is split by strong caste divisions, that the vast majority of the population is still illiterate, make the solu-

tion of the Indian constitutional problem along Western democratic lines one of great complexity. The Indian is apt to make too little of these difficulties, to which he closes his eyes in his impatience to go forward.

For the purposes of considering the problem of India's defence, it is necessary to assume that these difficulties can, in course of time, be overcome, and that it will be possible for India, in due course, to assume the responsibilities of self-government. If India is to be self-governing, it is obvious that she must undertake responsibility for her own defence. In this direction, many politicians chafe under the military difficulties confronting India, which is militarily very differently placed from the Dominions.

The defence of India is a matter of prime importance, both externally and internally. India has a land border of some five thousand miles and more, mostly guarded by the impenetrable barrier of the Himalayas, but open to attack along one thousand miles of its north-west frontier as well on the north-east. It is through the north-west that all the land invasions of the past have come, and along this border India has not only a tribal area containing some 250,000 first-class fighting men, all armed, but an unstable Muhammadan power in Afghanistan, with, further north, unfriendly Russia, whose Imperialistic aims have not changed with revolution.

In addition to her land frontiers, India has a sea border of again more than five thousand miles, with an extensive sea-borne trade to protect.

Internally, besides the constant menace to internal peace, due to strong communal feelings, and a spirit of growing nationalism, exploitable by her enemies, there are many thousand miles of strategic railways from her ports to her frontiers, the protection of which is necessary for the maintenance and movement of her armies.

These form a military task for which India at present maintains a standing defence force amounting to some 200,000 men, of which 60,000 are British.

For her naval defence, India contributes at present only £100,000 towards the upkeep of the Imperial Navy, and the total cost of her defence measures amounts to some fifty-five crores of rupees (one crore = approximately £750,000) per annum.

Defence and foreign policy are at the moment reserved subjects, and are not under the control of the Indian Legislatures. Money for the maintenance of the Army

is non-votable, though the Legislative Assembly has been given every opportunity to discuss Army policy during the discussion of the General Budget.

In a self-governing India, the central legislature, whatever final form it takes, would have to be responsible for voting money for the maintenance of its army. What, then, will be the arrangements for the defence of India when she attains self-government?

Were India to be embroiled in a war with outside countries, the Empire itself cannot stand aloof, and, in the opinion of the writer, the defence of India must always remain a combined responsibility. If, therefore, we are to visualise the final picture of India's defence, when she attains full status as a self-governing portion of the British Commonwealth of Nations, we must divide the financial responsibility for defence carefully between India and the Imperial Government. Without we have at the back of our minds a picture of the completed structure, it is not possible to lay securely those foundations upon which we should be building today.

Since the defence of India is a combined responsibility, the solution of the problem will be one of considerable delicacy. It will necessitate a great deal of give and take and the development of a spirit of trust and goodwill. Unity of command is essential, and there is no reason to believe that India will not agree, as the Dominions have done, to the command of the combined forces remaining under the Imperial General Staff. There is a danger in laying down too strictly the different spheres of responsibility as between the Imperial and Indian Governments, but some agreement that is not too rigid should be arrived at.

It would appear that the maintenance of order within her own borders, including the tribal area along her north-western frontier, the defence in conjunction with the Imperial Government of her own external borders from attack by any of her immediate neighbours, and the provision of a force as her contribution towards Imperial defence, could definitely be considered India's responsibility.

The Imperial Government would have to be responsible for the provision of an Expeditionary force stationed in India capable of fulfilling without delay the Imperial responsibility for the external defence of India and the protection of the Indian states guaranteed to them by their various treaties. On the naval side, the Indian Navy now being built up could, when ready, undertake a large portion

of those duties at present performed by the British Navy in the Persian Gulf and along the coast of India. For the fuller protection of her sea-borne trade, India could make a monetary contribution to the Imperial Navy.

If some such division of responsibility as between India and the Imperial Government were to be eventually arrived at, it would materially aid us in laying down the lines of military development in India, which could fit in with her progress towards self-government.

All troops employed for the fulfilment of India's share of the responsibility would be paid for by India, and be controlled by the Indian Legislatures, whilst the forces maintained by the Imperial Government would be controlled by the War Office and paid for from Imperial revenues. If the Imperial Government were to be asked to take on this extra financial responsibility, India would probably need to offer her some particular advantage for so doing.

The division of the responsibility for Indian defence, when she attains the status of a self-governing unit in the British Empire, is possibly the least difficult portion of the problem, though, so far as the writer knows, no authority has so far taken this problem into consideration.

The difficult question is the ability of India to build up a military force capable of fulfilling her share of the responsibility.

Competent military authorities today are of the opinion that it will take two or three generations of intensive work to train the officer establishment required for India's Army, and there are many with an intimate knowledge of India, who consider the task impossible, but the writer is not prepared to subscribe to that view.

The material of which our Indian Army is composed has proved itself equal to the strain of modern warfare under British leadership, and if British officers have been able to train the rank and file to this standard of efficiency, there seems some hope that they may train Indian officers capable of leading their own men successfully in war.

It must be admitted that no very serious attempt had, until quite recently, been made to train our Indian officers, and it will be interesting to see the steps which are now being taken to make good this neglect.

When Lord Rawlinson was Commander-in-Chief, a scheme was drawn up completely to Indianise eight units of the Indian Army by the process of receiving only Indians who had passed through Sandhurst to the officer

ranks of these particular units. In the course of twenty-five years, the British element in these battalions would be entirely replaced by Indian officers, and an opportunity would possibly have been afforded to gauge the ability of units so officered to make good in war—the only real test of military efficiency. This scheme is still in effect in spite of the vigorous criticism of Indian politicians and the Skeen Committee's Report.

From the Indian politician's point of view, Indianisation on these lines must obviously be a lengthy operation, and his impatience does not brook delay, but it is obvious that the only test of fighting forces is the test of war. These Indianised units may appear admirable under peace conditions, but quite conceivably might not stand the crucial test of active service. In these circumstances, no one responsible for the defence of India can be expected to jeopardise India's safety by rash experiments, for mistakes made in war cannot be rectified, and the authorities responsible must, of necessity, make certain that Indian units, led by Indian officers, can stand the test of war. There appears to be in this matter no other course open.

There are military authorities of standing who criticise the Government's eight-unit scheme on the grounds that it segregates Indians, that neither the rank and file, nor the new Indian officers, like joining these Indianised units, that (segregated thus) they are likely to be looked down upon and to develop an inferiority complex.

Psychologically, there is much to be said for that particular line of criticism, but, if the Indian is to make good in the Army as an officer, he should welcome this early opportunity to stand on his own legs, and to show that the regiment to which he belongs is no whit inferior to that officered by British officers.

The Conservatism and the religious and caste prejudices of the rank and file are infinitely more difficult to overcome. One of the most serious difficulties with which Indians are faced in nearly all spheres of activity is lack of mutual confidence. Money is, for instance, not readily forthcoming for the Swarajist-run Corporation of Calcutta, Indian businesses continue to find difficulty in raising capital for industrial enterprises, the Indian district officer finds his task far more difficult than that of his British colleague. Indian political leaders find their positions insecure—all due to the fact that their fellow-citizens lack confidence in their ability. This mental attitude will, no doubt, change in the course of time, and

educational and political reforms will do much to improve the position, but it must obviously be a question of time before education can break down the existing religious mistrust and caste prejudice.

Lord Rawlinson, in his *Diary* published after his death, said that the greatest difficulty in the Indian problem would be to keep the pace of political reform level with the rate at which military progress could be made. This is undoubtedly a real difficulty, and the rate of progress under the proposed scheme (one which caution dictates as sound) is obviously very much behind the pace at which India is developing politically. It may be necessary, therefore, for a period to arrange for the defence of India under some form of contract with the War Office.

The main obstacles which lie in the way of rapid military progress are lack of education amongst those most suited by tradition to the profession of arms. It is no good wasting time deploring the faults of the past. What we are concerned with today is the future, and we must take immediate steps to overcome the obstacles which lie in our path.

The writer is of opinion that the first steps for the solution of India's Military Problem on the political side lie in the direction of strenuous reform of education. Military authorities have already taken steps in this direction by the establishment of Military Schools for the sons of Indian officers and rank and file. The creation of the requisite military qualifications required for leadership will be greatly helped by the greater use of training provided by games. The Government of India have recently accepted a resolution, initiated by Dr. Moonje, for the imposition of compulsory games in all schools in the areas administered by the Central Government, and a promise that Provincial Governments who have complete charge of education in the provinces would be pressed to conform.

At a later stage in their education, the youth of India would be given an opportunity of higher military training in Officers' Training Corps at the Universities, and in the various Territorial units which have since been built up.

Whilst some of the existing Territorial units are today composed of material of good fighting quality and would form useful units, with more intensive training, for war, there are others—drawn from provinces where military traditions are unknown or have been allowed to die out—which, at the present stage, are of little military use. It is natural that with the existing financial stringency soldiers should look upon these units as a waste of money

more urgently required in other directions, and there is possibly not that interest taken in endeavouring to improve the quality of these units which there ought to be, in view of the political necessity of providing India with an Army that is not entirely drawn from one section of India. Far too little attention appears to be paid to the danger with which a self-governing India would be faced were she to be confined to recruiting her army from the areas to which recruitment is at present restricted.

The writer believes that it will be necessary to create an Officer Class, and believes that the intensive training of the present Viceroy's Commissioned Officers and the improvement of their social status, enabling them to educate their sons for the Army, is the best method of building up the Officer Establishment of the future Indian Army. He believes that a Military College for this immediate purpose should be established, and the military authorities have already made a move in this direction.

The Indian politician has so far only visualised the replacement of the British element by the substitution for them of Indian youths drawn from the ranks of what is generally called the "Intelligentia." Whilst in any scheme provision should be made to enable such material to find a place in the officer ranks of the Army, it is improbable that many of the requisite qualifications will be forthcoming to persevere in the profession of arms. One of the difficulties today, is the difficulty of finding men with the requisite qualifications of leadership who have also the educational qualifications to pass the standard required of King's Commissioned Officers. The result is that the vacancies for training offered in England cannot at present be filled. The writer thinks it would be sounder to recognise at once the final intention to build up a Dominion Army for India, and to give all Indian officers a Dominion Commission, the qualifications for which could in the first instance be brought within the educational capacity of those most suited for the profession of arms. Such of them who could later pass the tests for the higher ranks should be given an opportunity of promotion. As the general education improves, standards of qualifications for the Dominion commissioned ranks could be raised.

The general lines upon which the military authorities are working at present follow some of the suggestions made in this article, but there is little doubt in the writer's mind that we are at the moment hampered in our progress by the mistaken policy of insisting upon a King's Commission for our Indian Officers.

INDIA'S INTEREST IN THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

BY P. PADMANABHA PILLAI

(Director, Indian Branch of the International Labour Office)

THE aims and objects of the International Labour Organization are now so well known that it is perhaps needless to go into them at any length here. Intended primarily to improve social conditions all the world over by gradually levelling them up to the standard of the most advanced nations, it has now widened its activities, and has become in addition a great international research institution. By ascertaining the facts of industrial life and progress, and by disseminating this knowledge by means of its numerous publications, it is attempting to create a public opinion, both national and international, which will stand for social justice in all its forms—as social justice is the only lasting foundation for the establishment of universal peace.

The opening of an Indian branch of the International Labour Office is certainly an experiment. It is, however, an experiment undertaken in a spirit of buoyant optimism. The opening of the branch offices of the central organization at various European centres, as well as at Washington and Tokio, has in each case been justified by the results. The success of these branch ventures emboldens one to be optimistic about the beneficial results that are likely to accrue from the inauguration of the Indian branch. Every experiment is in the ultimate analysis a gamble in futures. The optimism induced by the success of parallel ventures at London, Paris, or Washington, to mention a few of such ventures, is therefore toned down to some extent by vague and shapeless fears about the future of the Indian branch. How can the chasm that sunders promise from performance be bridged over? How can we ensure that the summer of achievement follows the spring of anticipation?

The internal conditions in India and India's hitherto excellent response to Geneva's invitation warrant hopes of still further and more fruitful collaboration. The International Labour Office has always taken great interest in the labour problems peculiar to India, and India's own contributions to international social progress have by no

means been negligible. India has participated in all the International Labour Conferences that have hitherto been held, beginning with the Washington Conference of 1919, and her co-operation with the I.L.O.'s activities has never been of a lukewarm or perfunctory nature. At all the ten conferences that have followed in the wake of the Washington Conference she has been represented by strong delegations composed of men who had indisputable credentials to speak in her name.

To name even a few of the outstanding personalities who have represented this country at these International Conferences would be to reel off a formidable list; thus, to take some names at random, we have had Sir Atul Chatterjee, Sir Louis Kershaw, Sir Dadabhai Dalal, and Dr. Paranjpye on behalf of the Government; Sir Alexander Murray, Mr. N. B. Saklatvala, Mr. J. Jay, Mr. G. D. Birla, and Mr. Narottam Morarji on behalf of the employers; and Mr. N. M. Joshi, the late Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Joseph Baptista, Mr. V. V. Giri, and Diwan Chaman Lal on behalf of the workers. It has been on account of their undoubted competence that the Indian delegates to Geneva have been able to command the respect and confidence of their colleagues on the various conferences and committees. And, conversely, it has once again been on account of their sobriety of judgment that the Indian Legislative Assembly has invariably made good their commitments at Geneva and implemented their undertakings by the ratification of the conventions there adopted, due regard, of course, being had to the peculiar industrial and labour conditions of the country.

The importance which the Geneva organization attaches to India is thus partly due to the character and capacity of the Indian delegations; it is also due to the fact that the working population of India is numerically greater than that of any other country in the world, with the possible exception of China, and that the volume of her industrial activities enables her to be classed amongst the eight leading industrial countries of the world. As such, India's right to nominate a permanent representative to the governing body of the I.L.O. has been accepted by the Council of the League of Nations. This fact has its own significance when it is remembered that the only two Asiatic countries which have won for themselves this special right are Japan and India. An even more signal compliment was paid to this country in 1927 when the Indian Government's representative on the governing body, Sir Atul Chatterjee, was

invited to preside over the International Labour Conference of that year. Nor should we omit to mention that Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., the distinguished Indian labour leader, has, on more occasions than one, been elected by the workers' group at the Geneva Conference to represent it in the governing body as a substitute member.

The Indian branch of the I.L.O., therefore, is commencing its activities under favourable auspices. There has been of recent years a considerable awakening in the rank and file of Indian workers as to the dignity of labour and the inalienable rights of the primary producers of national wealth. Indian workers are also realizing in an increasing degree the necessity for united and combined action in bargaining for better terms of employment as well as in organizing various measures of remedial self-help. And besides, they have learned to appreciate the value of forming international connections with their fellow workers in other countries in order that, in pressing their claims before the tribunal of public opinion, they may be able to evoke support which will be not merely national, but world-wide in character.

A parallel movement is observable among the Indian employers, and we have today a rapidly increasing number of captains of industry who, while keeping a very vigilant eye on their dividends, are at the same time animated by high humanitarian motives. A feature which has always distinguished the Indian employers' delegations to Geneva has been their zeal for social reform. The employers of the West, feeling even more keenly than their brethren elsewhere the effects of the economic depression consequent on the War, are anxious to apply the brake to, and slow down, all reforms undertaken by the I.L.O. The employers of the Far East, and more particularly those from India, on the contrary, go to Geneva because they desire to be more and more closely associated with all attempts "to prevent and overcome human misery." Oftentimes has one been tempted to institute a comparison between some of India's present-day industrial leaders and the earlier employer-reformers of Europe, who exerted their influence both with their colleagues and with their Governments to bring about reforms in national and international labour conditions. The spokesmen of Indian industries, like Messrs. Saklatvala, Birla, and Morarji, have all left an abiding impression on Geneva, where they are looked upon not only as eminent leaders in their own chosen profession, but also as great social reformers imbued

with lofty ideals of citizenship. The employer classes of India are thus among the keenest advocates of improved social conditions, and by that very fact they take rank among the friends and supporters of the International Labour Organization.

But, with the labourer anxious to usher in an era of higher wages and longer hours of leisure on the one side, and the employer faced with constant labour troubles and the prospect of depleted dividends on the other, India is now passing through a severe economic crisis. Some of the phases of the passing of Indian economic conditions from a static to a dynamic stage are illustrated by the rending asunder of the social bonds of a previous generation, the increasing mobility of the population and the occasional waves of industrial unrest passing over the land. The newly found fluidity of labour and the newly acquired aspirations for betterment are factors of great potentiality which have to be canalized lest their stresses should break the bonds of industrial harmony and national well-being. Already we are having strikes, lock-outs and industrial dislocations of all kinds, and a striking feature of these disturbances in recent times has been the inability of the parties, in spite of protracted negotiations, to come to a permanent settlement. An extreme case in point is the statement which appeared in the Indian Press last February to the effect that an amicable understanding had been arrived at between the Bombay millowners and the strikers, while lightning strikes were still occurring in several mills, and the Parel area was given up to hooliganism.

It is just in conditions similar to those existing in the India of the present day that the International Labour Office may prove to be of help. In times of stress and turmoil, when old standards are breaking down and new ones have yet to be evolved, it is not likely that constructive leadership will emerge from the ranks of either of the combating forces. Those who may be entrusted with the shaping of the future of our social life must be men who, while alive to the economic and social situation about them and vitally interested in its day-to-day developments, must, at the same time, be endowed with the capacity for objectively and dispassionately studying social phenomena.

It is only by carefully collating facts and figures and studying them in their various aspects that their full economic implications may be properly understood. No programme of social reform can prove of lasting benefit unless it is based upon such a dispassionate and scientific

study. The announcement that a Royal Commission is to be appointed to make a comprehensive report on labour conditions in India has, therefore, come at an opportune moment. And the Royal Commission is expected to do for India what the International Labour Organization attempts to do for the whole world ; for the collection of accurate and reliable information on industrial and labour questions as a preliminary to the evolution of schemes of social reform is one of the most important objects assigned to the Geneva Office.

The association of India with an organization commanding the prestige of the International Labour Office has been instrumental to an appreciable extent in accelerating the pace of humane labour legislation in the country. The ten years of India's participation in the International Labour Conferences have witnessed a remarkable spurt of legislative activity directed towards the amelioration of labour conditions. The Statute Book of the country has been enriched within this period by such new enactments as the amended Factory and Mines Acts, the Workmen's Compensation Act, and the Trade Union Act. When it is remembered that the fifty years immediately preceding the establishment of the League present a comparatively barren record of legislative achievement in this direction, it is not too much to assert that the quickened pace of the post-League period is not an accident, but that it derived its inspiration from the healthy contacts established at Geneva. The new laws which aim at limitation of hours of work, protection of women and children, compensation in case of accidents, and the recognition of the rights of association, all of them bear the Geneva stamp of genuine concern for the interests of labour. What has already been accomplished, however, touches only a fringe of the complex labour problems of the country. At the present day the Government and the Central Legislature are studying several schemes of social betterment, prominent among which are those dealing with insurance against sickness, maternity benefits, and the devising of means to bring about industrial peace.

In these and allied matters India confidently looks forward to helpful leads from Geneva. There can be no more convincing or representative testimony on this point than the considered verdicts of Mr. C. F. Andrews, the great friend of Indian labour, and Mr. A. G. Clow, the brilliant Government expert on Indian labour problems. The former in the course of two articles entitled "India

and Geneva," contributed to the *Hindu* of Madras, expresses himself thus about the services rendered to India by the International Labour Office :

"The International Labour Office of the League has a world position of immense importance, and if advantage is taken of this, there can be no doubt whatever that labour conditions in India will be improved in the most rapid manner possible. . . . Every one of the great landmarks in Indian labour legislation has been put up since the establishment of the League. While, up to the year 1919, it seemed quite impossible to obtain any more humane conditions with regard to labour in mines, factories, and mills, after 1919 every door seems to be suddenly thrown wide open, and we have been pressing forward from one act of factory legislation to another, and all these, on the whole, have been in the right direction."

In reviewing Government policy and action in relation to industry under the Reformed Constitution, Mr. A. G. Clow substantially endorses the generous estimate of Mr. C. F. Andrews. The following is a relevant excerpt from Mr. Clow's review :

"Ten sessions of International Labour Conferences were held between 1919 and 1927, and the submission, at intervals, of conclusions reached by the Conference to the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State has been instrumental in stimulating public interest in labour questions and at times in initiating measures which might not otherwise have been adopted."*

Pursuing the train of thought suggested by the latter part of Mr. Clow's observation, but in a different direction, it is permissible to remark that it is not yet perhaps adequately realized in India that the existence of the I.L.O. has led to an improved degree of organization among workers and employers both internationally and nationally. The Geneva decisions are always based upon compromises between conflicting points of view, and compromises, to be effective, must be between bodies which are highly organized and fully representative. The Peace Treaty therefore lays down that in choosing the delegates for Geneva the Government of each country should consult the most representative organizations of employers and workers. In 1919, when the first International Labour Conference was held, Indian labour had not yet organized itself, and Mr. M. Daud, in his presidential address at the ninth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, has declared that one of the chief objects which the promoters of the Congress had in view, when it was first called together in Bombay in October, 1920, was to safeguard the interests of Indian workers at the International Labour Conferences.

* No italics in the original.

Similarly, it will be admitted that the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry had its genesis in the necessity felt by employers of Indian nationality for an organization which can effectively look after their interests both in India and abroad. When the credentials of the Indian employers' delegate to the 1926 conferences were challenged at Geneva, the complaining party found itself considerably handicapped because it could not speak in the name and with the authority of a fully representative Indian employers' association; and it is not too much to presume that it was the lesson then learnt that was chiefly responsible for the creation soon after of the vigorous institution of which Mr. G. D. Birla is now the president.

A result of this process of organization is that both capital and labour are now able to formulate their points of view more authoritatively than ever before; in cases of dispute, therefore, it is much easier to define the issues involved, and a clear enunciation of the issue leads us more than half-way to a final solution. A further step in organization, once again under the influence of Geneva, was accomplished when, at the Washington Conference of 1919, the first International Federation of Industrial Employers was formed. This has as yet no counterpart on the workers' side on account of the existing rival organizations. But in the Workers' Group of the Geneva conferences the rival federations of Amsterdam and of the Christian Unions, together with the representatives of certain national movements not affiliated to either, work together, and in fact act as an *ad hoc* organization of over thirty million workers. Indian interests are also beginning to take their proper part in this movement. Thus the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce decided at their last annual session to establish connections with the International Chamber of Commerce, and it is significant to recall that the resolution to this effect was moved by Mr. D. P. Khaitan, who attended the last session of the governing body of the I.L.O. as a representative of the British Empire Overseas Employers' Associations. At the last session of the All-India Trade Union Congress the question of seeking affiliation with Amsterdam came up for discussion, but the sense of the meeting was that the Indian labour movement was not yet sufficiently well developed to derive much advantage from permanent international alliances.

Geneva's interest in the major economic problems of India and the Far East is being continuously maintained

by some of the enquiries the I.L.O. has now taken in hand. The pressing problem of unemployment among the Indian educated classes will now be brought into the orbit of an international investigation into the question. Acting under the authority of a resolution of the eleventh Conference, the governing body of the I.L.O. will soon be setting up a committee to submit proposals for a comprehensive enquiry into the working conditions in the textile industries; and it is needless to say that the present situation in Bombay's leading industry will thus come to be examined by an international body consisting of the leading experts on the subject. Much progress has already been made in the enquiry into labour conditions in Asiatic countries—an enquiry in the initiation of which Mr. N. M. Joshi played a leading part. But an even more signal illustration of the interest the I.L.O. is taking in the social developments of the Far East is the recent visit of Monsieur Albert Thomas, the Director, to the more important industrial countries of Asia. The direct relations thus established and the personal impressions which he has been able to form of the conditions of social progress in these distant countries will contribute materially to emphasize the world-wide character of the organization and refute ill-informed criticisms about the scope of Geneva's activities.

The psychological value of the harmonious contacts established under the ægis of Geneva between Governments, employers, and workers has already been recognized the world over, and whatever one may have thought of it in its earlier days, no one now dares to insinuate that the I.L.O. has introduced dangerously "advanced" ideas among the working classes. On the other hand, it has now been everywhere recognized that an institution like the I.L.O., far from encouraging "direct action" of any kind, helps, by its methods of open conference and co-operation, to induce a more peaceful and conciliatory frame of mind. It assists organized society to progress along specific lines of development, and there can be no bigger contribution to world peace than a successful attempt, such as this organization alone can make, to give a new orientation to Eastern thought and deflect the spirit of incipient revolt into constructive channels of nation-building.

THE RATIO CONTROVERSY IN INDIA: A RETROSPECT.

BY SIR J. C. COYAJEE

THE scheme of monetary reconstruction which the Royal Commission on Indian Currency put forward was a very comprehensive one; it contemplated among other things the establishment of an up-to-date and automatic currency standard, the constitution of a currency authority in the shape of a Reserve Bank (which should combine the control of currency and credit), and the thorough overhauling of the paper currency system of the country. Nevertheless, the controversy which followed the publication of the Report of the Commission has raged only around two points of this programme—the ratio and the constitution of the directorate of the proposed Reserve Bank. The surprise with which one regards this selection of two apparently isolated points of the programme for criticism is, however, removed when we remember that the controversy in India over the ratio question is the counterpart of the great struggle which has taken place in most countries after the war between the advocates of inflation and those of the return to a steady and moderate price level. It is also significant that the same set of critics who argued for the reversion to the lower ratio (with inflation as its corollary), also worked for the object of placing legislators on the directorate of the Reserve Bank and of thus bringing political pressure to bear directly on our future banking policy. In fact, the real issue in the controversy is that of inflation; and that fact accounts in the main for the vitality of the controversy. For, if adjustment of prices to the ratio was indeed the real issue, few would be found to assert in this year (1929) that things had not adjusted themselves in a preponderant degree to a ratio which had held the field for five years, and the controversy would have died a natural death before now. But the ratio controversy derives its whole vigour and momentum from the inflationist aspirations behind it; it is the Indian counterpart of the struggle over readjustment of price levels to normal conditions which has been the most important economic movement of the post-war epoch in most countries of the world. It is on that account that the present controversy will occupy a not unimportant place in the economic history of India.

There has been much misunderstanding over the character and origins of the former 1s. 4d. ratio. Thus that ratio has been called the "natural ratio" and "the permanent ratio." It has been even confused with the currency standard itself, and in the dissenting minute of the Currency Committee of 1919 it has been called the "standard ratio." But a glance at the history of the ratio will show that those who proposed and sponsored it expressly disclaimed any permanent character for it. Thus the Herschell Committee was careful to explain the character of the ratio in its Report. "It would not, of course, be essential to the plan that the ratio should never be fixed above 1s. 4d.; circumstances might arise rendering it proper and even necessary to raise the ratio." So also the Fowler Committee was careful to emphasize the necessity of "the final ratio being fixed either below or above 16d., as further experience might show to be expedient." It added further that "between the rate of today and that determined by the bullion value of the rupee, there is none that can be described as natural or normal."

The advocates of that ratio would also do well to remember that the Fowler Committee in deciding for a 1s. 4d. ratio employed the very same arguments which were used by the Currency Commission of 1925-26 in order to justify the present 1s. 6d. ratio. The Fowler Committee expressly overruled every plea and answered every argument that the opponents of the 1s. 6d. ratio have put forward in our own days. Thus the Committee's main argument on behalf of the 1s. 4d. ratio was that "the rate of 1s. 4d. is that of the present day; prices in India may be assumed to have adjusted themselves to it, and the adoption of a materially lower rate at the present time would cause a distinct and, in our opinion, a mischievous disturbance of trade and business." Another ground on which the Fowler Committee recommended the 1s. 4d. ratio was that in 1898-99 the prevalence of that ratio was found to be compatible with a large favourable balance of trade. The pleas that "the *status quo* had not been arrived at without manipulation and that a *fait accompli* in the shape of an established ratio and a price adjustment thereto had been presented to the Committee were also overruled by that Committee. Not only is there a close and instructive parallel between the arguments employed by the Fowler Committee and the Royal Currency Commission of 1925, but the case for a 1s. 6d. ratio was much stronger in 1926 than that for a 1s. 4d. ratio in 1898. Little statistical proof was brought forward in

1898 regarding the adjustment of prices to the older ratio, while the ratio itself had been prevailing only for about a year. Finally, the rise of the ratio to 1s. 4d. in 1898 was a very slow and hesitating affair indeed compared to the attainment of the 1s. 6d. ratio in 1925.

In the light of the above historical examination of the reasons for the establishment of the 1s. 4d. ratio in 1898, we can see how little ground there is for the contention that any later change of the ratio constituted "a wanton tampering with the standard of value." Gold has been restored as the standard of value in India, and gold will be—with the adoption of the proposals of the Commission of 1926—more than ever the basic currency "from which the other monetary instruments derive their own exchange value owing to convertibility." The essence of the gold standard is the tying of the value of our monetary unit to the value of gold. But it cannot be contended that any particular ratio once adopted should or could be maintained for ever, regardless of important changes in prevailing conditions—for example, great changes in prices of precious metals. The factors which the Fowler and Herschell Committee took into account in recommending the 1s. 4d. ratio show that in their view the ratio was not either unalterable nor of the essence of the currency system; for they based it professedly on a consideration of the prevailing facts of their own day as regards prices, trade conditions, and the relative prices of the precious metals. It is, of course, true that a standard unit of value once adopted should not be arbitrarily departed from; for any random changes in the standard of value are sure to cause losses to some people. So far one can respect the zeal shown for the older ratio. But the changes in our ratio in India have been such as were absolutely necessary in the interests of the stability of prices—*i.e.*, of social justice. A statistician would be staggered at the number and the size of the fluctuations of prices which India would have experienced if she had adopted the policy of sticking to the old ratio at all costs since the war. It is true that the 1s. 4d. ratio held the field for nearly twenty years; but it need not be forgotten that more recently it was in abeyance for a whole decade—and for a decade which has seen currency and trade changes enough to crowd a century. Under these conditions the currency authority who is proceeding to stabilize the ratio would be well advised to consult the facts of the day for his guidance rather than the conditions prevailing three decades ago. In such an important affair those who admire

the work of the Fowler Committee would do well to imitate its procedure.

We shall now proceed to examine some of the arguments which have been brought forward against the policy of stabilizing the rupee at 1s. 6d. Thus the contention has been advanced that suitable opportunities for stabilizing the exchange at 1s. 4d. occurred in the years 1923-24, but that advantage was not taken of them. That contention can, however, be shown to rest upon a faulty perspective of the financial, monetary and commercial conditions of the time. As was well recognized, the *sine qua non* of the stabilization of the rupee was a budgetary equilibrium; and that preliminary condition of stabilization was not well assured by the years 1923 or 1924. Another desideratum was the improvement in the position of India as regards foreign trade, which implied, in its turn, an improvement in the trade conditions of the world. But no one could have been sure in 1923-24 of the fact that the general trade depression was coming to an end, and in that year India was only entering upon its task of recovering its former trade position. Again, the stabilization of a country's currency is in an important measure an international problem; and, as an American authority (Dr. W. R. Burgess) has well put it, "At the end of 1923, and moving into 1924, we were in a period of some business depression. The skies were dark in this country, and the world over there was a good deal of disturbance."

The difficulties of the day were not confined to the prevalent conditions of currencies and prices. Dislocated exchanges, unbalanced budgets, and trade depression were the general and characteristic phenomena of the day. Not only would a premature stabilization—whether at 1s. 4d. or any other ratio—have done India no good, but it would have upset that comparative stability of prices which was the one redeeming feature of her condition. We would have been then on the horns of a dilemma; had we stabilized at 1s. 4d. sterling, our prices would have shared all the fluctuations of the prices in the United Kingdom. Had we, on the other hand, stabilized at 1s. 4d. gold, we would have been involved in a fluctuating relation with the sterling.

It has also been contended that the stabilization and maintenance of the exchange at 1s. 6d. was due to currency manipulation in the shape of "excessive deflation" and "undue contraction of currency in India." It is submitted here that there is a double fallacy involved in this

line of reasoning. Not only is the extent of the actual deflation exaggerated, but the efficiency of monetary deflation as a factor in monetary stabilization is unduly magnified. Compared to the great inflation of the war period in India, the deflation of the period from 1920 to 1923, which amounted to about 38 crores, can only be called a moderate one. The fall of prices brought about by it cannot be compared for a moment with the results of contemporary deflation in the United Kingdom or the United States; while it was a long time before any tangible effects of our deflation on the exchanges could be perceived.

The fact is that the recovery of the Indian exchange was due, not so much to the halting and moderate monetary deflation, as to a singularly fortunate combination of the various factors which are recognized as being necessary for currency stabilization. By 1925 we had the advantage of the restoration of budgetary equilibrium, and we were reaping the benefits of that "financial" deflation which is now recognized by economic authorities as so much more efficacious for stabilization than monetary deflation. Then, again India was entering on a new era of favourable balances of trade, and was showing a recovery from the trade depressions which was unique in the annals of post-war commerce. This combination of favourable factors was partly fortuitous, but it was partly also the deserved reward of wise finance and timely deflation, as well as of that patient policy which withstood the temptations to premature stabilization. It is owing to this combination of factors favourable to stabilization that India has paid a much smaller price for currency stabilization than other countries. Countries which have raised their exchange under less favourable conditions have indeed paid a stiff price for the stabilization in the shape of increased unemployment, and a great strain imposed upon the unsheltered or competitive industries. But to contend (as some critics have done) that India has to face difficulties of the same magnitude in the process of stabilization, or to argue that the necessary period of readjustment to the variation in exchange should be at least as long in the case of India, is to disregard and ignore vital differences of economic conditions between the countries concerned.

We now approach the most important issue in the ratio controversy—that relating to the adjustment of prices to the ratio. On this point the statistics of prices and exchanges can be appealed to for a decisive and unambiguous

verdict. We have to remember that after August, 1923, there had been no further deflation, and that the trade position in 1924-25 was normal. Bearing in mind the absence of any abnormal influences operating either on the side of currency or of trade, we note a steady rise of exchange from July, 1924 (up to January, 1925), and a simultaneous and steep fall of Indian prices from 179 to 157. We note, further, that after the achievement of this mutual adjustment both Indian prices and the ratio manifested a marked tendency to steadiness. There can be no question that we have here a statistical verification of the adjustment of our prices to the ratio, for there were no other important factors during the period influencing either the prices or the exchange. It has indeed been contended that the fall of prices in India was not an adjustment to the ratio, but was due to the sympathetic influence of the fall of world prices. But that contention ignores the most important circumstance that the world prices began to fall only after the first quarter of the year 1925, while rupee prices in India began to fall after June, 1924, and had traversed the larger part of their downward journey before the world prices began to show any decided tendency to fall. Indeed, it is clear that for a period of over six months Indian prices continued to fall and to adjust themselves to the ratio in spite of the tendency of the world prices to rise. Further, in the case of the United States the maximum of prices was reached only in 1925. Anything like a serious study of the history of prices after 1923 will show that in the matter of the downward movement of wholesale prices India anticipated other countries by a considerable period. Any sympathetic effect of the fall of foreign prices on Indian prices should be dated after the first quarter of the year 1925. There is no possible explanation of the marked fall of Indian prices during the second half of the year 1924 and in the beginning of 1925 except their adjustment to the new ratio.

In the dissenting minute apprehensions were expressed as regards the possible disastrous influence of the ratio on the interests of Indian agriculture, trade and industry. We are now in a suitable position in the light of events of judging the value of such prognostications. Considering the position of agriculture first, we find an entire absence of any possible harm wrought by the ratio. On the other hand, two sets of most material statistics can be pointed to as regards agriculture which are of a most reassuring character. The statistics of agricultural co-operation fur-

nish unmistakable proofs of growing agricultural prosperity since the introduction of the new ratio. The growth of co-operative capital and deposits, the proportion of the arrears to the loans and the rates of interest charged in co-operative societies show no trace whatever of any adverse influences acting on agriculture. More important still are the statistics of the course of the prices of the main agricultural products—cereals and pulses. We find that the year 1923, although a period of low exchange, was in fact the least favourable year of the post-war epoch for the Indian agriculturist. The reason was that while the prices of agricultural products had fallen as far as they were going to, in India the prices of the article—which our farmer purchases and consumes—had not declined very markedly as yet. While exchange has only a comparatively indirect and small influence on the fortunes of the agriculturist, the state of relative prices of agricultural and other commodities affects him directly. Since the year 1923, however, the movement described above has been reverted; the prices of pulses and cereals have gone up considerably, while the prices of other commodities, as also the general price level, have been falling markedly. Consequently, since 1924 the agriculturist of India finds himself in a particularly favourable position, and has no reason whatever to complain of the change in the ratio.

But it is the condition of the foreign trade of India 1924-25 which provides the best test of a well-selected ratio, and of the adjustment of economic conditions to it. It is no exaggeration to say that the recovery of trade since the general depression has been more marked in the case of India than in that of any other country. Had the new ratio been fixed either too high or too low the recovery either of exports or of imports must have been materially hindered. As it is, making allowance for the change in general prices, both these branches of trade have been gradually and closely approaching their pre-war levels; and we note further that the balance of trade has also been going back to its pre-war figure. A study of the progress of the main items of Indian imports and exports will also strengthen the case for the new ratio. Our total exports of piece goods have made great progress in the last quinquennium; they made a great record in the year 1926-27, and the figure for 1927-28 is higher than that of any year except 1926-27. Our exports of tea have also progressed during the same period, and stood never higher than in 1927-28. The same can be said of our exports

of tanned or dressed hides and skins. In the case of all these exports the recent figures are far higher than the pre-war records. Thus the trade statistics furnish no support whatever to the assertion that the new ratio was going to prejudice our competitive exports and industries. Nor do they give any more support to the other assertion that the higher ratio constitutes a bounty on imports. The only conclusion that can be drawn from the statistics of exports and imports is that the old pre-war trade equilibrium is being re-established. As the last review of trade for India concludes, "Imports in 1927-28 reached very nearly the pre-war level, thanks to lower prices and successive good monsoon which have increased the purchasing power of the country. Exports also were actually above 1913-14 level."

In the economic history of India the quinquennium following the year 1924 will be remembered as the epoch of the country's return to normal conditions,* whether as regards trade, finance or currency; and in this process of the restoration of the normal conditions (which had been disturbed by the war and its *sequelæ*), the new ratio has borne its part well. Allowing for changes in the price levels, the exports and imports trades have been regaining their pre-war level, and so has the balance of trade. Indian prices, too, have been kept steady, and we have an equilibrium of price level with other leading countries. Another feature of the period has been the removal of the disparity and divergence between the prices of agricultural and other products which was acting adversely to the interests of the agriculturist. Such a reversion of trade and price conditions to normal and healthy standards could not have been possible with a ratio which was unsuited to, or out of harmony with, the prevalent economic conditions. Had the present ratio been ill-adjusted to its economic environment, it would have rendered such a rapid and decisive re-establishment of the general economic equilibrium impossible. In fact, the best proof of a well-chosen ratio consists of its harmony with a steady and moderate price level and a healthy and normal condition of imports and exports.

* Cf. an article by Mr. H. A. F. Lindsey in the *Commercial*, published by the *Manchester Guardian* in January, 1921.

THE BUTLER REPORT AND THE INDIAN PRINCES

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THE new Labour Government inherits a vast responsibility in India. Within the next year it will have to consider the Report or Reports of the Simon Commission, which are expected in about six months, and also the Report of the Butler Committee on the Indian States, which has already appeared. It will have to decide how far the views expressed by these two bodies are to be implemented, and on its decision will hang the future destinies of the whole of India with its 320,000,000 of people.

For these two Reports or sets of Reports cannot be considered in complete isolation from each other. It is true the older India of the Indian Principalities and lordships will not be directly affected by any changes wrought in the government of British India. But the Princes and their subjects must be indirectly touched by these developments and cannot be wholly unconcerned in the fortunes of over 250,000,000 of people, in the midst of whom the semi-sovereign States are placed. In the Reforms of 1919, the opinions of the Principalities were not asked or considered, but that cannot be repeated in 1929 or 1930.

In one important respect a distinction may be made between the two sets of India problems. In British India the political medium is always disturbed by the atmospherics of those extreme aspirations which look to the speedy disappearance of the British Power from India. No one can foresee what the attitude in this respect may be of any new and developed government of British India in which Indians may play a larger part. On the other hand, this anxiety is entirely absent from our deliberations with regard to the India of the States.

It is true that since the war there has been a general stirring of the waters in India, as elsewhere, and that the 700,000 square miles and the 72,000,000 people of the States have not escaped this effervescence. But the agitation for the removal of certain economic and political grievances and for a clearer and more satisfactory definition of the relations between the States and the British

Power, has been quite free from the revolutionary ideas which have found expression in British India.

This steadfast loyalty of the States to the British Crown and Empire, which was so signally displayed during the Great War, is a steady influence in India whose value can scarcely be set too high. But this strong conviction that the *Pax Britannica* is still as necessary as ever to the well-being of the whole country, does not mean that the Princes and their people are unprogressive or reactionary in their views about British India. The resolution moved by H.H. the Maharajah of Patiala and unanimously carried in the Chamber of Princes at Delhi, on February 13 of this year, is clear enough on these points. It reads thus :

“While adhering to their policy of non-intervention in the affairs of British India, and repeating their assurances of sympathy with its continued political progress, the Princes and Chiefs composing this Chamber, in view of the recent pronouncement of a section of British Indian politicians indicative of a drift towards complete independence, desire to place on record that, in light of the mutual obligations arising from their Treaties and engagements with the British Crown, they cannot assent to any proposals having for their object the adjustment of equitable relations between the Indian States and British India, unless such proposals proceed upon the initial basis of the British connection.”

The Principalities, however, were amply justified in raising the question of their own grievances and of their relations with the Paramount Power. The greatest ignorance prevailed in the Empire outside India on the character and position of the States.

It is not possible here to set out in detail the claims and grievances of the Indian States, which were the subject of the inquiry and report of the Harcourt Butler committee. The Magna Charta of the Rights of the States was Queen Victoria's Proclamation after the Mutiny, during which the steady loyalty of the great Northern Principalities saved the situation for the British Power :

“We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all Treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by Us accepted and will be

scrupulously observed; and We look for the like observance on their part."

This assurance has been again and again repeated by Queen Victoria's successors. King George's Proclamation in 1921 ran thus:

"In My former Proclamation (1919) I repeated the assurance, given on many occasions by My Royal predecessors and Myself, of My determination ever to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes of India. The Princes may rest assured that this pledge is inviolate and inviolable."

On these solemn and voluntary utterances of the Supreme Power the Princes base their view that the relations between themselves and that Power are contractual, and have to be established by searching the Treaties and engagements referred to and interpreting them on strict legal principles. From the early days of the East India Company the Indian Principalities have entered into these contracts. There is one common and essential factor in all the Treaties. The States surrender to the British Power the control of their foreign relations and military policy, and receive in exchange protection against all dangers and enemies. This defines the nature and limits of Paramountcy, and there is no evidence whatever for a view, which prevailed growingly in the Victorian days, that the Paramount Power has a residual and prerogative right of interference in the native States, which can be exercised at discretion and without limitation when the necessity seems to arise.

The Princes maintain that this latter view, which is incidentally quite inconsistent in letter and spirit with the Royal Proclamations just set out, has given rise in the past to countless encroachments on the rights of the States both in the political and in the economic sphere. The assumption of the servants of the Crown has been that a vague residuum of jurisdiction, of which no mention is made in the Treaties, was left over to the Paramount Power. In the exercise of these discretionary rights the Crown has frequently assumed control of States during a dynastic minority, has deposed rulers, and behaved in general as though it were a feudal superior dealing with its dependents. It has claimed the right to remove from any State any personage whose presence might seem objec-

tionable, and the supervisory duties of the British Political Officers resident in the States was often exercised in a manner so intrusive and provocative that the Prince of Wales was moved to write a formal protest on the subject to Queen Victoria. It scarcely needs to be said that with the growth since those days of a better spirit between the British administration and the States this particular grievance has generally disappeared.

In the economic sphere the effects of this fallacious and unfounded view of the relations between States and Paramount Power has been even more pronounced and trying. The Princes complain that their dominions have been made subject to legislation and administrative measures in British India which, though closely affecting the States, were devised by the Indian Government solely in the interests of British India. This has been especially so with the railway, currency, and salt policies of the British administration. But the most striking example is to be found in the customs tariff on goods imported into India. The States are chiefly devoted to agriculture. Their manufacturing industries are few. Their main object is, therefore, to obtain their cloth and other manufactured products as cheaply as possible. They were, of course, not consulted when the Government of British India in these late years made India a highly Protectionist country, incidentally, much to the prejudice of our English, and especially our Lancastrian, trade. The result has been that the people of the States have had to contribute largely to the customs revenues of British India through the higher prices of these imported manufactures. Yet they had no voice in devising this Protectionist tariff, and they have no share in the revenues thus raised at the ports.

It is estimated that the States contribute to the revenues of British India some 10½ crores (a crore is equivalent to £750,000). Under the various headings of Indian administration, railways, salt, customs, coinage, etc., it is calculated that the States swell the British Indian revenues annually by a sum of some £7,830,000, of which not a rupee is returned to them. Obviously, too, these calls on the people of the States make it increasingly difficult for their Rulers to raise any revenues for themselves by means of taxation.

In fact, as the Government of India becomes more and more popularised and controlled by Indian politicians, the problem of the relations between the States and the Central Indian Government becomes increasingly urgent. The

Princes may have protested against undue interference from the Indian Government when it was almost purely British. But interference from a Government largely consisting of professional Indian politicians would be even more intolerable. It is a vital point with the Rulers that their relations are with the Crown alone, and they will not for a moment admit that the allegiance they owe to the Sovereign may be transferred to any legislative assemblies which may sit at Delhi.

Since the beginning of the present century, when the discretionary view of British Paramountcy reached its climax in Lord Curzon's assertion of "unchallenged sovereignty," there has been a great change in the spirit of British administration. Viceroys have leaned more to co-operation with the States than towards ascendancy and patronage. The old policy of keeping the Principalities isolated from each other has been modified, and they have been encouraged to confer and act together. In 1921 the Chamber of Princes with its Standing Committee and elected Chancellor came into being. It was in the same spirit that the Butler Committee was appointed last year to inquire into the relations of the States with the Paramount Power, and the grievances and disabilities of which they complained.

Before this Committee the case for the States was presented by Sir Leslie Scott, K.C., and the Committee itself reported last February. There will be different opinions on the nature of the Report as a whole. But it unquestionably concedes a large number of the political and economic claims advanced by the States. In many respects, therefore, it may be regarded as a victory for the Princes. It may be useful to enumerate the important points on which the case for the States may be said to have prevailed. One of the most vital of all the Princes' contentions was that their relations are with the Crown and not with the British Indian Government just outside their frontiers. There is no mistaking the conclusion of the Committee on this question, which, indeed, takes precedence of all others. The direct relationship of the States with the Crown is fully acknowledged and provided for. Paragraph 38 says:

"We agree that the relationship of the States to the Paramount Power is a relationship to the Crown, that the Treaties made with them are Treaties made with the Crown, and that those Treaties are of con-

tinuing and binding force as between the States which made them and the Crown."

The last paragraph of the Report speaks thus :

"We particularly recommend that the Viceroy, not the Governor-General in Council, should in future be the agent of the Crown in its relations with the Princes and that important matters of dispute between the States and the Paramount Power and between the States and British India should be referred to independent committees for advice. . . . We hold that the Treaties, engagements and sanads have been made with the Crown and that the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes should not be transferred, without the agreement of the latter, to a new government in British India responsible to an Indian legislature."

It must be allowed that these words carry us a long way forward to a complete agreement on the most essential questions. The Report is no less explicit in its admission that each State has its own particular and individual relationship with the Crown, to be ascertained from the existing Treaties and engagements which, it is also fully allowed, are as binding upon the Crown as upon the States.

How far the Report, as a whole, maintains consistently these views, I shall discuss in a moment. On the economic, as distinct from the political aspect of the case for the States, the Report appears to be no less satisfactory. In paragraph 55 it states very precisely that the Paramount Power is not justified in interposing its authority to secure economic results which are beneficial only or mainly to British India in a case in which the economic interests of British India and the States conflict.

These are unquestionably very important admissions which might seem to satisfy all the substantial claims in the case presented by the Princes. I do not know whether the States will accordingly express their complete satisfaction with the result. It should be obvious, at any rate, that many of the grievances and encroachments of which they have complained in the past will now presumably be corrected. On the other hand, it cannot be overlooked that even on some of the more fundamental questions the meaning and conclusion of the Report are not so well-defined as could be desired. Vague reserva-

tions and exceptions occur, which may almost have the effect of neutralising the main decisions which have just been enumerated.

For example, the Report seems to lay down quite firmly the principle that the relations between the States and the Paramount Power are contractual, to be ascertained in each case by the study of the Treaties and engagements it has concluded with the British Crown. By accepting the above-mentioned points the Committee would seem to have literally and implicitly admitted this essential principle. But in other paragraphs we seem to be thrown back on to the quicksands of the old discretionary view of Paramountcy. Instead of the sound principle that the States possess sovereign rights, except in so far as these have been surrendered to the protecting Power in Treaties and engagements, which he who runs may read, we have the competing theory, for which no documentary evidence is available, that the Paramount Power has a residual authority which cannot be defined and may, in fact, justify any interference of any sort in the affairs of the States.

In paragraph 39 we are, indeed, expressly informed that "the relationship of the Paramount Power with the States is not a merely contractual relationship, resting on Treaties made more than a century ago. It is a living, growing relationship shaped by circumstances and policy, resting, as Professor Westlake has said, on a mixture of history, theory and modern fact." Again, in paragraph 57, the Report refers to the difficulty of defining Paramountcy. In the case presented by the States the essence of Paramountcy was defined as the transference by the States to the Crown of their foreign relations in return for defence against their enemies. That is the common element in all the Treaties and engagements between the States and the Crown. The rights of the Crown as Paramount Power do not, according to the opinion expressed by Counsel for the States, extend beyond these points, though a certain discretionary power or "play" must be left to the Crown in carrying out the duties thus implied. But that is a different thing from the claim that the Paramount Power has a range of duty and right which is quite incapable of definition—and may justify any and every interference.

Yet such is the view which seems to be expressed in paragraph 57. "Conditions alter," we read, "in a changing world. Imperial necessity and new conditions may at any time raise unexpected situations. Paramountcy must remain paramount; it must fulfil its obligations, defining or

adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States." And, though elsewhere the Report adopts the view that the Treaties are still of binding force, we have it also stated that "in the Indian constitution an acknowledged supreme will decides every question which arises." One naturally wonders what, on this view, was the force and meaning of the successive Royal Proclamations concerning the sanctity of the Treaties.

It is difficult to reconcile some of these apparent contradictions. We seem to stagger again where we thought we firmly trod. I do not know what view the Princes themselves may officially take on the subject. The Report, as pointed out, does enshrine highly important admissions, which would seem to rule out for the future a wide range of grievance and disability. This may be regarded as a sufficient guarantee for the future. It may be felt, on the other hand, that the sovereign rights of the States, subject, of course, to ascertainable qualifications, are not so finally and firmly guaranteed as could be desired. On this question an official view has not yet been expressed by the Princes.

THE DEFENCE OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

BY LIEUT.-GENERAL H. BAKKER

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THE term "Defence of the Netherlands Indies" refers exclusively to the repelling of foreign invasions, the combating of a possible foreign enemy, as opposed to the maintenance of Dutch authority against unrest and rebellion within the country—*i.e.*, war against a possible indigenous enemy.

So far, the Netherlands Indies have only once experienced an attack from outside, namely in the period of Napoleon I., when the so-called Kingdom of Holland was incorporated with France (1810-1813), as a result of which the Netherlands Indies became temporarily a French possession. In 1811, the Governor-General of (British) India, Lord Minto, equipped a considerable force under the command of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, and this force on August 4 of that year landed east of Batavia and defeated the Franco-Dutch troops. This British feat of arms is described in the book "The Conquest of Java" by Major W. Thorn, written in 1815.

The Netherlands East India Company (1602-1796), which reigned supreme in the Indian Archipelago, held there the command of the sea, so that it depended for purposes of defence almost exclusively on its fleet and disposed only of a small army for the protection of its factories and offices against inroads from the inhabitants and small enterprises by European competitors. When, however, in the second half of the eighteenth century the Company's position began to decline, its fleet also lost its standing, with the result that its command of the sea soon became a thing of the past. The part of the fleet still in existence when the Netherlands Government in 1798 took over the East India Company, with all its assets and liabilities, was in 1806-1807 totally destroyed by the British, under Admiral Pellew (afterwards Lord Exmouth), so that the Governor-General Daendels (1808-1811), who had to prepare for the defence against the British, could reckon only on an army too weak to defend all the islands of the Archipelago, or even the whole of the principal island of Java.

When in 1817 Holland recovered most of her former

colonies, which between 1811 and 1817 had been in British hands, the defence of the Archipelago was immediately one of the principal cares of the Government, and has remained so to the present day, although it must be admitted that defence has not always received the attention to which it is entitled, considering the political and economic importance of Netherlands India for Holland's position in the world. It is remarkable, although quite comprehensible, that the question of defence only enjoyed the full attention of the authorities in Holland and those in the Netherlands Indies when complications in Europe awakened the fear that Holland might be involved in a war. This was the case in 1830 (Belgian revolution), in 1848 (general revolutionary movement in Europe), 1867 (the Luxembourg question), 1870 (the Franco-Prussian War), and 1914 (the World War). No sooner was the danger averted, however, than the interest in the defence dropped, sometimes below zero.

This latter symptom also appeared whenever internal disorders demanded in considerable measure the attention of the Government and necessitated the use of military forces. Thus the outbreak of the rising in Central Java (1825-1830), known as the "Java War," resulted in the shelving of the plans with regard to the defence of Java and certain other of the principal islands, contained in a "Memorandum for the Defence of the Royal Netherlands Possessions East of the Cape of Good Hope." The outbreak in 1873 of the war with Acheen, on the northern extremity of Sumatra, which for many years made such heavy demands on Holland's resources in men and money, occupied so completely the attention of both the Supreme Government in the Mother Country and the Netherlands Indies Government, that all consideration of the question of defence of the Indies against attacks from without was regarded as unnecessary, "as," it was said, "the interests of defence required in the first place the repression of internal risings, *in casu*, the war with Acheen."

This was not the first time indeed that the defence against attacks from without was discarded or at least made subservient to the maintenance of tranquillity and order within the country. In 1861 and 1862, the then Minister for the Colonies declared in the States-General that as no fears need be entertained of an attack on the Colonies, all plans of defence might be abandoned, and that the available funds should be utilized in rendering the army more suitable for its task of combating an indigenous enemy. If it were equal to that task, it would also be able to meet a foreign enemy.

In 1876 another Minister argued that the principal task of the army was to take action against an indigenous enemy and that "the strategical question of defence against a European enemy is of secondary importance." In a later period the Supreme Government, through the Minister for the Colonies, expressed the opinion—which was shared by many others—"that the Netherlands East Indies as such would never have to contend with a serious attack, as the keys to the Indies lie within the fortress of Amsterdam, so that the most that the Indies might be called upon to do would be to guard against raids undertaken by a few ships of the enemy, *i.e.*, against *coups de main*."

These and like pronouncements, of course, did not promote interest in the defence question or its rational solution, and elicited many vigorous protests on the part of successive commanders of both land and sea forces. It is only fair to mention that sometimes, even in periods when war did not threaten, the Supreme Government devoted more than usual attention to the defence question; this was the case, for example, in 1899, when a system of defence, adopted in 1892, had not been organized to the extent expected and, presumably for this reason, a military expert, a retired general of the Dutch army, was appointed Governor-General. Under his régime defence measures were energetically taken in hand; fortifications were constructed, not only in Java, but also in other islands—for example, in Pulu Weh, an island on the northern extremity of Sumatra.

In course of time numerous commissions have been appointed to advise the Government concerning the best system of defence, and consequently many plans have been formulated, which have either partly or entirely been carried out, but continuity, which is so necessary in the sphere of defence, is conspicuously absent in the history of the defence of the Netherlands Indies. Lack of space prevents me from giving even a concise survey of the various plans, but certain principles may be mentioned, which may be said to have been maintained, if in a more or less modified form. In so doing no secrets are violated, for the history of the defence system of the Netherlands Indies—as far as its main lines are concerned—is common property; it is publicly discussed and criticized in the two Chambers of the States-General in Holland, in the Volksraad in the Netherlands Indies, and also in the press, whilst an extensive historical survey of the defence system is to be found in the *Encyclopedia for Netherlands Indies*.

The very rational principle of relying in the first place on

the navy for the defence of such extensive insular possessions could not be adopted by Holland, because its resources in both men and money do not permit of maintaining a navy calculated to guarantee the command of the seas in the face of the navies of the surrounding Great Powers, which in the course of time have shown a steady increase. However, there has been no lack of plans and proposals to have the navy play the principal rôle in the defence, sometimes even at the cost of the army.

It should not be deduced from this, however, that in defence the navy has ever been, or is today, a negligible quantity. On the contrary, the navy will always be called upon to meet the first shock of any attack. We have gradually become familiarized, however, with the idea that the navy will not be able to play indefinitely the rôle which it will assume at the beginning of hostilities, and that after its first efforts the turn of the army will come.

It would be beyond the resources, both financially and otherwise, of even a Great Power to put all the numerous islands of the Archipelago in the same state of defence, and, as a matter of fact, this is not necessary, because certain of those islands would not be of the slightest use to any eventual assailant, and for that reason will never be exposed to attack. An energetic defence of the more important islands would, indeed, have been possible if the scheme proposed by the Government in 1915-1917 for the introduction of compulsory military service for the native population had been realized. This would have given us a militia force of a few hundreds of thousands; as it is, the scheme has been abandoned, and we have to be satisfied with the European militia in addition to our expensive volunteer army. It is in the first place the island of Java—from an historical, political and economic point of view the most important island of the Archipelago—which demands a strong defence. This point of view is not of recent date; on the contrary, in practically all the defence schemes which have successively been drafted the defence of Java occupies the foremost place, whilst the safeguarding of the other islands is, apart from the fleet, entrusted to those parts of the army which are stationed there to maintain peace and order.

With regard to the defence of the island of Java, which is about four times the size of the mother country, various principles have gradually been adopted, which, however, all had in common one feature—viz., they all naturally placed the safeguarding of the seat of government and of the

naval bases in the foreground. As is well known, the seat of government has from the very beginning been established at Batavia, at a very short distance from the north coast. Although the Governor-General has his principal residence at Buitenzorg, about thirty miles south of Batavia, practically all Government Departments and Government bodies are established in the last-named town. Considering, further, that Batavia, founded in 1619, on the ruins of Jacatra—the capital of the erstwhile native realm of that name—has always been the centre of trade and commerce, it becomes clear why great importance has always been attached to the undisturbed possession of Batavia. At one time it was decided to fortify the town as strongly as possible and, together with this, to concentrate the defence of the whole island on the capital; another time the difficulties involved in the defence of a town with such an unfavourable strategical situation were regarded as insurmountable and a transfer of the seat of government to the interior was several times advocated, either immediately and permanently, or as soon as war threatened. Thus the transfer of the seat of government to places in Central and Western Java, with simultaneous concentration of the defence of the whole island in those districts, was at one time seriously contemplated and, partially, even prepared. The idea has even been broached of fortifying East Java and to transfer the seat of government there in times of war.

In 1912 it seemed as if a beginning would be made with the transfer of the seat of government. Indeed, in that year, funds were appropriated for the building of a new War Office at Bandoeng, to which town, in 1922, practically all sections of that Department had been transferred. The transfer of the Department for Government Control of Railways, Mines, etc., followed later, but no further transfers took place, so that Batavia is still the principal seat of government.

Naturally in the Netherlands Indies, as elsewhere, a struggle has been waged between "dead" and "living" means of defence; in other words, there were periods in which it was believed that a vigorous defence was only possible if based on strong and costly fortifications. These were followed by others in which salvation was solely expected from a mobile, well-trained, and well-equipped army. Numerous, indeed, have been the fortifications, which not only in Java but also in the other islands have been planned, constructed, utilized, and after a while left to the wear and tear of time. The Netherlands Indies have

passed through these various evolutions in the system of defence at the cost of great financial sacrifices.

As mentioned above, the interest of both the Supreme Government and the Netherlands Indies Government in the defence of Holland's Asiatic possessions declined seriously after the late World War, and this despite the fact that it was realized during that time, to a greater extent than ever before, that the East Indies formed an important centre of international politics. Whilst on the one hand this may be regarded as a reaction from the efforts which both Holland and the Netherlands Indies had to make to preserve neutrality during the war, on the other hand an important factor was the unfavourable condition of the State and colonial finances and the creation of the League of Nations, of which Holland immediately became a member.

At that time, indeed, it was generally believed that the Government expected the League of Nations to banish war, and that for this purpose it aimed at limiting the forces to a minimum and at reducing the army to the status of a "police army." An army commander, who resigned in 1920, declared publicly and emphatically that at that time the army was not in a position successfully to resist any foreign power bent on the conquest of the Netherlands Indies. The position of the naval forces was not much better. Both in the navy and in the army, indeed, a spirit of depression and discouragement reigned, which found expression in Parliament in Holland, in the Volksraad in the Netherlands Indies, at meetings of the Service clubs, in military organs, and in the daily Press.

To all these and similar protests the Government could not shut its ears, and a first symptom of a revival of interest in the defence of the Indies is to be seen in the appointment in 1920 of a Commission in Holland, composed of representatives of the Navy, War, Colonial, and Financial Departments, to draft a scheme of laying down ships covering the next few years, in order to arrive at a logical composition of the fleet.

The proposals of that Commission, which in the first place concerned the defence of the Netherlands Indies, were submitted to the Netherlands Indies Government, which in its turn appointed a special "Defence Commission," to advise concerning the question as to how, in connection with the plans of the Dutch Commission for naval defence, it would be possible to arrive at an efficient defence of the Netherlands Indies, whilst keeping within

the limits of the presumably available resources in men and money.

The advice of this Commission was accepted by both the Netherlands Indies Government and the Supreme Government, but as a result of the unfavourable financial position, it was only possible for the time being to appropriate funds for the extension of the navy.

The proposals introduced for this purpose were passed by a large majority in the Netherlands Indies Volksraad; in the Second Chamber in Holland, however, where certain members, in view of the results of the Conference of Washington, opposed the Navy Bill, the discussions dragged on until the Chamber went into recess.

Again, in 1924, a draft Naval Bill was introduced, providing for a slower rate of construction and retrenchments on the working cost. The discussions on this Bill aroused great excitement throughout the country. The opposition to the creation of a Netherlands Indies defence system ultimately assumed the character of an action—carried on chiefly under the leadership of the Social Democratic Labour Party—against the Government in power. The Bill was finally rejected, though only with a majority of one vote.

The preamble of the two above-mentioned Bills described their object as "strengthening the naval forces with a view to the *defence* of the Netherlands Indies"; now that Parliament, although with the smallest possible majority, had declared itself averse to all measures of defence, and the naval material in the Netherlands Indies being in urgent need of revision, the Government in 1925 again brought in a Naval Bill, not purporting to provide for the defence of the Netherlands Indies, but only for maintaining neutrality on the principle that Holland has in any case to provide forces to preserve neutrality in any possible conflict between other nations. The Government declared that it abandoned all idea of a maritime defence against attacks on a large scale "because effective security against such attacks would require expenditure, especially as regards 'dead material,' which—also in view of the small prospect of such attacks—was out of proportion to the results to be expected." For the Netherlands Indies a "neutrality fleet" of about half the strength proposed in the two preceding Bills was considered necessary. This Bill met with energetic opposition in the Netherlands Indies Volksraad, not only on the part of those who opposed all defence measures on principle, but also, and even more energeti-

cally, from the side of those in favour of strong defence measures. Nevertheless, it was passed by 23 votes to 21. It was, however, not laid before the Home Parliament, as it was the opinion of the Government that "the work of Geneva renders undesirable a definite plan of defence extending over a great number of years."

This attitude of the Government with respect to the defence of the Netherlands Indies gave rise to numerous protests in the Press and at public meetings, whilst in the Netherlands Indies Volksraad great interest continued to be manifested in the question of defence. The Netherlands Indies Government, however, was not prepared to make known its intentions regarding its defence plans, still forming a subject of discussion with the Home Government. These discussions ultimately led to the Home Government in 1927 laying down the principles of defence, which were communicated to the Volksraad and became public property.

These principles defined the aims of the Netherlands Indies military forces as follows :

1. The maintenance of Netherlands authority in the Archipelago against disobedience and rebellion.

2. The execution of Holland's military duties, as a member of the League of Nations, towards other nations, which task—apart from co-operation in the carrying out of military sanctions of the League with all available means—is confined to the preservation of strict neutrality in conflicts between other Powers.

The organization and equipment of military forces are based on the principle that the maintenance of neutrality in Java is the task of the army with the support of the navy, and outside Java that of the navy, which at especially vulnerable points—such as the places where liquid fuel is stored and worked—will be supported by the army.

The naval forces in the Netherlands Indies will consist of a seagoing fleet, floating material for local defence and for purposes of blockade, the naval air forces, and the naval forces on shore.

As to the army, the strength of the infantry is to be determined by what is necessary to perform the task specified in Section 1. In so far as the infantry is stationed in Java, it will be organized, armed, equipped, and reinforced by auxiliary arms and services for the preservation of neutrality in Java.

It was on this basis, the Netherlands Indies Government stated, proposals for the defences would be made.

The actual organization of the two component parts of the Netherlands Indies military forces, the Navy and the Army, can be briefly described as follows :

THE NAVY.—The naval force in the Netherlands Indies forms part of the Royal Dutch Navy. This has not always been the case, for the first naval force which was created in 1816, after the colonies had been restored, was entirely independent of the Dutch Navy and bore the name of Colonial Navy. Its chief task was to combat piracy, and the greater part of the crews were Asiatics. Besides this naval force there was generally a squadron of the Royal Dutch Navy in Indian waters, and it was to the Commander of this squadron that the control over the Colonial Navy was also given about the year 1830. In 1838 the safety of the Netherlands East Indies was considered in every way sufficiently guaranteed by the Dutch squadron, together with the boats (cruising prahus),* which since 1821, under the authority of the Residents, were especially charged with combating piracy, and the Colonial Navy as such was abolished.

Whilst in the first half of the nineteenth century the principal task of the naval forces was the upholding of Dutch authority against native princes and peoples and the stamping out of piracy and slave-trading, in general the guarantee of peace and order throughout the Archipelago, after 1850 the question of the rôle that the Navy should play in the defence system became more prominent. This question, as has been seen above, is at present still being discussed.

In 1864, greater unity was achieved in the organization of the navy by the creation of a Navy Office at Batavia, with the Commander of the naval forces as chief. In 1876, the first armoured cruiser arrived in the Netherlands Indies and the first torpedo boat in 1888. According to a Royal decree of 1896, the fleet in the Netherlands Indies was composed as follows :

- (1) Men-of-war energetically to defend Holland's rights and interests and to uphold her sovereign authority in the Archipelago, also in the eyes of the inhabitants.
- (2) Men-of-war for the defence of ports and roads.
- (3) Men-of-war suitable for compelling the inhabitants to respect authority in the Indian Archipelago.
- (4) Guard-ships and surveying vessels.

The vessels indicated in Section 1 bore the name of the Dutch Squadron in the East Indies.

* These prahus are the predecessors of the still existing Civil Marine.

The Russo-Japanese War and especially the voyage of the Russian Baltic fleet to Japan, which revealed the difficulties inherent in the preservation of neutrality, led in 1906 to the creation of a State Commission to draft a more efficient composition and repartition of the naval forces in Netherlands India. This Commission recommended the forming of a fleet, exclusively composed of torpedo-boats and manned with crews in the colonial service, which was tantamount to the restoration of a Colonial Navy.

The Government shelved this advice and appointed in 1912 another State Commission with more extensive powers than the first, viz. to consider the organization of the defence of the Netherlands Indies both on land and sea, from a political, technical and financial standpoint. In 1913, this Commission proposed the construction of a fleet of powerful battle-cruisers with accompanying torpedo-boats and of an adequately defended naval base. A considerable number of the crews were to be recruited from the naval militia.

No proposals in the matter had been made by the Government when the outbreak of the World War relegated the matter to the background. The naval policy then followed appears sufficiently from the foregoing. It may be added that despite the non-materialization of the Naval Bills, the Navy in the Netherlands Indies has nevertheless in recent years been strengthened by some modern cruisers which were paid for out of the ordinary Budget, whilst the number of destroyers, submarines and seaplanes has gradually been increased. Since 1923 young men of European origin liable for military service are also drafted into the Navy.

THE ARMY.—Before 1918 the Netherlands Indies land forces were exclusively composed of professional soldiers, the vast majority of whom belonged to the indigenous races of the Archipelago. In that year young men of European origin were for the first time incorporated and subjected to compulsory military service.

In the infantry, the various races form separate companies, so that in addition to European there are also Javanese, Sundanese, Ambonese companies, etc. An experiment begun in 1912—avowedly to increase the fighting value of the various units—by including various races in one and the same company, proved unsatisfactory and was discontinued in 1919. In the other arms Europeans and non-Europeans served in the same unit (battery, squadron, etc.).

The Royal Decree of May 23, 1917, which imposed on

those inhabitants who are Dutch subjects the obligation to defend the country, rendered possible the introduction of compulsory military service in their case. As already mentioned this compulsory service for Dutch subjects of European origin was introduced in 1918. Proposals to extend it to subjects of Asiatic origin or foreign Asiatics placed on the same footing have so far been unsuccessful.

The military service is personal and applies to all male (European) inhabitants who are Dutch subjects and from 19 to 45 years old. At the age of 32 years the militiaman passes from the militia to the "landstorm." The militiamen live in barracks and are trained separately from the volunteers and, as far as the infantry is concerned, are incorporated into separate companies also in times of mobilization. They form the fourth companies of the field—battalions.

Practically *pari passu* with compulsory military service the system of a reserve of officers was introduced in the Netherlands Indies army.

In 1913, the opportunity was created for youths of Asiatic origin or those assimilated with natives to be trained as officers at the Royal Military Academy in Holland on the same conditions as youths of European extraction. Only a comparatively small number of young men have so far availed themselves of this opportunity.

The above-mentioned Academy is, since 1928, the only institution for the training of professional officers. Up to 1894 such training was also given in the Netherlands Indies, as far as the Infantry and Military Administration were concerned, at the Military School at Meester Cornelis, Java, which has since been closed.

The Netherlands Indies Army consists of a field army and garrison troops. The former is stationed in Java and the latter distributed over the other islands.

Up to 1907 the peace formation of the field army was not in accordance with the war organization, because no organic connection existed between the infantry and the other arms, whilst the greatest organic unit of the principal arms was formed by the battalions. For military expeditions and for manœuvres of mixed troops, separate units were always used in combination under a command especially created for the purpose and also with temporary staffs. In 1907 these very undesirable conditions were put an end to by the formation—in time of peace—of "mixed brigades," each composed of 4 infantry battalions, 1 artillery section, 1 squadron of cavalry, 1 machine-gun company, half a company of engineers, trains and accompanying services. The

brigade commander was at the same time territorial commander in the district in which the troops included in the brigade were stationed.

In 1922 the field army was redistributed by detailing it into divisions, coupled with the introduction of regiment formation in the arms where such was possible and also with a revision of the territorial division of Java, as the division commanders were placed in command of the territorial sections. A division of the field army now comprises 3 infantry regiments, of 3 (in case of mobilization 4) battalions each, besides a machine-gun company, 1 battalion of light infantry, half a regiment of cavalry of 3 squadrons, 1 artillery regiment, composed of one field section, one mountain section and 1 howitzer section, one company of cyclists, one company of engineer troops, trains and auxiliary services. Outside the frame of the division there are a number of infantry sections, heavy artillery, technical troops, orderlies and the Air Force. Further, every arm in Java has its depot, in which the newly arrived troops are trained and the cadre is formed.

From the infantry field troops in Java the garrisons in the other islands are kept up. These troops are, according to their strength—which depends on the size and importance of the district—organized into detachments, companies and battalions. The European militiamen residing in some of the districts are also incorporated in those sections of the garrison troops. The territorial command in the districts outside Java is in the hands either of officers especially appointed, or of the Commanders of the troops garrisoned in the district.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

HEALTH PROGRESS IN INDIA

BY SIR THOMAS CAREY EVANS, M.C., F.R.C.S.

I MUST first of all thank you for the honour you have done me by inviting me to address the Association this evening. In accepting your invitation, I felt that, whatever my inexperience in addressing a gathering like this, I would be amongst workers in the same field, and that my audience would be full of sympathy, and deeply interested in the progress and welfare of their fellow beings in India. Your Association was founded to promote the "welfare of the inhabitants of India," and I am sure we are all agreed that health work, efficiently carried out, is far and away the best means of furthering this laudable object.

Your Chairman, Sir Harcourt Butler, during the many years he served India, was intimately associated with health work in all its spheres. He gave every support to various voluntary health organizations such as the Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance Association. He served for many years at Delhi and Simla on the committees of the Dufferin Fund, the Lady Chelmsford League, and Lady Minto's Association. They owe him a great debt for the labour he so ungrudgingly devoted to them. Indeed, any appeal sent to him as Governor of the United Provinces or of Burma in connection with the branches of these societies in those provinces was never in vain, while his record in Burma in matters relating to public health and welfare will remain for all time as a monument of his foresight and vision. The Harcourt Butler Institute of Public Health at Rangoon is the first of its kind in India and Burma; it is bound to have a beneficial influence in years to come, and I sincerely hope it will be an example to be followed by the other provinces.

The title of this paper covers a very big subject and relates to a continent far more diversified than Europe. There is so much that can be said even about the progress of only one of its provinces that I cannot hope to cover the subject either to your or my own satisfaction. The most I can do is to touch on conspicuous points and to leave you to interrogate me, if you subsequently wish to do so, upon omissions or whatever may be obscure.

CURATIVE WORK

To appreciate progress on the curative side of this great work, I must refer to the early history of our connection with India. One of the most widely known stories thereon is the legend of Gabriel Broughton, the surgeon of the ship *Hopewell*. He was sent for to attend the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jahan who had been badly burned. Luckily for us he effected a cure and made such an impression upon the Emperor that when he was requested to name his own reward, he asked for and obtained liberty for his masters, the East India Company, to trade in Bengal.

Factories were established on the River Hughli, the site on which Calcutta with its two million inhabitants is a thriving city today. This was the beginning. We had to protect by garrisons this privilege to trade, and the death-rate amongst our troops and traders from the so-called tropical diseases was exceptionally heavy. The knowledge of the causation of disease and its prevention was in its infancy, and though our primary purpose in our various enterprises in the East was trade and commerce, the question of the health of the traders and of garrisons became an important factor. Today the health of the Britisher in all tropical countries is so dependent on the health of our coloured fellow subjects that we cannot advance without that greater reward of their progress as well.

The study of tropical diseases started with our garrisons, chiefly by officers of the Indian Medical Service, the Service which has done so much in the investigation of the cause and

prevalence and cure of these diseases. Today the benefit of our researches in the fight against disease is not confined to India but is given to the whole world. Our whole destiny as a nation today depends more and more on the development of our tropical possessions than on any other factor. The whole scientific world recognizes and utilizes the epoch-making discoveries of Sir Ronald Ross in connection with malaria, the discovery of emetine in the treatment of dysentery and of the saline treatment of cholera by Sir Leonard Rogers, and the recent researches of Colonel MacCarrison on food values and goitre. Diseases hitherto held to be hopelessly incurable, such as kala-azar and leprosy, have now been brought well within the realms of curative medicine. Hookworm disease, so prevalent amongst tea-garden coolies, is rapidly being controlled, and at the present rate of progress a few years hence will be a disease of the past. Unhappily, though our researches into the causation and prevention of plague have been invaluable, we have not as yet discovered a remedy for this vile disease.

I would like to mention one other disease, and that is tropical sore. We first came in contact with the malady during the siege of Delhi in the Mutiny, when 75 per cent. of our troops were attacked by this unpleasant affliction. It was then christened Delhi boil. It was discovered that the disease was conveyed by a species of sand-fly and was always associated with insanitary surroundings. Today it hardly exists at Delhi, and during the three years I spent there I never saw a single case. This in itself is proof of what efficient hygienic measures can do in the eradication of disease.

CONTRASTED PICTURES

Sir Nilratan Sircar at the opening of the All-Indian Medical Conference on December 28 last, speaking of the noble workers to whom I have referred, used such terms as "alien aloofness and apathy," "sneers of self-sufficiency,"

and "arrogance and self-righteousness." Such phrases on the lips of a well-known medical practitioner in a medical conference are not quite suited to a disquisition on the value and progress of medicine to suffering humanity ; nor does it promote the universality of medicine, which has, up to now, known neither race, creed, nor country as a barrier.

Having quoted one Indian authority, I must now quote another—Hans Rama Rau, the editor of a medical paper called the *Antiseptic*. In an essay in which he recalls the various contributors to his journal during the twenty-five years of its existence he warmly acknowledges the assistance rendered by British officers in the raising of the status of the subordinate medical services. To fully understand this, we have to be conversant with the early beginnings of the training of assistants in the various hospitals established by the officers of the Indian Medical Service. Then he alludes to regularization of the practice of lay vaccination, the suppression of quackery, the promotion of public health legislation, and the great progress in medical education generally throughout India. He concludes by exhorting members of the medical profession in India and abroad to cast aside all racial and geographical prejudices and to work together for the common interest of suffering humanity.

The sentiments expressed by this well-known health worker in India provide a true picture of the progress generally accomplished, and are an inspiration for further efforts. The services rendered to India in the vast field of medicine and hygiene by British workers are written large and cannot be decried. Co-operation in other spheres may be lacking, but here it is easy and essential. Medical men in India and elsewhere may be entitled to have strong political views and racial feelings, but these should never prevent their working together without acrimony or jealousy, if only because they are labouring in the one great field for the good of common humanity.

MEDICAL ADMINISTRATION

As many of you know, with the advent of the Reforms all medical matters were classed as "transferred." Hence each province is directly responsible for the administration of all sanitary and medical matters. Whether this is an advantage or not does not concern us. Let us hope anyway that it will encourage a healthy rivalry between the various provinces in all matters relating to hygiene generally. I can never imagine any province declaring war on its neighbour because of its lower infantile or general mortality-rate, or on account of the greater efficiency of its sanitary service. Time must be the best judge of the value of this great change.

The position of the Central Government in medical affairs today is that of a tactful co-operator, keeping a benevolent eye on each province and ready at all times to step in when its advice or help is needed. It still exercises important powers in respect of infections and contagious diseases, and takes part in medical activities of an international character, maintaining a special cadre of experts to deal with these problems. It also makes annual grants to the Indian Research Fund Association, which has during the last few years carried out important researches into various aspects of malaria, plague, cholera, tuberculosis, maternal and infant mortality, and numerous other matters. Valuable results have been obtained from the researches of the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine, the Malarial Survey of India, the Haffkine Institute at Bombay, and the Central Research Institute at Kasauli. So important is research work considered by the Central Government that it invited two important International Congresses on Tropical Medicine and Hygiene to meet in India during 1927-8. The subjects discussed at these two conferences ranged over the whole field of tropical medicine.

The question of medical education in the various Universities and teaching colleges has within the last few years been thoroughly investigated by a deputation from the

General Medical Council of Great Britain. Recommendations have been made with a view to their co-ordination and to the improvement of medical education generally, while the establishment of an All-India General Medical Council on similar lines to that which exists in this country will very shortly be an accomplished fact.

It will be seen that the Central Government has still great responsibilities. It is supplying the essential stimulus with a greater power and force than at any previous time towards progress in the field of hygiene generally. Up to recent years all improvements in sanitation and hygiene were entirely the work of the State, and naturally in such a huge continent progress was slow. It had to be made against great obstacles and with greater expenditure of money and labour than elsewhere, and as we find in other matters, what is in England "one problem" is in India a mass of problems, many of these being deeply rooted in traditional usage or in some complicated religious custom.

PUBLIC HEALTH OFFICERS

The devolution of the powers of the Central Government to the various provinces is producing a healthy rivalry, and we can safely state that remarkable progress is being made in each and every province. Briefly, each province has its Minister for Health and Education, who is the head of the department dealing with medical and sanitary matters. He has usually three medical experts—(1) one for sanitation and public health, (2) one in charge of hospitals and medical schools, and (3) one in charge of jails.

The first of these officers is responsible for the general supervision of sanitary and welfare work, and within the last few years has been an official director of propaganda, such as cinema and lantern shows, lectures in schools, and the distribution of pamphlets on health and hygiene. This latter branch of the work has progressed in an extraordinary manner within recent years. A definite demand has been created, and is rapidly increasing amongst the masses, for

information relating to health matters and hygiene generally. This demand has arisen especially since the Great War. There has been a spirit of progress in all countries, but nowhere greater than in India.

This demand has been fostered to a large extent by various voluntary organizations, such as the Red Cross Society, the St. John Ambulance Association, the Lady Chelmsford League for Child Welfare and Maternity, and particularly by that wonderful institution established and organized by the Marchioness of Reading when she was Vicereine of India—National Baby Week. All these societies have been notably assisted by the lay press, both English and Indian. The newspapers in India have exercised a great influence in this respect. The majority of editors are only too willing to come to the assistance of workers, both official and voluntary, when questions of health and sanitation are concerned.

WATER-SUPPLY

The incidence of such diseases as cholera, enteric, and the dysenteries is still high. These being water-borne diseases, those of you acquainted with India will appreciate the difficulties that exist in establishing proper water-supplies, even for the larger towns. It is only within living memory that any attempt has been made to supply such important cities as Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta with a protected water-supply. Today all the provinces are paying urgent attention to this important question; but one of the greatest obstacles is finance. Religious bigotry was a serious obstacle years ago. The question whether a Brahman may drink tap-water or not is of little importance at the present day.

However, human memory is short, and I would remind you that only a hundred years ago there was a serious outbreak of cholera in this very city. Enteric was endemic. London was then drained by sewers flowing alongside the streets directly into the Thames. There was no separate house

drainage except of the most primitive and insanitary type. The drinking-water supply was obtained from wells sunk in the immediate vicinity of cesspools and of the scandalously overcrowded burial-grounds. No wonder devastating epidemics of cholera and enteric occurred. This description of the city of London would be equally true of all the cities in the British Isles a hundred years ago. To judge progress it is essential to look back a few generations. Today all our cities and towns have a plentiful and reliable water-supply and an efficient system of drainage. The experience we have gained through the study and progress of hygiene in England and its application in our colonizing enterprises has been one of the outstanding factors in our success as builders of the greatest Empire in the history of the world. We can safely say that great progress is being made in India with (1) water-supplies, (2) conservancy, and (3) food control and general medical arrangements.

MALARIA

Malaria is the disease whose insidious inroads vitally affect the whole of India, and any accurate mathematical estimate of its ravages would astound us all. It is only within recent years that either the people of India or the local and provincial authorities have given it serious thought. Many of the provinces now have special officers with a requisite establishment to investigate malarial conditions, and to advise the Governments and local authorities. It will take many years before the individual Indian is educated sufficiently to grasp its importance. No easy solution of the malaria problem exists. Each town, each village, each area, has to be judged on its merits, and preventive measures planned to suit local requirements. The physical and geographical features have to be carefully considered in addition to the social and economic status of the people concerned.

Colonel Christophers, of the Indian Medical Service, a few years ago made a rough estimate from the various

Census returns that there were 80,000 insane, 200,000 deaf-mutes, 500,000 totally blind, and 130,000 lepers—a total of 910,000 persons who can scarcely be said to live. Christophers in his report shows also how preventable diseases hinder industrial expansion, interfere with public administration and trade, and specially affect the rural labouring classes. The influence of these diseases extends far beyond India. Shipping and other firms have to pay their agents higher salaries for living in an unhealthy country. In fact, everyone connected with a disease-stricken territory suffers one way or another.

We hear of unrest in India so constantly that we have got used to it. Every country where disease is rife is a restless country. The people are unhappy and discontented. They do not know what they want, and what they have they cannot appreciate. The prosperity of any country must depend on the health of its people, and the power to produce must also be governed by the health of the producers. The increase of the knowledge of hygiene has invariably led to happiness, contentment, greater efficiency in every sphere, and an increase of understanding and appreciation.

Dr. Bentley, the Health Officer for Bengal, in a recent report, referring to the high infantile mortality rate of 500 per 1,000 throughout the whole of Bengal, gives the following reasons for this: (1) The premature marriage of the parents; (2) the debility that arises from malaria; (3) the lamentable lack of appreciation of even the most elementary rules of hygiene.

When life is begun under conditions that lead to the death of one child out of every two, the vitality of the survivors is not likely to be other than poor, and if the general standard of vitality is low and the power to resist disease diminished, the prosperity of India cannot increase at the rate it would otherwise do.

EDUCATION AND PROPAGANDA

The real solution of India's health problem lies in one thing, and that one thing is the spread of education on

proper and practical lines. The reduction of the death-rate to a reasonable level and the general improvement in the public health must be brought by the people themselves. They must be taught the necessity of preventing disease and the need for abandoning customs and superstitions whose ultimate effect is to hamper that essential work of prevention. It is by personal contact and personal example that the ignorant and conservative individual can be best convinced of the error of his ways.

As I have mentioned, each province is at the present time carrying on an intensive propaganda scheme, and I will give a few examples. During 1927 in the Madras Presidency 91,827 lectures were delivered in 41,000 centres to nearly 5,000,000 people. One-eighth of the total population of this Presidency were reached by this means. Audiences were drawn from all classes of society, but mainly from the labourers of the rural areas, who are completely ignorant of even the elementary principles of hygiene and of the facts relating to the causation, spread and prevention of disease. Five years ago nothing of the kind was being attempted.

Because ideas conveyed through the eye leave a more lasting impression than those conveyed through the ear, it has been the policy of this province to equip each health inspector with a magic lantern and slides. 8,800 demonstrations were given during 1927, compared with 6,000 in 1926. This work cannot be carried out without trained personnel, and during 1927 the Madras Government sanctioned the appointment of eight new health officers in eight municipalities. Thirty-four out of the eighty-one municipalities in this presidency now have their own health officers.

A special establishment for the investigation of malaria has been recently created, and the results have already in many districts amply justified its existence. I will quote you an example. During the last two years a vigorous anti-malaria campaign was carried out by the specially

trained staff in a given area. In 1925 the original inhabitants of this area were found to be very severely infected. During 1926-7 the report reads thus: "Malaria as a source of disability has been practically negligible in this area." You may ask why this is not done all over India. It would be impossible. The question of finance immediately arises, and also the small numbers of trained workers. Progress will have to be gradual.

Again, in the Punjab in 1927 the number of hospitals increased from 780 to 885—approximately 12 per cent. There was an increase of 870,480 in the number of patients attending. The report shows that the pressing need of this province is for more and more women doctors.

Speaking of hospitals, I must refer to the remarkable success of a member of your Council, Sir Leslie Wilson, in inspiring the generosity of the people of Bombay, as in war days Lady Willingdon did. Sir Leslie founded in 1925 what is now known as the Governor's Hospital Fund for Bombay, which is designed to add 2,000 beds to the inadequate hospital accommodation of the Western India capital, and will be continued on a permanent basis on the lines of the King Edward's Hospital Fund for London.

The progress in the Central Provinces has been phenomenal. After perusing the reports of the various provinces, I consider it must take first place in the development of child welfare and maternity work, and also in the opening of new and modern hospitals.

To give you some idea of the activities of the Bengal Presidency, twenty-nine municipalities have now their own water-works, and the report states that on the whole the future municipal administration of Bengal may be anticipated, if not with optimism at least with hopefulness. In the far-away province of Assam the local boards spent 29 per cent. of their free income on education, 24 per cent. on communications, and 23 per cent. on public health. Here, as in all the provinces, there is remarkable awakening and all-round progress.

THE WORK OF THE ENGLISHWOMAN

There has been no nobler or greater influence shown in any of our efforts for the welfare of our fellow subjects in India than by the wives of Viceroys and Governors of provinces. I was for three years Honorary Secretary of the Dufferin Fund, the Lady Chelmsford League, the Victoria Memorial Fund, and the National Baby Week. When I reflect on the excellent work carried out in the past, in spite of public apathy, financial stringency and lack of encouragement—save that of the moral righteousness of their cause—I feel that these ladies, the originators of these excellent organizations now spread all over India, will for ever live in the hearts of the masses of the people of India.

Today the harvest is appearing and the energy expended is yearly becoming a more and more powerful force for moral and physical progress in the field of hygiene. From a small beginning in the days of the Countess of Dufferin, only barely fifty years ago, there are today twenty-eight modern hospitals in British India alone for the treatment of women, and hundreds of widely spread dispensaries.

The Indian States have not been behind. Progress can be safely claimed as far as they are concerned, and it would be invidious on my part to mention any particular State. Progress in a State is largely dependent on the enlightenment of its ruler, and a few of the States are exceptional in this respect.

The medical women are far too few in number for the work that lies before them, and here I must criticize the attitude of the Central Government. The influence of women in India, though they are relegated to a much lower status than they are in England, is felt in every direction. The majority of them secluded in *zenanas* exert their influence over the home life, over their children—the future inhabitants of India. They have a subtle but powerful influence over the political future of India. We have not considered them sufficiently in the past for the simple

reason that a Government of men only could not approach them, and the only way of enlightening them is through our and their own womenfolk.

The Women's Medical Service, with its ridiculously small cadre, has accomplished wonders, and it will be agreed that any expansion of its activities will result in benefits to the women and children of India vastly out of proportion to the expense incurred. Under the devolution arrangements the Central Government is unwilling to incur any additional expenditure for Dufferin Fund doctors working in the provinces, whilst the Provincial Governments refuse to make any contribution or to take over this branch, apparently thinking that the Central Government should bear all the expense. In the meantime, here is a noble service dwindling away and losing heart, being left in mid-air without encouragement or support, excepting from its own meagre funds. Women doctors are working under great disabilities, with far more work than they can cope with. I would like to read a few extracts from some of the reports for this last year. They are pathetic in their earnestness.

(1) The year has been a satisfactory one, the work showing a remarkable increase in all departments—our chief difficulty being an insufficient number of beds, in spite of requisitioning all the available verandah space and using charpoys. The hospital is decidedly understaffed, and it is impossible to arrange for holidays or sickness without throwing an undue strain on the remaining members who are already doing over the full share of duty!

(2) The extensions are urgently required in the interests of the patients and staff, and I hope they may be proceeded with forthwith. It would indeed be a poor economy were they delayed.

(3) This year my report on the working of the hospital is very satisfactory, in spite of the fact that we are threatened with bankruptcy. The one result of our poverty throughout the year has been that we have had to exercise not only the strictest economy in our expenditure, but actual parsimony in admitting and treating patients in this hospital. In spite of all this, our number of new indoor patients has increased by 17 per cent. over that of last year.

These are not isolated examples. Every hospital report shows a remarkable increase in every sphere of activity. This is the one service that can ameliorate the hard lot of the women—the many millions of the women and children

of India—but it is being sacrificed at the altar of political reform. The Junior Maharani of Travancore a few months ago, in her excellent speech upholding the women's cause in India, made these cryptic remarks :

No doubt it will be said, as is said of every shortcoming, that the Government is to blame. It is to blame if we urge that a Government is wrong to respect the prejudices and religious inhibitions of the people over whom it rules, but on no other ground can the charge be made. The ignorance in which women are kept reacts on the whole national life. Not only does it prevent the home being the school of the child in its early years, but it denies to the schools a resource without which no nation has ever educated itself. Illiteracy, one of the greatest obstacles to hygiene, has no position at the present day in this world.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Health progress is such an involved question in India. Hygiene is so dependent on education, engineering, economics, and the question of finance, that it is extremely difficult to define its boundaries. Statistics are extremely unreliable, and can only be approximate in a country where the registration of births and deaths is not carried out methodically. Still, these show a definite improvement. The infantile mortality and the general death-rate are still far too high when compared with European standards. Compared with ten years ago in such cities as Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, from an average of between 600 and 700 per thousand it has been brought down to 500 per thousand.

Though disease is being controlled, there are still the social customs and religious habits to contend with. The question of child marriage is a social problem which only Indians themselves can tackle. Great progress has been made both in India and this country with regard to food values and vitamins. The school examination of children which is carried out in certain areas of the Bombay Presidency showed that a high percentage of the children attending school were suffering from food deficiency diseases, 66 per cent., not from lack of food, but the wrong food. Again, 70 per cent. of the students at the University of Calcutta showed signs of some physical defect or other. Again, here,

the evil effects of certain social customs is noted, and the only means of abolishing them is by health propaganda and also by encouraging the development of civic responsibility.

With regard to such diseases as cholera, plague and malaria, smallpox, kala-azar, and hookworm, we have the requisite knowledge to stamp them out, but knowledge is not sufficient. Money is required, and determination to carry out the measures for their prevention. It follows that the problems are not entirely medical. They are now chiefly financial, administrative, and educational.

Effective reform in every public health sphere is by steady processes. The golden age is still far away and is not a matter of generations but of centuries, and the record of progress in tropical medicine and hygiene is unequalled in any other branch of this great science. I have not told you anything like the whole story. If I attempted to do so I should weary you. I wish I could have told you more from the inexhaustible store of the potentialities and the fascination of the subject. The story of the efforts of British doctors, men and women, in India is a romance and an epic, and we can safely say that no Government in the world today can show a better record of State aid in regard to medical research, medical education, and medical relief than the Government of India. Only those who know India intimately can appreciate the obstacles to progress and the difficulties which have had to be faced.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Tuesday, April 16, 1929, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., when a paper was read by Sir T. Carey Evans, M.C., F.R.C.S., on "Health Progress in India."

Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., presided, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., The Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir William Ovens Clark and Lady Clark, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir Charles Armstrong, Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., and Mrs. Richey, Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., and Mrs. Mallik, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Lady Chatterton, Sir Frederick A. Nicholson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Leonard Rogers, C.I.E., M.D., F.R.C.S., M.R.C.P., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Miss Marsh, Sir George Barnes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Sir Cecil Walsh, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. F. W. H. Smith, C.I.E., Mrs. Ameer Ali, Dr. and Mrs. G. Carmichael Low, Dr. Elizabeth Sloan Chesser, Mrs. Coatman, Mrs. Nolan, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Maulvi Farzand Ali, Mrs. and Miss Harris, Mr. Scott Bremner, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Miss A. A. Morton, Miss Margaret Brown, Miss Corfield, Miss Bennett Clark, Miss Macpherson, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Khan Sahib and Mrs. M. H. Kothawala, the Misses Kothawala, Miss Caton, Dr. Shah, Mr. W. E. Bennett, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mrs. Bremner, Miss Curteis, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. B. C. Singh, Mr. Nair, Dr. Menon, Miss Brady, Mr. L. Bundaram, Mr. G. A. Dempster, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

Sir LOUIS DANE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before we proceed with the ordinary business of the meeting it appears to the Council that it would be suitable and appropriate on the part of one of the oldest Associations connected with India if we at this meeting passed a resolution of condolence with the members and officers of the Legislative Assembly on the dastardly outrage committed in that Assembly on April 8, and expressing our condemnation of the action of the bomb-throwers, their instigators and abettors. I am sure that a resolution of this kind does not require much commendation by me to you.

We must all feel very deeply on this matter, and those who happened to be present in December, 1912, when a similar outrage took place, and a bomb was thrown at Lord Hardinge on the occasion of the taking over of Delhi by the Government of India from the Punjab Government, must feel all the more deeply. It is probably not known to all of you, but it is a fact that Lord Hardinge largely brought that outrage upon his own head. It was owing to his own courage and misplaced confidence in the affection of the people that he refused to have the ordinary police precautions taken which for the fifty years during which Delhi had remained under

the charge of the Punjab Government had secured practical immunity from such outrages as that which occurred at Delhi. The absence of those ordinary police precautions was the cause of the outrage, facilitated it, and rendered it impossible to secure the person who threw the bomb.

Speaking as one of a generation that is passing away, I think that it is not always a good thing to scrap those arrangements, administrative and otherwise, which in a great country have succeeded in securing peace, prosperity, and progress, and to introduce in place of them possibly excellent arrangements for securing a different form of administration until they have been adequately tried out. At any rate, the experience of the Government of India since they took over Delhi seventeen years ago has, I am afraid, been singularly unfortunate, culminating in this last outrage in the very home of that representative government which was to work such marvels for the benefit of India.

A good many of us must have been rather apprehensive lest the explosion of this bomb in the Chamber of the Assembly at Delhi should have similar consequences to those which followed the explosion of the powder barrels seventy years ago outside Clerkenwell Prison in London. It was those explosions which convinced a great statesman in London that Home Rule had been brought within the range of practical politics for Ireland, and what has been the unfortunate fate of that country almost ever since and even at the present time? We are very glad to see that Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, did not take that easy course, but has shown that he is prepared to insist upon the maintenance of order in India in the most effective way it is possible for him to do, and we must all be very grateful to the Viceroy for asserting himself at this very decisive moment. I have no doubt whatever that the events which have occurred, beginning with the outrage that was intended to wreck the train of Sir John Simon and his colleagues, the various outrages and riots that have occurred in Delhi and other places in India since they have been out there, and, finally, this outrage on the eve of their departure from India, will at any rate have given them some idea of the difficulties which attend the introduction into that country of systems and arrangements based upon experience in other totally different countries, which may or may not be suited to the conditions which at present prevail in India. I would ask that you would signify in the usual way your assent to the message of condolence and condemnation which I have suggested.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

Sir LEONARD ROGERS said the subject dealt with by the paper which had been read by the lecturer was so important that it was only possible to touch on a very few points. He had been particularly interested during the past few years in the epidemic diseases of smallpox and cholera. It was now possible to forecast those epidemics six months before they arrived, having regard to meteorological conditions, which enabled preparations to be made for dealing with them. The average incidence of smallpox had greatly decreased, owing to vaccination, compared with the sixties and seventies. With regard to cholera there had

been no reduction in the last sixty years in India, which was very disappointing, and was largely owing to the bad water supplies in the villages. The incidence of cholera also depended in some degree on climatic and meteorological conditions. Inoculation against cholera was not used in India as much as it ought to be, though it had been successfully used in the Dutch East Indies and French Indo-China. Malaria had also been mentioned by the lecturer. Dr. Bentley, one of the great medical workers in India, had pointed out that malaria in Bombay was due to a particular mosquito which bred in wells. Attempts had been made to remedy that state of affairs, but there were considerable difficulties in the way, which were mainly due to the uneducated Indians refusing to allow their wells to be made mosquito proof. The financial losses owing to malaria in Bombay had amounted in seventeen years to £5,000,000. With regard to kala-azar, owing to the new treatment in the last epidemic of that disease in 1918, the mortality was negligible as compared with the previous one, in which the mortality was very high indeed. It was very desirable to educate the people in India as much as possible in public health matters with a view to the prevention of the diseases he had mentioned, and steps were being taken in that direction by the establishment of a Public Health Institute in Calcutta at the cost of the Rockefeller Foundation. There was great ignorance on the subject of hygiene and sanitation. On one occasion he had seen a notice at one end of a water tank: "This end of the tank is reserved for drinking purposes," and at the other end there was the notice, "This end of the tank is reserved for washing purposes." More recruits were now being obtained for the I.M.S., which would now be able to do greater work than formerly. They would be able to concentrate considerably more on research, on which depended the future progress of medicine in India. (Applause.)

Dr. CARMICHAEL LOW (London School of Tropical Medicine) thanked Sir Thomas Carey Evans for his very interesting address. He said that the subject of health progress in India, as in the tropics generally, was one of the greatest importance. Sanitation in many parts of the tropics at the present time was in the same condition that existed in England one hundred years ago, a condition that could truly be called deplorable. The first thing in dealing with hygiene was to discover the cause of disease, because by knowing this one could devise the necessary methods for combating the spread of it. Prevention was always better than cure, but one must remember that even though the exact germ was known in many diseases, such as diphtheria, cholera, and typhoid fever, yet one had not been able to completely stamp out these maladies, although by knowing the exact cause great progress has been made in that direction.

When the speaker began tropical medicine under Sir Patrick Manson thirty years ago many of the tropical problems were still unsolved. The brilliant work of that great physician, together with that of the equally brilliant research worker Sir Ronald Ross, had, it is true, solved the problem of malaria and had shown that that disease was spread by mosquitoes, but many of the others still remained. In those days the

young workers were sent abroad to various parts of the globe to study the different diseases found there, and in his own case India was considered too healthy, so he was sent to Central America and Central Africa.

The speaker said he could give the audience many examples of the progress which had been made in tropical medicine during the last thirty years. In the case of many tropical diseases an insect intermediary was necessary, and if this could be removed, the disease came to an end. Acting upon the discovery of the part which the mosquito played in the spreading of malaria, an American Commission discovered that yellow fever was also spread by a similar insect—a mosquito of a different genus. Once that knowledge was obtained, steps were taken to prevent people infected with yellow fever from being bitten by mosquitoes, and war was also directed upon the breeding grounds of the latter. The results had been extraordinary. In Havana, where yellow fever had been endemic during the time of the Spanish occupation, the disease was completely eradicated and Havana was, at the present day, as safe from infection with yellow fever as was London. It was the knowledge of the part which the mosquito played in the spreading of yellow fever which had enabled the Panama Canal to be constructed. De Lesseps had failed in his attempt to carry out this work not by reason of any engineering difficulty, but simply because of disease which swept off the workpeople in hundreds. Gorgas, having the knowledge of how the diseases were spread, was able to prevent them and so allow the engineers to carry out this great work.

In Africa the great disease of sleeping sickness was now known to be spread by certain kinds of tsetse fly, and by studying the habits of this insect and knowing where exactly it lived, one had been able to move the natives out of the infected zones and so save countless lives. Kala-azar had been mentioned by the lecturer. Thirty years ago every person who contracted that disease died, but as a result of recent discoveries in curative medicine, the death rate had been reduced to something like 10 per cent. only. This wonderful achievement was due to the fact that antimony given into the veins was a specific against the cause of the disease. The history of the intravenous use of antimony was in many respects like a fairy tale. This drug when given by the mouth causes severe vomiting and when injected into the tissues causes sloughing and ulceration. On account of these disadvantages, though it was known that the drug was antagonistic to the trypanosome which causes sleeping sickness, its use had to be given up in this disease. Then came the great discovery of Professor Broden and Dr. Rodhain on the Congo, who found out that this toxic drug could be given directly into the veins of a person without producing appreciable harm. This wonderful knowledge led to the general use of antimony in cases of sleepy sickness, and then it was tried in other diseases as well. Kala-azar was one of these, and as had just been said, the intravenous use of antimony had reduced the mortality of that disease to practically nil.

With regard to India, it was only a matter of time and a gradual education of the population, to get enormous advances in hygiene. The advance

in all matters tropical in the last thirty years was astounding. Rome was not built in a day, and the Tropics would not be rendered as healthy as England in a day either. We were on the right road, however, and future generations would reap the benefit of the work which was being done now. Though we might not ourselves see these advances, yet they would come and render the Empire more habitable as regards health generally, and diminish the pain and suffering of the many unfortunate individuals doomed to death by diseases which preventive medicine in the future might eliminate altogether.

Dr. ELIZABETH SLOAN CHESSEY said that Indian health visitors should be trained in large numbers and sent to the villages. There was great need for health work in Indian villages. Many of the girls trained in India remained at present in the towns. As infant welfare work is more and more distributed throughout India, a great reduction in infantile mortality will be effected. She had been informed that in those areas where infant welfare clinics had been established the infantile mortality had been greatly reduced.

Mrs. COATMAN said the present state of affairs in India was largely due to the lack of education, particularly of the women. Education of the women would be more effective in spreading knowledge of hygiene than would education given to the men. It was extremely difficult to educate the women in the towns and still more difficult to educate the women in the villages, but she was certain that education of the women was the one thing that would bring about the salvation of the country from the standpoint of advance in health and sanitation and in regard to the social services which they had been considering. Mention had been made of the wonderful work done by English women in connection with health in India, but in her opinion Indian women really deserved a great deal more credit. It was comparatively easy for the English women to do all sorts of things in connection with health and sanitation which in the case of Indian women needed a great deal of courage to undertake. To an English woman it did not appear to be a very great task to demonstrate the sterilization of clothes by boiling, for instance, but it was another matter in the case of a high-caste Hindu lady, who would say: "I am turning myself into a dhobi." Such things meant much more to Indian women than could possibly be realized in England. By Indian women taking up social work was the only way in which their country could progress on the right lines, and they needed more support, encouragement and praise than they were likely to get, because people did not realize at what cost they were doing the work. The fact that England was now kept free of diseases which in London were prevalent a hundred years ago was mainly due to education, and the same thing would apply to India. In England the Women's Institutes all over the country had been very useful, and she thought the same sort of organizations would be most beneficial in India. Anyone who knew English villages twenty years ago and at the present time would realize that there was an enormous difference. The houses were the same, there was still great lack of drainage and conservancy, but the way in which

the subject of sanitation and hygiene was attacked was entirely different, which was very largely due to the influence of the Women's Institutes in the villages. The movement had spread through England like fire through stubble. It had been started in India, but mostly in the towns and under different names, but when it spread to the villages they would have the beginning of the health revolution for which they were all looking. (Applause.)

Mr. MALLIK said he had spent most of his life in connection with sanitation work in India, and, although a layman, he would like to say a few words on the subject of malaria. Coming from Bengal, bad health was part of his inheritance, and that alone, if not anything else, gave him a right to speak. The most important question in Bengal at the present moment was the question of sanitation and public health. Next in importance came the question of education. At the present time it was hopeless to try to impress upon the masses that malaria was a preventable disease. Sir Malcolm Watson had gone out to India to give the message of hope that it was so, and that at an economic cost.

In his native village a clinic had been started with considerable difficulty. At first only five or six patients per week had attended, but after six years the number had risen to over six hundred. That showed the splendid results which had been achieved, amongst which one was the revival of the spirit of self-help. He had had the good fortune of working with British women for many years, missionaries and others, and they commanded his highest admiration. Indians were under a debt of the deepest gratitude to them, not only in the region of medicine, but in many other matters. (Applause.) The I.M.S. have also rendered excellent service. He was glad to find it admitted in the paper that since the Department of Public Health had been transferred to Indian ministers the propaganda work, which was of vital importance, had been started in India. Such work can always be best done by the educated Indians themselves.

He was sorry to find that there was no mention in the paper, which was a most excellent one, of the fact that the total percentage of taxation spent by the Government in India in sanitation and in education was out of all proportion small for the needs of such important departments affecting the vital interests of the people.

Sir LESLIE WILSON said he spoke with diffidence, because he was a layman who had neither the practical experience of Mr. Mallik nor the technical knowledge of the members of the medical profession who had addressed the meeting, and he would not have spoken at all but for the very generous allusion to the hospital scheme which he had had the honour of inaugurating in Bombay. The need for further and better hospitals in Bombay when he arrived there in 1923 was apparent, and he and his friends had inaugurated a large and ambitious scheme for providing 2,000 more beds, because the hospitals were in a very bad state and because there was not at that time a single children's hospital, there was no dental institute, and there was hardly a maternity hospital. They would not have tried to go forward with such an ambitious scheme if they

had not recognized that the people themselves were anxious and desirous that something should be done at once, the best evidence of which was that, within the space of three years, the public had subscribed a sum of no less than Rs. 15 lakhs towards the scheme which had been inaugurated. That proved that the work of education was going on very rapidly among people of all classes and of all creeds in India. He had appealed to the working classes in the mill area in Bombay, and those people, whose wages were small, had subscribed in one day a sum of no less than Rs. 30,000 towards the Hospital Fund (cheers), which proved that they were realizing more and more the value of those institutions to their wives, their children, and themselves. Another fact which proved that Indian women and men were realizing the great importance of health propaganda was that they attended lectures on health subjects in thousands. Allusion had been made to infantile mortality, which undoubtedly was a very serious matter in India. To remedy that trouble more attention must be paid to the subject of midwifery. There was at the present time a great deal of superstition, many old customs, a lack of sanitation and hygiene in connection with midwifery. With regard to the work of Indian women in India, he knew of the sacrifices which they had made. They were working with excellent results, and he thanked the Indian women most warmly for the efforts which they were making for the good of India.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have very few observations to make at the end of this most interesting discussion. The thing that impresses me most is the enormous progress which has been made since I first went to India, nearly forty years ago. If anybody had told us then that the results which have been achieved today would have been achieved within forty years he would have been simply laughed out of the room at any gathering, whether Indian or European. When we have that encouraging fact before us, when we see the enthusiasm which exists in many quarters, I feel very hopeful indeed in regard to the future. The great work which has been done has been accomplished by the I.M.S. first of all, by a large number of most devoted Indian medical officers, men and women, by very devoted service on the part of medical missionaries, by eminent ladies, such as the wives of Viceroys and Governors of Provinces, but most of all, I think, in the face of the greatest difficulties, by some of the ladies of India themselves, who have exposed themselves to obloquy and ridicule in order to help their country. It is a great privilege at any time to hear any remarks from a man like Sir Leonard Rogers, who is one of the great men of his generation, and whose name will be long remembered. Sir Ronald Ross cannot be here. I should like to say how greatly I appreciate their work. I happened to be the first Minister of Education and Public Health in India, and in those days we had Sir David Semple, Sir Pardy Lucas, Colonel Christophers, Colonel MacCarrison, and Dr. Bentley, whose name has been mentioned and who has done such magnificent work. There is a whole host of other workers who between them have achieved results which

I think we may all, Indians and Europeans alike, look upon with pride; while not forgetting the difficulties which they have to contend with, I am confident that in time they will be overcome. (Applause.)

Dr. PARANJPYE, in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Lecturer, said that a specially welcome feature of the paper was the note of co-operation between Indians and the British in these questions of public health in India. In matters of hygiene and sanitation there could be no difference of opinion. The main difficulty in the way of rapid advance was one of finance. India was a land of villages, and only some 10 per cent. of the population lived in towns. Even supposing all these towns were provided with adequate facilities in preventive and curative medicine, the larger problem still remained.

In this connection he referred to the scheme initiated by General Hooton, who was Surgeon-General in the Bombay Presidency while he was Minister in Charge of Medicine and Public Health. That was to provide a class of *paricharaks*, or first-aid men, who would treat some very elementary but common ailments like sore eyes, boils, etc., act as health supervisors and, above all, explain to people where to go for adequate treatment. At his suggestion General Hooton proposed to make use of some teachers in village schools, who would be given some three months training in a hospital under the direction of some enthusiastic civil surgeons. Batches of these teachers had been trained in some hospitals like Poona and Sholapur and had been found to do very valuable work when they went back to the villages. The small cost involved in the scheme gave very good return, and he recommended its extension on a wider scale.

The LECTURER, in thanking the meeting for the vote of thanks, on behalf of the Chairman and himself, said that he had been asked what the missionaries had done for India in connection with public health matters. They had done magnificent work, and the time would come when Indians in large numbers would pay pilgrimages to Leicester to see where William Carey began his great pioneer work for Indian advancement. He admired the enthusiasm and determination of Mr. Mallik. If there were more like him, India would progress. He (the speaker) had been closely concerned with the inception of the National Baby Week. He had been told it would be a failure, but Lady Reading had been determined to carry it out, and it achieved the most outstanding success that such a venture had ever attained in any country. In the world competition for the best Baby Week held, the shield had gone to the people of a town in Madras, Bellary (Cheers). That showed the spirit which they wanted Indians to have, and it was necessary to encourage them. That was the only hope for the future of India. As long as they had examples of the kind to which he had referred, they could rest happy and contented.

A NATIONAL SCRIPT FOR INDIA

BY A. LATIFI, O.B.E., LL.D. (DUB.), M.A., LL.M.
(CANTAB.), BAR.-AT-LAW, I.C.S.

EIGHTEEN years ago, in the course of a lecture on a similar subject, the Rev. J. Knowles told this Association that there are more alphabets in current use today in India than there have been in all time in the rest of the world. The problem of a simple system to replace this jungle of scripts has, indeed, long occupied many far-sighted men of all communities, who see in a national alphabet an instrument not only for uplifting the Indian masses, but also for the building of an Indian nation. The matter has lately come into special prominence on the adoption of the Roman characters instead of the Arabic as the national script of Turkey.

At the outset of this discussion it is necessary for us to understand clearly that the question of a common or national script has no direct connection with the question of a common or national language. The so-called genius of a language has really no more to do with the symbols by which its sounds are represented on paper than it has with the markings on a gramophone record. Take, for example, the Hindustani language, the Indian *lingua franca*. You find it written at present in three distinct alphabets—Devanagri, Arabic, and Roman—to the comparative satisfaction of large numbers of persons. A system of writing is only a means to an end, not an end in itself: it should not be made into a fetish.

I would further ask you to remember that many scripts, such as the Devanagri, Zend, Arabic, Gurmukhi, and others, have come to be venerated by millions of people as being the vehicles of their sacred literature. These scripts must, therefore, be treated with respect, and I would not dream of suggesting their supersession for religious or even

semi-religious purposes. The Hindu will always want his *śāstras* to be written in Devanagri, just as he will continue to offer worship in his temples, and the Muslim will read his Koran in the traditional Arabic alphabet, and pray to Allah in his mosques. All this, however, is very different from using the sacred scripts for the purposes of ordinary life. Indeed, from some points of view it would seem to be as much a sacrilege to use the Devanagri or Arabic scripts for business as it would be to employ a temple or a mosque for a grain market or a stock exchange.

THREE CHOICES

Turning now to our main theme, I would say that there are only three serious candidates for the position of the national Indian alphabet—the Arabic (as modified for Hindustani), the Devanagri, and the Roman—and it is interesting to recall on the threshold of a discussion of their relative merits that they are all derived from one common Semitic ancestor, the Phœnician. The Arabic letters, as we now know them, were formed about the fourth or fifth century A.D. from the Nabatean, which again were derived from the Phœnician.* The Devanagri were developed by the Brahmans even later—*i.e.*, about the sixth century A.D.—from the ancient Brahmi, which, derived directly from the Phœnician, were imported by Banya traders into Western India about 800 B.C.† As for the Roman, it is not necessary to remind this gathering that they are direct descendants of a local variety of the Greek, which in their turn sprang from the same Phœnician.‡

ARABIC

Let us now consider the points for and against these three rivals, the Arabic, the Devanagri, and the Roman.

* "Encyclopædia of Islam," vol. I., p. 382.

† Fleet and Bühler's "Indian Paleography," app. to vol. 33 (1904) of the *Indian Antiquary*, pp. 10-17 *passim* and p. 49.

‡ Isaac Taylor: "History of the Alphabet" (1893), vol. I., p. 73 *et seq.*; vol. II., p. 24.

As for the Arabic, it still holds a position second only to the Roman in literary importance and geographical extent in the world, and is the most widely spread, if not the most widely used, vernacular alphabet in India. Its chief merit is that in its cursive variation it can be written faster than the others, and that in its *naskh* form it is somewhat less difficult to print than Devanagri. Against this it is generally admitted that the Arabic script is in all its forms difficult and irksome to read even when written with diacritical points, and when written without them cannot be understood except by a person thoroughly conversant with the language.

The first modern Persian to voice the defects of the Arabic script was His Excellency Mirza Malkam Khan, Persian Ambassador to Great Britain, who declared in 1875 before the Royal Society of Arts in London that "it was his profound conviction that one of the principal causes of the backwardness of the Persian people as compared with the Europeans was the Arabic script. . . . With such a system of writing regeneration was impossible."* A similar protest was raised about the same time in his own country by Akhoun Zadé, an Azerbaijan Turk, who began a movement that grew, with varying fortunes, until finally in 1922 a Committee for the adoption of the Roman in place of the Arabic was formed in the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan.

The Baku Pan-Turk Conference of 1926 followed with a resolution on the same lines†—a resolution which profoundly affected opinion in Kemalist Turkey, with results that are too recent and well known to need recapitulation.‡ It is interesting that, although Mustapha Kemal effected the reform with the avowed object of curing the illiteracy of the Turkish masses, he had to beat down the opposition of the *ulema*, the schoolmasters, and other representatives of vested interests, who are as conservative in Turkey as elsewhere.

* *Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol. XXIII., p. 290.

† *Revue des études islamiques*, Paris, 1927, pp. 321 *et seq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, 1928, p. 591.

Among the Muslims of India I may cite H.H. Sir Sultán Mahomed Shah, Aga Khan, who declared in the course of his presidential address to the All-India Muslim Conference at Delhi in December, 1928, that "both the Persian and Urdu scripts present serious difficulties in the primary stages of education, and it is a matter for deliberation how far we can improve and simplify or change our script."

DEVANAGRI AND ROMAN

It now remains to discuss the relative merits of the Devanagri and the Roman, but before doing so I would impress upon you that it is not a relevant objection to the latter that it is being misused in the writing of English, the European language with which educated Indians are the most familiar. If the Roman is not scientifically used for representing the sounds of English, it is not the fault of the script, because it can be, and actually is, used correctly for many languages—*e.g.*, Italian. It is, therefore, no argument against the Roman to point to such an English word as *through*: it is open to us to devise a Roman system under which this would be printed, say, ɔ R ʊ.

Further, the fact that the Sanskrit grammarians have devised an almost perfect system of speech sounds in no way gives preference to Devanagri. There is no reason why an alphabet based on the Roman, like the one I will suggest later in this lecture, should not be arranged in accordance with the Sanskrit system of speech sounds.

To help you to decide on the relative merits of the Devanagri and the Roman, I could not do better than reproduce the following extracts from an unpublished note recorded by a distinguished member of the Indian educational service:

A very large proportion of the literary vernaculars of India, including many not of Indo-Germanic origin, are written in scripts either identical with or closely allied to Devanagri—that is to say, in scripts which, in the present connection, may be regarded as identical with that of Sanskrit. If, therefore, it can be shown that Sanskrit itself is capable of being

written with not less, but greater phonetical accuracy, and at the same time far more easily, clearly, and simply in Roman than in Devanagri, the same proof will in very large measure serve to establish not only the sufficiency but the superiority of Roman as compared with Devanagri or any related system in writing vernaculars possessing sound-systems similar to that of Sanskrit or capable of being written in Devanagri or a related script.

In the accepted pronunciation of Sanskrit the Devanagri alphabet recognizes no more than thirty vowel and consonant sounds, which in the transliteration generally adopted by European scholars are represented by thirty-one symbols. Of these, twenty-one occur in the English alphabet; eight are ordinary Roman letters, also in the English alphabet with diacritical marks—*e.g.*, \S , \S , etc.—one is the symbol “ ṅ ” (“*ng*” in “*sing*”); the last being the “*macron*,” used to indicate long quantity in vowels. The eight characters with diacritics may, as I have said, easily be replaced by symbols without them.

The thirty distinct sounds will be represented by exactly thirty easily formed and clearly differentiated Roman characters, which may be used with perfect consistency and regularity, the same sound being invariably expressed by the same symbol without any modification in form, no matter in what combination. In the performance of the same task—that is to say, **IN THE REPRESENTATION IN WRITTEN CHARACTERS OF THIRTY SPOKEN SOUNDS—THE DEVANAGRI SCRIPT EMPLOYS NO FEWER THAN 280 DIFFICULT AND OFTEN HIGHLY COMPLICATED SYMBOLS.** This remarkable excess of symbols over sounds is, of course, mainly due to the employment of composite symbols to represent combined sounds—a device partly unavoidable in Devanagri, but happily unnecessary in Roman.

Let me summarize the chief points in which the Roman script is, on practical grounds, markedly superior to the Devanagri and related alphabetic systems. On no ground, practical, scientific, or æsthetic, can the latter claim any advantage. They are at every point conspicuously inferior. In justice, however, it should be noted that in some scripts based on Devanagri, such as Canarese, a partially successful striving in the direction of convenience and economy is apparent; but no Indian script, I believe, approaches, within measurable distance, the simplicity and sufficiency of the Roman.

1. The Roman symbols are simpler and clearer, hence easier to read and form.
2. The total number required is far smaller—a matter of great importance to the learner, as also to the printer.
3. In print the Roman characters can be reduced in size to a much greater degree than the Devanagri, without much sacrifice of clearness. This means greater economy in various directions.
4. The absence of confusing composite symbols. Each individual sound, no matter in what combination, is indicated invariably, without modification in form, by one and the same symbol.

5. The sequence of symbols corresponds exactly to the sequence of sounds represented. (Contrast Devanagari, in which, amongst other anomalies in the sound sequence, a consonant or consonant-group followed by the short vowel *i*, the vowel-symbol precedes the consonant-symbol even when the consonant belongs in sound to a preceding syllable.)

6. Word-division is observed and syllable-division is at least not obscured, and may be clearly indicated. In Devanagari both, in defiance of practical convenience and not seldom of phonetic correctness, are in large measure ignored.

To the above remarks I need only add that there can be no more convincing proof of the defects of the Devanagari than its actual supersession for practical purposes by innumerable other scripts—*e.g.*, the Kaithi in Behar and the Landa in the Punjab—which are inferior even to the Arabic in accuracy and general efficiency. On the other hand, the inherent superiority of the Roman is proved by the fact that in his monumental work on the “Linguistic Survey of India,” Sir George Grierson has represented with scientific accuracy the sounds of the 179 languages and 544 dialects of India, 743 in all, by a Roman system of transliteration which is after all only a makeshift and is capable of much improvement.

Only a small number of new symbols need to be added to the existing Roman characters in order to complete, without resorting to diacritical points, a comprehensive common script capable of transliterating adequately all the languages and dialects of India. A script so formed would in reality only be a modification—an easier form—of the English alphabet which ever-increasing numbers of Indians are eagerly learning.

A RETROSPECT



All this is no new discovery. The general use of the Roman script for the languages of India was first mooted a century and a half ago by Sir William Jones, the idea being revived in the thirties of last century by Mr. (later Sir Charles) Trevelyan and his friends.* The movement

* Cf. Monier-Williams: “History of the Application of the Roman Alphabet to the Languages of India” (1859), *passim*.

has since been continued, chiefly by the zeal of Christian missionaries. The action of the Indian Government has been confined to the lines laid down in the 25th paragraph of the Handbook on "Educational Training in the Indian Army," which provides that "Roman Urdu is the common language and script in the Indian Army, and will be taught in all units. . . ."

I would ask you to mark this paragraph 25. It is, perhaps, the beginning of a great current in the rising tide of Indian nationalism.

PROPOSED EXPERT COMMITTEE

The proposals I submit for the consideration of the Government of India are modest and, I trust, entirely practical. I only ask them to follow the lead of the Government of the Gold Coast and appoint a small but strong committee to devise, with suitable technical help, a scientific script based on the Roman to take the place of the existing clumsy one under which the sepoy has to write ACHHCHHA instead of  or —a system that not only brings the Roman into discredit, but imposes an unnecessary burden on the learners. As now written, the Roman can never hope to make headway against competitors who are already in possession of the field with all the prestige of long usage and communal sentiment.

The Government of the Gold Coast have already found an enthusiastic imitator in that of the Sudan, and I trust that some of the distinguished experts present will be able to confirm from first-hand knowledge the statement that the reformed Roman script as now officially adopted for the native languages of British West Africa has been found to be better in every way than the unmodified English system which was previously used. A system that the West African negro has found so easy will surely not be too difficult for the Indian soldiers or their officers.

Once a really efficient form of the Roman script is

adopted by the Indian Army, its inherent superiority will immediately make itself felt. Every Indian soldier will become a centre for its spread in the countryside.

SOME SUGGESTIONS

The details of such a reformed script should, of course, be left to the Expert Committee, but I may be permitted to suggest for consideration a few points that have impressed me in the thirty odd years during which I have taken a practical interest in the subject :

1. The printed alphabet should consist of only one series of letters, capitals being indicated by larger and thicker type. There is no reason why a reader should be burdened with the knowledge of two sets, capitals and small letters, the existence of which in European alphabets is due to purely historical reasons.

2. Each distinctive sound should have a symbol of its own, separate letters being provided, as is done in the Devanagri, even for composite sounds such as those now written *phh*, *bhh*.

A series of interesting experiments conducted by M. Lamare, a French scientist, has established that the eye takes in a printed line of Roman type in instalments of about ten letters at a time.* It is therefore obvious that a language is handicapped if its common sounds are represented by more than one letter.

3. The written characters should be as near as possible to the printed, and be easy to form and to read.

4. The printed alphabet should adopt as many of the Roman capital letters as are found suitable. These are clearer than the small letters, and therefore cause less strain to the reader's eyes.

For new symbols wherever required the Devanagri and the Arabic may also be indented upon. There is no

* E. Javel : " Physiologie de la lecture et de l'écriture " (Paris, 1906), p. 127 *et seq.*

reason why, for example, the sound *chh* should not be represented by **፳**—a slightly modified Devanagri letter; and why the doubling of a letter should not be represented by the Arabic *teshdid* ω printed over it. We could then write **፳፳A** for **ACHHCHHĀ**.

The alphabets of other civilized countries, particularly the Greek and the Slavonic, as also that of the International Phonetic Association, would also help.

5. For practical reasons it will be advisable to leave unaltered the Roman capitals adopted in the new alphabet, but new symbols should not be taken until they have been passed not only by a type founder, but also by an expert in eye optics as being easy to read by an average person at an ordinary distance. The last-named consideration is most important, as will be realized by all those who have had their eyes tested by an oculist. At a given distance certain letters on the oculist's screen are more easily read than others, so why should not all letters be made equally legible, at least as far as they can be? Think what a boon a scientific alphabet would be from the point of view of the eyesight.

Among the points to be borne in mind in this particular connection I would specially mention two :

(a) A line can be seen much better than a point of the same diameter.* I would, therefore, reject all diacritical points of the kind so largely used in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association.

(b) The upper parts of letters are more easily distinguished than the lower,† and so no letter should project below the line. It would be permissible, however, to use the Arabic *teshdid* and the nunation mark \sim above letters. But too many marks of this sort would be objectionable.

Generally I would suggest that the new alphabet, though prepared in the first instance only for the printing and writing of Army Urdu, should also be adapted for the

* A Bain : "The Senses and the Intellect" (1894), p. 23.

† E. Javel : *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

scientific transliteration not only of the principal Indo-Germanic and Dravidian vernaculars of India, but also of English, Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. It should, however, be primarily intended for Indians using it as their own, the ease and comfort of the people themselves, and not of Europeans learning the language as foreigners, being the prime consideration.

I have already said that the preparation of the new alphabet should be the task of an Expert Committee, but a few symbols are suggested for consideration :

SUGGESTED SYMBOLS

Vowels as now Transliterated into "Roman Urdu."	Proposed.	Consonants as now Transliterated into "Roman Urdu."	Proposed.
A, Ā	Λ, A	K, KH, KH	K, X, X
E, Ē	Ɔ, E	G, GH	G, Ɔ
I, Ī	ɪ, †	N, N	N, Ɔ
U, Ū	U, Ʊ	CH, CHH	θ, Ɔ
O, Ō	O, Ɔ	J, JH	J, Ɔ
AU, AI	Δ, A	T, T H	T, I
		T, TH	T, J
		D, DH	D, Ɔ
		D, DH	d, Ɔ
		P, PH	P, Ɔ
		B, BH	B, Ɔ
		R, R	R, Ɔ

It now only remains for me to conclude, sir, by expressing the hope that the Departments of the Government of India will endorse on my scheme the word **ΛΘA**, not **ACHHCHHĀ**.*

* The Hindustani equivalent for *very well*.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Monday, May 13, 1929, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, when a paper was read by Mr. Almá Latifi, O.B.E., I.C.S., on "A National Script for India."

The Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., presided, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., the Right Hon. Lieut.-Colonel George Frederick Stanley, C.M.G., M.P., Governor-Designate of Madras, General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Edward MacLagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Colonel Sir Malik Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark and Lady Clark, Sir Denison Ross, C.I.E., Mrs. Latifi, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. E. G. Turner, C.I.E., and Mrs. Turner, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., Mr. E. T. Boag, C.I.E., Khan Sahib M. H. Kothawala, Baba Tarlochan Das Bedi, Mr. E. Haward, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Major Hanns Vischer, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Miss E. L. Curteis, Miss Margaret Brown, Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Harris, Mr. F. Sausmun, Mr. W. Bennett, Mr. K. N. V. Sastri, Mr. M. C. Cohen, Mr. M. L. Worger, Mr. A. Hamdani, Mrs. Nolan, Mr. R. S. Greenshields, Miss Ogilvie, the Misses Swanson, Dr. A. Shah, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Maulvi Farzand Ali, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Dr. Abdul Majid, Mr. Ghulam Mohamed Khan, Mr. H. R. Divelkar, R. P. Karandikar, Rev. K. H. McMarten, Miss M. Gravatt, Major Hoopar, Mr. J. M. K. Mackenzie, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—My task this afternoon is a simple one—that is, to introduce to you Mr. Alma Latifi, who is going to give us a paper on "A National Script for India." As a matter of fact Mr. Almá Latifi does not want any introduction from anybody because he is probably well known to many of you personally, and certainly to nearly everyone here by reputation. Mr. Almá Latifi has had a very distinguished scholastic career. He is a very prominent member of the Indian Civil Service in the Punjab, he is an authority on Oriental languages, and he has the great advantage also of having been born in Bombay. I believe that Mr. Almá Latifi speaks no less than nine languages; and I do not think we could possibly have got anyone more fitted and more suitable to give us a paper on this most interesting subject, which has been of interest perhaps for many generations in the past. I will ask Mr. Latifi to read the paper.

Mr. Almá Latif, O.B.E., I.C.S., read the paper on "A National Script for India."

Mr. YUSUF ALI said it was difficult to make brief comments on a carefully-thought-out paper like the one Mr. Latif had read. Comments might be made from two or three points of view. First, there were the technical suggestions. Mr. Latif had evidently gone into many sides of the question, but he would be the first to admit that there could be no finality in his suggestions. The history, the shapes, and the merits of the letters of the alphabet would be too technical to discuss in the time available, and specially without the advantage of the ready-made blackboard such as the lecturer had had. Secondly—and this was most important—they had to consider the sentimental point of view. The lecturer did refer to it, but did not give it sufficient importance. Alphabets evolved in response to linguistic, ethnical, and historical needs, and sometimes accidents. But they soon got intertwined in far-reaching sentiments and prejudices. In India, as the lecturer well knew, the merest suggestion of any alteration in the alphabet was looked upon as an innovation so revolutionary as practically to make it impossible. He had himself dabbled in suggestions about the Urdu alphabet. He did not take such a big leap. He had suggested small modifications in order to give more accurate expression to the vowel sounds of the language and to facilitate type printing. He was sorry to say that, although his scheme was accepted by a great many who were authorities upon the subject, it was rejected altogether by the generality of people. Then, thirdly, was it really an advantage to have a modified Roman alphabet as the lecturer had suggested? The lecturer admitted that the Roman alphabet with diacritical marks, as actually used, was out of the question. It was defective and cumbersome, and was rarely written or printed accurately. But at least it used letters universally known. Mr. Latif's letter changes were so numerous that they amounted practically to a new alphabet. Could any one alphabet satisfy the tests of a perfect alphabet for all the Indian vernaculars? The analogy of Africa did not apply to India. In Africa you had to deal with languages that had not been written before. The Indian vernaculars had a long history, and many of them had a developed body of literature. He thought perhaps the best course was to work gradually at each alphabet, simplify it, and make it more scientific, until the day came (which he was afraid was still distant) when they would have one national sentiment, if not one national language, through which they could build up national institutions, including a national alphabet.

Major HANNS VISCHER, speaking of the introduction of an alphabet for general use in Africa, said that the situation in Africa was entirely different from anything in India. The general position in Africa at the present moment was that they were dealing with about three hundred different languages, all spoken in various dialects, and the great thing was to reduce at any rate fifty of those languages to writing. In the work of reducing languages to writing there were two points of view: that of the foreign student of the language, and that of the people themselves who wanted to

write the language for practical purposes. That involved two principles which it was good to keep apart. One was to convey all the sounds of the language by the written sign, which was a very difficult and complicated affair. The other meant providing for all the sounds in a simple, practical alphabet. He did not believe there existed any simple alphabet with sufficient signs to express a number of languages that had not yet been written, and therefore we had to find new signs. Diacritical marks were generally found impracticable. Alphabets with diacritical marks were difficult to write, difficult to read, and apt to become confusing. Therefore the International African Institute, when the Gold Coast Government asked for its assistance to reduce into writing a group of languages, decided, after consulting various leading European experts, to follow the principle of introducing new signs for sounds not represented in the Roman alphabet. On the Gold Coast there were four languages concerned. These were first reduced to writing by the missionaries who printed their religious books. Each missionary society followed its own phonetic alphabet, with the result that a member of one mission could not read a book of another mission, although it was in the same language. The Institute had to reduce the four languages of the Akan group to one system of writing, bearing in mind the vested interests of the printers and of the personal convictions of the members of the various missions. By finding an expert, Professor Westermann, who, with his knowledge of the languages concerned, was in a position to explain the advantages and the possibility of one common alphabet in the Colony, the Institute was able to render the Gold Coast Government that service, and those four languages were now all written according to one standard alphabet, a copy of which he had with him. The Sudan Government found the same difficulty, and again appealed to the Institute, and three months ago Professor Westermann rendered the same service in helping to produce one standard alphabet for a large territory, including several millions of people belonging altogether to fifteen different language groups.

Major Vischer then explained a copy of the alphabet. He said there were not many new signs, and those that had been introduced were all the result of careful study on the part of people like Professor Daniel Jones and Professor Lloyd James, who for years had gone into that question. The alphabet was not perfect, but an alphabet which could be considered perfect from every point of view had yet to be invented.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said he could not speak with any authority on the subject, but he could speak with some feeling, because friends had told him that he wrote a script which was absolutely different from anything else in the world, a script which was only intelligible to a favoured few; but he hoped that every time they re-read a communication of his they found new beauties in it. He understood that when he left the Punjab, a couple of aged clerks who ought to have been superannuated, having reached the age limit, had been kept on, their only qualifications being that they were able to interpret the notes that he had left on record. (Laughter.)

Coming to the practical side, he could only say a few words from the point of view of an administrator. The great difficulty of those who went out from this country to India was in grappling with the many languages, and the difficulty was the greater because a new language generally meant a new script. In the Punjab and North-West Frontier he had to learn separate scripts for Urdu, Punjabi, Garmukei, and Pushtu. After he had learnt those scripts and languages he was sent down to Southern India, and there had to face new languages and new scripts. He could not afford to go on learning his A B C all over again, and therefore never really grappled with those in the south. A reform such as Mr. Almá Latífi had indicated would enormously simplify matters from the point of view of administration. One of the great difficulties that administrators had to contend with was the variation of scripts not only from one province to another, but in different parts of the same province. He gave the instance of a moneylender. When investigating a moneylender's accounts on a charge of forgery, he found over and over again that the only person capable of reading the moneylender's script was his brother moneylender in the same village, and therefore it was impossible to prove a case of forgery, because naturally people of the same village did not want to give evidence against one of their own kind; and if you went to more than about five miles radius you could not get anybody who understood the script at all. He mentioned that when a railway was under construction in a wild part of the West Punjab, a retail-dealer (*baniya*) established his shop in the precincts of the railway without first getting sanction or paying a fee to the railway authorities. The engineer in charge was a young Anglo-Indian, and the contractor was a Parsee, and they were very angry with the man, but he refused to budge. Ultimately the engineer and the contractor told the coolies to remove the man and his goods. They were removed, and most of the goods disappeared in the process of removal. The man went to the police station and brought charges of robbery, dacoity, and various other heinous crimes. When the case came into court, the engineer with great triumph flourished a document written in Urdu, the common script, by the moneylender which said that he had been quite properly dealt with, and that he had no ground for complaint. When this was read out, Sir Michael turned to the moneylender and said: "Now what have you to say?" The man said: "Look at the end of it." There were some hieroglyphics at the end after the signature in the man's own script which were finally translated as: "Cancelled; given under coercion"; so he had to convict the engineer and the contractor. That incident brought home to him that this variation of script had its advantages as well as its disadvantages, but that its disadvantages enormously overshadowed the advantages. He therefore strongly supported the lecturer's recommendation that the time was ripe for an investigation by an expert committee with the view of reducing and simplifying the existing tangle of scripts and if possible arriving at a common script for the diverse Indian vernaculars.

Dr. STANTON said he had been interested in this subject for some fifty

years, and he was glad that it was an Indian administrative officer who had now taken it up. What they wanted was to get at the real reason of this movement. Why were similar efforts going on in different parts of the world, not only in India, but in Turkey, and in China, and even in Japan? It was because of the bar to learning which was created by the difficulty and the variations of script. Those who laboured for the benefit of the masses in India felt their efforts thwarted at the very entrance gate of learning. The child learning to read is held back by the complicated or defective script, and progress is so slow that when after three or four years he leaves school he easily lapses into illiteracy. The speaker was a missionary and wanted to see his community rise, but he had an interest in India as a whole and wanted to see India rise. India was in a state of change, and in this evolution the country could not prosper if the people remained illiterate. Whatever people's views might be, all alike agreed that the illiteracy of those who were supposed to be voters in the present or future constitution of India was one of its greatest bars to progress, and that was the bar that they wanted to remove. He quite agreed as to the need of an authoritative committee who would take up the question, as had been so well done in Africa. But they should consider what has been already done. In the case of Urdu, the Roman character was used wherever soldiers went. That came about because of an intolerable difficulty. One man would write in one script an order to another man who could not read that script, and therefore a common character had to be found.

Again, the missionary body in their labours for the education of the Christian community had published a very considerable body of books in Roman Urdu amounting to several hundreds. A community drawn from various sources required an easy unified script, and now a book in simple language printed in the Roman character can be understood both by Urdu and Hindu readers. We now need to get through the labours of a suitable committee a good practical alphabet which would suit India generally; it obviously could not be imposed upon the people by any kind of compulsion, but it ought to be given fair play when it came out by sanctioning its use in courts and schools. They had heard about the happy conclusion that had been come to recently regarding the water of the Nile, and were very thankful for it. It was a most remarkable thing that in Egypt, where there were such violent differences, there should be agreement upon so vital a question. It was because all parties needed the waters of the Nile. Hitherto they had been obstructed by the mass of tangled vegetation known as the sudd, which diverted the water into vast marshes, infertile and pestilential. A channel was being cut through this barrier which would liberate the current and drain the marshes. In India a tangle of scripts hindered the flow of the waters of knowledge. He welcomed the effort of Mr. Latifi and those who worked with him to cut a clear channel of suitable script which would make a way for the waters of knowledge through all India.

Sir MALIK UMAR HAYAT KHAN expressed pleasure that the paper had

come from one of those who belonged to his community, which was considered backward. Everyone knew that the lecturer was one of the most learned authors that they had in India, and those who had heard the paper read would know how much trouble he had taken over it and how ably it was written. At the same time he thought there were always two sides to a shield, and that it was just as well to see the other before they could appreciate the one before them. Their own script, which could be called Persian Arabic, had so many books written in it that if they did not learn it they would be unable to get any benefit out of those books. The other alternative would be to translate all those books into a language which would be written in Roman Urdu, and that was absolutely impossible because it would entail thousands and thousands of rupees. They would realize why Roman Urdu was used in the army. Most of those who became graduates when they were taught were inefficient bodily, and thus could not get into the army; the others who passed up to, say, the fourth primary (that was only in the vernacular) were taken into the ranks. As heliography was one of the most important things in the army they had to be taught Roman, because when there was an English message, if it was in Roman, it did not matter what the translation was, they would be able to send it on to its destination. The second advantage of being able to write in Roman was that it was easy for their English officers to be able to read what they had written. Supposing that script was adopted, there might be in one village four or five men who had learnt to write this Roman Urdu. When they went back to their city or village it was going to be of no use to them. Another thing was that they had religious books written in their script, and they would always have to be read in that script. He thought the best way to conquer the trouble was to translate all the books from, say, English and other languages into the vernacular. One of the very great difficulties they found was that they had to begin to learn a subject in a language which they had to learn before. They spent four or five years in learning the language, and before they had learnt it properly they had to read the subjects, and it was a very great handicap. This difficulty had been solved to a great extent, and was being solved in Hyderabad, and if the lecturer had had anything to do with it they must congratulate him. He would like done what they were doing at Hyderabad, with the help of the lecturer who had written the paper.

Mr. TARLOCHAN DAS BEDI said that very regretfully and with the greatest respect he could not agree with Mr. Almá Latifi, as the scheme was too difficult and too impracticable.

Sir DENISON ROSS, who said he had the great advantage of speaking after the others, had the greatest respect for Mr. Latifi's paper and his efforts, but he could not agree with his suggestions. He spoke with recent experience. First of all taking Turkey, if there was one language in the world which had an unsuitable alphabet it was Turkish written with Arabic letters. Turkish had been written in fourteen different alphabets in the last eight hundred years, so that there was no innovation in that,

and the present Latin one was about as good as any, but not quite so good as Armenian. With regard to the other Muslim languages, Arabic was the only alphabet for the Arabic language; there was no possible question about that. He was in favour of the improvement and reform of the existing Oriental alphabets. When on his way to Persia he found in Cairo, where there was very little chance of the alphabet being changed, there was a great deal of talk on this subject, but he found King Fuad would have nothing to do with that; all he wanted to do was to introduce capitals. In Persia he saw many children who, in spite of inefficient masters (for they could not get the good men to go to South Persia), wrote beautiful Persian; and he maintained that Persian boys learnt to write Persian as quickly as any English boys learnt the English alphabet. He considered the Latin alphabet to be one of the worst in the world. There were only two perfect alphabets—one the Arabic, and the other still more perfect one Russian. If they wanted to simplify the Indian languages they must begin by reforming the alphabets. The next stage would be to adopt Nagari as the uniform alphabet of India, and leave the Muslims their books in the Arabic characters; but if they liked these Muslims could learn a second alphabet, the Nagari, in order to communicate with the whole of India. The first stage was to reform the alphabet, the second stage to introduce Nagari; but he could not recommend an artificial English alphabet for use throughout India.

Mr. RUSHEROOK WILLIAMS was in sympathy with the last three speakers. He had had the advantage of giving careful study to the very able paper which Mr. Almá Latifi had read, as he had seen it in proof. Had Sir Malik Umar Haya Khan not preceded him, he would have made the same point that the analogy derived from the employment of Roman Urdu in the army was not a true one. He was with a State which had five languages, and the different branches of his office which dealt with those languages were in practice almost interchangeable. It seemed to him that the disadvantages of the various scripts had been very much exaggerated, and that in his very able paper the lecturer did not perhaps give sufficient importance to the enormous weight of tradition which was associated in India with certain particular characters. The efforts which the lecturer had made to put forward a very admirable theory seemed to him to give insufficient attention, first, to the religious sentiment, which in a country of over 300,000,000 people was an enormous weight in favour of certain particular scripts; and, secondly, to the efforts which had been made already in other ways to overcome those difficulties which his scheme of Roman Urdu was intended to circumvent.

He was glad that Sir Malik Umar Hayat Khan had mentioned the work which was being done in Hyderabad. The work of translating scientific and chemical works into an intelligible form of Urdu—an Urdu which was recognizable as such by an educated Muhammadan gentleman, but at the same time was sufficiently flexible to contain modern ideas—seemed to him to represent a far more practical approach of this problem than forcing a very unsuitable alphabet upon a whole series of Oriental

languages. It seemed to him that we might perhaps apply the Japanese practice. The Japanese found it necessary, when they were acquiring Western learning, to simplify some of the more complicated of their characters, but they did not attempt to substitute a Roman character for their character, even though they had an opportunity of making a clean sweep. They decided, after going into the matter, that it was better to simplify rather than to revolutionize. He suggested that the problem of the Indian scripts might be approached along similar lines.

The CHAIRMAN: I think you will agree with me that not only have we had a very interesting paper from Mr. Latifi, but a most interesting discussion following it. I presume I was asked to be Chairman this afternoon because in a somewhat rash moment, when out in India, I made a speech on this subject. As a matter of fact, that speech was made with a definite purpose, in order to elicit public opinion as to what the views in the Bombay Presidency were. Opinions were forthcoming to a very large extent.

I have only a very few words to say this evening because, like Sir Denison Ross, I am speaking after everybody else. As he said, he heard what everybody else had said, and I have heard what everybody has said, and I have very little to add. In putting forward what I may call that feeler in Bombay, I did it very much with this idea at the back of my mind, of trying to help the administrators in India. Sir Michael O'Dwyer had had the advantage of being many years in India, and he had time to learn various languages, but when anybody, like myself, goes out there for five years there are great difficulties in this connection. Take the Bombay Presidency alone. There, there are four different and distinct languages, each with their own scripts. It is humanly impossible for any one individual to learn one language per annum, and I did not attempt to do so. I have been very much struck with the remarks made this afternoon, principally by Mr. Yusuf Ali and Sir Malik Umar Hayat Khan, and by Mr. Williams. With regard to what I may call the sentimental point of view, I hope everybody will look at the paper and will realize that Mr. Latifi had no idea, in approaching the question, of interfering with religious teaching written in the historical languages of the various scripts. It would be quite impossible, I think, in India, and I think anywhere else in the world, to introduce what I may call a universal language, and particularly in India, where language, as everywhere else, is an expression of life; and to destroy that by any sort of manufactured language would be to destroy the individuality of nations. Everyone, whatever their religion may be, have very rightly very strong feelings on the maintenance of religious books in their own historical language. I am quite certain there was no intention that there should be any interference with the religious teaching of the various scripts merely because a change of script might be useful for so many purposes which have been mentioned. Many difficulties have been put forward by many speakers, but I do fully agree myself with Mr. Latifi that something, if possible, should be done; and I cannot see any reason that can be urged against the setting up of this expert

committee which Mr. Latifi has suggested. It is a question for experts. The question has been solved to a very large extent in East Africa, and I do not see why, if it has been solved to that extent in East Africa, we should not at any rate make efforts to do something to solve this question, which is one of such great importance for the administration of India and for the education of India. Therefore, while thanking Mr. Latifi very heartily indeed for his most interesting paper, and thanking you gentlemen who have taken part in this discussion, I do urge that this expert committee should be set up, in order that the whole question should be explored and fully examined.

SIR MANCHERJEE M. BHOWNAGGREE said it gave him great pleasure to ask the meeting to accord a hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer and also to the Chairman. The discourse to which they had been treated, as also the discussion that had followed, were both instructive and interesting. That the acceptance of a common phonetic alphabet by peoples speaking different tongues would to some extent lead to the promotion of mutual intercourse by attracting them to the study of languages which in their original script seemed repulsive was understandable. It would also have the great advantage of making utterances by strangers accord with the original pronunciation of words in any language. That, he believed, was the object aimed at by Mr. Latifi. Part of the discussion, however, had proceeded on the assumption that he had been attempting to evolve a language capable of replacing those of Oriental nations, and transform into it their time-honoured religions and other literature. That was unthinkable; but he fully recognized that such a script as was advocated in the paper would facilitate the effort to pronounce correctly names of persons and places, and, in fact, all phraseology of a language which at present a stranger to it is unable to articulate. He (Sir Mancherjee) spoke feelingly as he had been a sufferer in England and foreign countries owing to the frightful spelling in which his name was rendered in the Roman character. (Laughter.) It would have lightened the difficulty of his electoral fights if his constituents could have learnt his name in a phonetic form. (Cheers.) But all the same, the scheme proposed would require to be threshed out by experts before it could find wide acceptance, as, indeed, the Lecturer had himself admitted in the very able address, for which he was entitled to their best thanks. (Cheers.) They had also to express their indebtedness to their Chairman for ably presiding over them. It was most gratifying that Sir Leslie Wilson, after his return from India, had seized frequent opportunities of giving to the public in England the benefit of the experience gathered during his arduous and popular career of five years as Governor of Bombay. Like most prominent politicians he had at present engrossing calls on his time, and it was most kind of him in the midst of them to preside over and favour them with his views from the more neutral platform of the East India Association. (Cheers.)

Sir Mancherjee put the proposal to the meeting, and it was carried with acclamation.

Mr. LATIFI, in a written reply to the discussion, says :

I must express my cordial thanks to Mr. Yusuf Ali and the other speakers for their interesting contributions to this discussion, but I am afraid there is little in what they have said that is not already met by my paper.

To Sir Denison Ross I would reply that like my father I began almost simultaneously with the Arabic and Devanagiri scripts, following up a little later with the Roman. From personal experience I am as emphatic as my father was that the Roman is better. This has also been the experience of my children and of hundreds of others. The analogy of the Persian boys who write beautifully in Persian is surely not relevant. How can Sir Denison tell that these same bright boys who had wasted so much valuable time on their script would not have learnt the suggested reformed system much more quickly? Besides, I am not advocating the difficult and unscientific English system, which according to Sir Denison is no better than the Persian, but a reformed script based on the Roman.

Mr. Yusuf Ali and Sir Denison Ross suggest the reform of the Arabic and Devanagiri scripts respectively, and the latter would make a reformed Devanagiri the national script. Both speakers apparently lost sight for the moment of the sentiments that protect these scripts from any interference. Surely my proposal, which is merely the improvement of the Roman script for a purpose for which it is already used, along lines that have been tested and found good in other parts of the Empire, is much more practicable.

Finally, to my gallant friend Sir Umar Hayat I would say that whatever the reasons, good or bad, for its introduction, the Roman script is now established for Hindustani in the Indian Army. It is there, so why should he object to its being reformed and made more acceptable for Indians and Britishers alike?

OBITUARY

MR. W. COLDSTREAM

LIFELONG SERVICE TO INDIA

AT the request of the Council *The Times* has given permission for inclusion in the Proceedings of the East India Association of the following Obituary of Mr. W. Coldstream, which appeared in the issue of April 26, 1929 :

Mr. William Coldstream, who died at his residence, 69, West Cromwell Road, Earl's Court, after a brief illness, on Wednesday, April 24, at the age of eighty-eight, had vivid memories of the India of the morrow, of the Mutiny, and of the part of the country where the flame burnt most fiercely. He was the last survivor of the considerable band of Punjab civilians who, knowing well, and following in the footsteps of, John Lawrence, were strong Evangelicals actuated by an abiding sense of religious duty. But Coldstream's convictions seemed to expand, rather than narrow, his Indian sympathies. His service to India in London after retirement was somewhat longer than that which he gave to it for thirty-four years as a member of the I.C.S. : and it was scarcely less active and devoted. Indians of every rank and condition coming to London had in him a good friend, and he was never happier than when doing something to further the interests of the Indian student, or, as in the war period, the Indian soldier. One of the great delights of his constant exercise of hospitality was to have two or three at homes each summer to meet the King's Indian orderlies.

A son of Dr. John Coldstream, of Edinburgh, he was at the High School there from 1851 to 1856, and then went to the University, where he gained the Stratton prize. Some reminiscences he wrote of his student days in the *University of Edinburgh Journal*, No. 2, 1928, showed a wider range of humanism and classical culture and a keener sense of humour than many friends of his later years credited him with, though they knew something of his love of Oriental languages and literature. In the open competition for the Indian Civil Service in 1860, Coldstream, who had originally been intended to follow his father in the medical profession, passed fourteenth out of 287 competitors. Arriving at Calcutta in the late autumn of the following year, he was posted to the Punjab, where he soon formed strong links of friendship with Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir Robert Sandeman, Lieut.-General "Buster" Browne, and other great figures of the time, and also not long after with the

Viceroy, Lord Lawrence. General Reynell Taylor, a splendid soldier and swordsman, as well as the founder of a great mission, was his Commissioner in Amritsar, and had much influence in developing his religious outlook on life and zest for service.

Coldstream was Assistant Secretary of the Punjab Exhibition of 1864, one of the first ever held in India, and rose early to the grade of Deputy-Commissioner. He made a close study of the Indian vernaculars and read many of the classics of the country in their original texts. He was very proud of a complimentary address given to him as a young man by the Delhi Literary Society, the signatories including the famous poet Ghalib. After retirement he helped substantially to obtain recognition of Persian and Urdu in the London University matriculation. Nothing pleased him better than to talk with Indian visitors to this country in their own tongues. In connection with his work in the Punjab on the Indian Census of 1881, he coined the words "hypergamy" and "isogamy." The former word, at least, is now in universal use.

Some economical and botanical writings came from his pen. His monograph on the grasses of the Southern Punjab was published in Edinburgh as a folio with more than forty full-page illustrations. He reported to the Government on fruit culture in the Himalayas and on the forests of the Simla Hill States. Of these States he was Superintendent, in combination with the Deputy-Commissionership of Simla, at the time of his retirement in 1894. On the historical side he arranged and edited the correspondence, during the Mutiny period, of his friend and relative, the late Sir William Muir, as preserved in the Intelligence Department of the United Provinces, and it was brought out in two volumes in 1903. He also went through the proofs of Sir William's last edition of "The Caliphate."

To the very end of his thirty-five years of retirement, he was prominent in the London community specially interested in India. For a long time he represented that country in the administration of the Imperial Institute. The Royal Society of Arts, the East India Association, the National Indian Association, the Northbrook Society, and other bodies connected with the East had his unstinted service in committee work. His keen interest in young Indians studying in London secured him the award in 1914 of the Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal. When wounded Indian soldiers were brought to this country, in the earlier part of the War, he lived for some time at Barton-on-Sea, in order to be their friend and helper at the hospital there, and in Punjab, at the inauguration of a club for them, he made the opening speech. For many years Coldstream was Chairman of the London Board of the British and India Mission, and of the London Auxiliary of the Ludhiana Women's Christian Medical College. He was also on the committee of the Christian Literature Society for India, and on the Council of Reference for the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission. For the first time for many years, he was missed from its annual meeting on the day before his death. He worked for the good of India and for cordial British and Indian relations with

unfailing devotion, and if some of his efforts were not very effective they were earnest and sustained. He remained a vigorous figure in British-Indian circles to the close of a busy life. When, in his last years, one noted his alert interest in affairs or heard him deliver an address, whether in his own or in an Indian tongue, it was difficult to believe that he was near the close of his ninth decade.

He married in 1886 the daughter of Major O. H. St. G. Anson, 9th Lancers, and she was spared to share his activities and high purposes for more than fifty-two years. They had a large family, and there are many grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Their eldest son, Col. W. M. Coldstream, R.E., C.I.E., retired in 1924 from the Indian Survey, in which he rose to be Director of Surveys and Superintendent of the Eastern Circle. The youngest son, Mr. John Coldstream, I.C.S., is a Judge of the Punjab High Court, and a nephew is Col. J. Clayton Coldstream, late Indian Army, and formerly Deputy-Commissioner of Simla.

THE OBJECTS AND POLICY

OF THE

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE object of the East India Association is to promote, by all legitimate means, the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally. To attain this object the Council earnestly invite the co-operation of all those who, by their position, influence, knowledge of India or administrative experience, are able to render effective assistance, and without whose active and liberal support the work of the Association cannot be adequately accomplished.

The Association specially appeals to the Ruling Princes of India, and to all classes of influential and educated Indians. It values the co-operation of the commercial and non-official community in India—British and Indian—and of retired and present members of the Government Services, civil and military, who have consistently laboured to advance the best interests of the people, and have helped to consolidate, maintain, and defend the Indian Empire.

The East India Association is essentially non-official in character, avoiding any connection with English party politics, and welcoming as members all those who are interested in the welfare and progress of India, whatever their political opinions. Its policy on Indian questions is progressive, while maintaining a due regard for the conservative traditions of the Indian Empire. It desires to encourage all wise and well-considered projects of reform, but at the same time to protect the people of India from rash and hasty experiments opposed to the customs of the country. It endeavours to regard all questions of political, administrative and social progress from the point of view of the interests of the inhabitants of India, whose wishes, sentiments and prejudices should be respected, and whose legitimate aspirations should be sympathetically upheld.

The objects and policy of the Association are promoted—(1) by providing opportunities for the free public discussion, in a loyal and temperate spirit, of important questions affecting India; (2) by constituting a centre for the friendly meeting of Indians with Englishmen interested in India; (3) by lectures and the publication of papers or leaflets correcting erroneous or misleading statements about India and its administration; and (4), generally, by the promulgation of sound and trustworthy information regarding the many weighty problems which confront the Administrations in India, so that the public may be able to obtain in a cheap and popular form a correct knowledge of Indian affairs.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF SARAWAK

BY CHARLES HOSE, SC.D. (CANTAB.)

(The author was for several years a Divisional-Resident and member of the Supreme Council of Sarawak. Since his retirement he has been appointed to the Sarawak State Advisory Council in London.)

THE poet Pope no doubt has embodied much practical truth in his lines :

" For forms of government let fools contest ;
Whate'er is best administered is best ;
For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight ;
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right."

But there are different views of what is right and what is wrong, and old customs and superstitions which are undoubtedly bad become by hereditary use sacrosanct and pass unchallenged. It would be difficult to find an area in which this condition of things could be better exemplified than in Sarawak, the internally independent British State in Borneo. Since the dawn of recorded history Borneo has been on the highway of the Eastern seas, with visits from Chinese, Hindus, Malays, and numerous tribes that inhabited the neighbouring islands and States. About the twelfth century the Muhammadans obtained a footing at Brunei, an important settlement on the north-west coast of Borneo, and until a century ago the history of the island has been a medley of local strife between tribes, of raids or invasions by neighbouring States, or of squabbles and jealousies between Dutch and English. Eventually agreements were arrived at between Holland and Britain regarding their Colonies, the British by their predominance at sea obtaining India and some minor territories in the Malay States, the keyport of Singapore being selected owing to the foresight of Raffles. During this period there was not much of constitutional force in the government of the country; might was right, and he who wanted peace and security sought shelter up the rivers or in the hidden creeks of the coast. Piracy was the form in which might displayed itself most. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Malays of Brunei, Sulu, and Mindanao, with their native followers and allies, took up piracy with renewed vigour, inspired, no doubt, by the example of their Western visitors. In 1788 the *May*, in 1803 the *Susanna*, and in 1806 the *Commerce* were destroyed and

their crews murdered by pirates, with the result that the British Admiralty warned merchants that it was certain destruction to go up-river to Brunei. For forty years this humiliating notice remained on British charts, and was obeyed by British seamen. But the longest road has a turning, and the direst tyranny an end. James Brooke, a young Englishman who had been in the service of the East India Company and made a voyage through Malay waters to China, heard of the oppression created in the land, and of the rebellion of the southern seaboard against the nobles of Brunei. Being inspired with the idea of establishing peace, prosperity, and just government in some part of that area, Brooke visited Sarawak in August, 1839, and found it in a sad state. He made the acquaintance of Muda Hasim, the uncle and heir-presumptive of the Sultan of Brunei, who was endeavouring to restore order in that distracted area. He then visited Celebes, and returned to Sarawak a year later to find things in a worse plight. Muda Hasim besought Brooke to take command of the forces and suppress the rebellion, promising him the appointment of Rajah of the district if he succeeded. This he was successful in accomplishing, and the rebel leaders surrendered, but only on the condition that Brooke, and not any Brunei noble, should be the Governor and Rajah of Sarawak. Later Muda Hasim, relieved of his difficulties, wished to execute the leaders of the rebellion, and hesitated to implicate his promise. Brooke, feeling bound to carry out his agreement with the rebel leaders, whose lives he had difficulty in saving from the vengeance of Muda Hasim and the Brunei nobles, insisted on it with some display of force. Muda Hasim then signed, and Brooke was proclaimed Governor and Rajah of Sarawak on September 24, 1841, amid popular rejoicings. Brooke, however, felt that the Sultan's authority should be definitely obtained to his title, as Muda Hasim himself was not Rajah of Sarawak, which was hitherto ruled by Brunei governors, and in 1842 he visited the Sultan. He received the Sultan's confirmation of the action of his agent, Muda Hasim, and a copy of the document is published at the end of this article with the English translation. The country of Sarawak was made over to Brooke and his successors for ever.

The modern constitutional arrangements of Sarawak then definitely began.

Brooke was to all practical purposes an autocratic monarch, but he was brave, just, and vigilant. His authority was not allowed to become absolute without challenge: his original

territory was confined to some 7,000 square miles, including the basins of the following rivers—the Sarawak, the Samarahan, the Sadong, and the Lundu. But to the north were other rivers, the nearest being the Batang Lupar and Saribas Rivers, and they were infested with pirates nominally under the allegiance to the Sultan of Brunei. Their depredations led Brooke to undertake several expeditions against them, and with the aid of Sir Harry Keppel of H.M.S. *Dido*, and of others, in 1849 he finally swept out these hornets' nests and put an end to piracy in those regions. In a similar manner other areas to the north were gradually ceded with the approval of the Sultan of Brunei, until the area of Sarawak extends to 60,000 square miles, or about the size of England and Wales.

There was of necessity a good deal of fighting with the pirates and their Malay chiefs, but the bulk of the population were on the Rajah's side and felt the benefit of peace, order, and good government. In fact, the first task and duty of the Rajah was to enforce peace, and he established his central administration at Kuching, the old capital in the south of the territory. He then selected strategic sites in each outlying district, and erected there a small fort with one or two white officers in charge of a garrison of ten or twelve Malays armed with rifles and a small cannon. The prime duty of these officers, who were known at first as Governors, and later as Residents, was to protect the local population from the oppression and depredations of the chiefs and pirates, and generally to discourage and punish bloodshed and disorder. The general policy followed in all these new districts was to elicit the co-operation of the local chiefs and headmen, and, when the people had begun to appreciate the benefits of peace, including the furtherance of trade by opening the rivers to Malay and Chinese pedlars and merchants, to impose a small poll-tax to defray the expenses of administration. The area of control was then gradually extended farther into the interior by securing the voluntary adhesion of communities and tribes settled on the tributaries and higher waters of each river. This policy, steadily pursued in one district after another, has invariably been successful, though of course the time required for their complete pacification has varied considerably. It was only during the early years of this century that the process seemed to reach its final stage among the Dayaks or Ibans in the interiors of the Batang Lupar and Rejang districts.

In 1857 an insurrection of Chinese goldworkers at Bau in Sarawak proper created some trouble, but was soon sup-

pressed. Two years later, in 1859, two English officers were murdered in the lower Rejang district, and there were indications of a conspiracy of Brunei nobles and Malay chiefs in British and Dutch Borneo to rid the island of these innovators. The result, however, was the cession of the basin of the Rejang, and in the year 1882 the Baram district was transferred for an annual payment of 5,000 dollars. The establishment of the Chartered Company of British North Borneo brought with Sarawak a third of the island of Borneo under British rule, the remainder being under Dutch control. The influence of the Rajah's administration and his methods have had great influence on the other two European Governments of the island, and the success attending his work of pacification after the elimination of these nests of piracy has added to his prestige and the reputation of his Government. The success, however, has not been due to chance, but to careful forethought. It has not been obtained by the issue of proclamations to an illiterate pagan population of varied tribes, but by the personal efforts of able men who entered into the lives of the people with sympathy and tact. The interests of the natives have been made the prime object of the Government's solicitude. From the very inception of his rule, Sir James Brooke laid down and strictly adhered to the principle of associating the natives with himself and his European assistants in the government of the country, and of respecting and maintaining whatever was not positively objectionable in the laws and customs of the people. In this policy he has been followed by his successors in office. When Sir James Brooke became absolute ruler of Sarawak, the country had been for many generations governed by Malay rulers, and the only generally recognized system of law was the Muhammadan law which they had been administering. The white Rajahs, instead of introducing a hard and fast European system of laws—as they might, as benevolent despots, have done—accepted the Muhammadan law and custom in all matters affecting the Muhammadan religion; and they gradually introduced improvements when and where the defects of the system revealed themselves. The principles according to which the government was conducted were well expressed by Sir Charles Brooke, the second Rajah, in the *Sarawak Gazette* of September 2, 1872. "A Government such as that of Sarawak may," he wrote, "start from things as we find them, putting its veto on what is dangerous or unjust, and supporting what is fair and equitable in the usages of the natives, and letting system and

legislation wait upon occasion. When new wants are felt, it examines and provides for them by measures rather made on the spot than imported from abroad; and to ensure that these shall not be contrary to native customs, the consent of the people is gained for them before they are put in force. The white man's so-called privilege of class is made little of, and the rules of government are framed with greater care for the interests of the majority who are not European, than for those of the minority of superior race." These were wise and practical words written by a man who was able to put them into effect, and was doing so. They were published the year after Livingstone died in Africa, and almost half a century before the League of Nations was called into existence, and declared that the white man held the coloured man's land in trusteeship for him. The Brooke Rajahs may well claim to have been pioneers in the just treatment of native races, and to have established precedents for good government.

The system of administration is as follows. The Rajah is the absolute authority of the State, but since 1855 he has been supported by the Supreme Council, which has consisted of three or four Malay officers and three or four of the principal European officers. The Supreme Council meets at least once a month, and the Rajah presides over its deliberations. It considers all matters referred to it by the lower tribunals, and it embodies the absolute authority of the Rajah. From its decrees there is no appeal. It decides questions of justice, administration, and legislation. It continually improves and enriches the law by creating precedents which serve to guide the local courts, by revising and repealing laws, and by adding new laws to the Statute Book. It is the sole legislative authority. The four Malay members are persons of high standing, corresponding to our Lord Mayor, Archbishop, Chief Justice, and Admiral, and they take an active part in the deliberations and decisions.

There is another Council called the Council *Negri*, or State Council, which meets at Kuching every three years. It is presided over by the Rajah and embraces the members of the Supreme Council, the Residents and District Officers in charge of the more important districts, and the principal native officers and *penghulus*, about a hundred members in all. The Rajah reviews the state of public affairs since last meeting, and subjects of general interest come under discussion. But the principal purpose of the institution is of a social nature—to bring together the principal men of the country for friendly intercourse. The new members take the oath

of loyalty to the Rajah and his Government, and the native members return to their homes with a feeling of the enhanced importance and dignity of their office and a better knowledge of their relations to the general administration of the country.

Let us now see how the localities are administered. The whole territory of Sarawak is divided into five divisions, and each division into two or more districts. A white officer is in charge of each division, and he is called the Resident, being of the highest class. The districts are administered by District Officers, and as they come more directly into touch with the people, their staff embraces all the officers necessary for local administration—assistant, education, forestry, treasury, public works, engineer, customs and medical officers, as well as magistrates of the Police and Debtors' Courts. There are, of course, the usual clerical staff of Malays, Chinese, and natives, and the system is liable to the usual contraction and expansion due to the needs of the districts. The white European officers are carefully selected, and are encouraged to keep in close touch with the natives of their areas. The natives, on the other hand, have their own direct representatives in the way of their chiefs and *penghulus*, who know the districts and their inhabitants, and keep the white officers in touch with local feeling. As the white officers generally enter the Service as cadets, they soon get acquainted with the spirit of the Service, learn Malay and the local language, and become on friendly terms with the people.

The government of the territory is run practically without force. The Sarawak Rangers are a body of some 400 men trained to the use of fire-arms and under military discipline. They are mainly Dayaks or Ibans, the remainder being Malays and Sikhs. The Commandant and Gunnery Instructor are white men, and the non-commissioned officers natives. They garrison the forts, and form the nucleus of any force that may be required for punitive expeditions.

There is a similar body of policemen who are distributed over the territory, but the native chiefs and *penghulus*, as a rule, keep all the order that is necessary.

It is of interest to note that the policy of pacification did not meet with universal support. I remember a conversation I had with the Sultan of Brunei, Mumin, then a veteran of more than ninety years of age, and he told me emphatically that we were making a mistake in pacifying the native tribes who lived in the interior of the Baram district. "They are not Muhammadans," he said, "and what does it matter how many of them get killed?" He believed that the more

they slew of each other in their internal feuds, the easier it was to govern them and the less danger they were to the civilized community. *Divide et impera* was a policy not confined to the Romans alone.

Though it is now twenty-two years since I retired on pension from the Sarawak public service, I have revisited the State on two occasions, and kept in touch with its development, as indeed my duties on the State Advisory Council in London made it incumbent upon me. The State has made rapid progress in this period, its trade and prosperity having grown. The discovery of oil at Miri, which is such an asset to the territory and the Empire, has been of great benefit to the resources of the territory, and the machinery of governance has been readily adapted to the new industry. But the principles of government have not deviated from those laid down by Sir James Brooke; new decisions have been given to meet new needs, and new precedents have been laid down for local guidance, but the spirit of governance has been rigidly maintained.

In matters of religion the State does not interfere. The Muhammadans are the predominating element, but Christian missionaries receive full authority to propagate their beliefs. The Government provides a system of schools, and so do the Missions, each school receiving a proportion of the funds available on a capitation basis. Strict impartial administration and non-interference with harmless superstitions and customs, which vary greatly among the tribes, have had their reward in a peaceful régime. Head-hunting and slavery were at one time common, but are now practically non-existent. In the "Pagan Tribes of Borneo," "Natural Man," and my "Memories" recently published, I have given a detailed account of these customs and superstitions, and the methods adopted of providing substitutes. Head-hunting was in reality a religious rite to help the prosperity of the crops, and to aid a departed hero's soul across the bourne of death, and of course strong discouragement had much to do with its cessation, but the production of an old skull in place of a new one helped to assuage the feelings of the mourners, and to prevent a raid which ended in murder. The institution of boat-racing also had its advantages in providing a good holiday, and in blowing off the surplus energy that formerly found its vent in a bloodthirsty foray. The rivers are the roads of Sarawak; they and their tributaries play an important part in the life of the people, and the need for boats is more urgent than that for carts,

They also guard the ingress and egress of the districts, and serve to show the tribes who are moving about in the area. Customs are often merely the accepted expression of prolonged experience, and though the experience may have been narrow though prolonged, and its expression often modified in the course of time, the custom should be carefully considered before being discarded. It was here that the wisdom of the military pacificator showed itself in peace. It was no part of his policy to break up the old forms of society and recast it after any foreign model. He took things as they were, and supplied the elements that were lacking to the system, so as to enable the people to live at peace, to prosper and to multiply, and enjoy the fruit of their labour. The Government of Sarawak is a living organization. The people have their local chiefs and their local officers, who see them any time they wish. Small disputes are settled on the spot according to local usage; the more serious cases, requiring greater care or knowledge, are dealt with in the districts or divisions, or may reach the Supreme Council, whose decision is final. There is no undue formality or delay of justice, no endless red-tape or bureaucracy, and the poorest man has a ready entrance to the courts which can remedy his wrongs. Such is the development of the Constitution of Sarawak.

Let us now see how it stands in relation to the British Crown, and to the British Empire. When Sir James Brooke acquired in 1841 his cession of territory from the Sultan of Brunei, Dominion status did not exist. It came into operation in 1867 with the federation of the Canadian States, and since then there have been many constitutional changes in the Empire. In 1842 the question arose whether any British recognition could be accorded to Sir James Brooke, seeing that any territory acquired by a British subject must, on the strict legal theory, be acquired for the Crown. This condition of things lasted until June 14, 1888, when an agreement placed Sarawak under British protection. The Crown undertakes not to interfere in any of the internal affairs of the State, but, in return for its protection, has the right to determine any question arising as to the succession, to control the foreign relations of the State, and to appoint Consular Officers. British subjects are assured of most favoured nation treatment, and no part of the State may be alienated without the consent of the Crown. In this way were determined the internal freedom of Sarawak and the external control of the British Government. That its acquisition has been beneficial to the Empire in a manner

not then understood will be realized when it is stated that the Miri oilfields hold the first place in the Empire in the way of oil-production. This should be remembered as an important factor in connection with the Singapore base.

Sarawak was, in the manner of its acquisition, a romantic interlude in the growth of our Imperial domain. As one connected with the Service, I feel diffident in testifying to the good work that has been done from the suppression of piracy and the establishment of the principles of government down to the present time, but there have been many encomiums of praise from foreign countries. The work of the Dutch in the south-east of the island and of the Americans in the neighbouring Philippines aroused interest in native administration, and the latter, with their characteristic energy and methods, instituted an expert enquiry into tropical colonization. The University of Chicago appointed a Colonial Commissioner in Mr. Alleyne Ireland, who published a series of studies on various phases of British, American, French, and Dutch Colonial administration and policy. In this book, "The Far Eastern Tropics," 1905, he writes, amid much congratulatory matter, the following: "I had occasion some years ago to write for the *Atlantic Monthly* an article on 'European Experience with Tropical Colonies.' At its conclusion are to be found the following lines from Froude, quoted in support of the argument in favour of personal rule in the tropics: 'Find a Raja Brooke if you can. . . . Send him out with no more instructions than the Knight of the Mancha gave Sancho—to fear God and do his duty. . . . The leading of the wise few, the willing obedience of the many, is the beginning and end of all right action. Secure this and you secure everything. Fail to secure it, and, be your liberties as wide as you can make them, no success is possible. For the past two months I have been in Sarawak, travelling up and down the coast and into the interior, and working in Kuching, the capital. At the end of it I find myself unable to express the high opinion I have formed of the administration of the country without a fear that I shall lay myself open to the charge of exaggeration. With such knowledge of administrative systems in the tropics as may be gained by actual observation in almost every part of the British Empire except the African Colonies, I can say that in no country which I have ever visited are there to be observed so many signs of a wise and generous rule, such abundant indications of good government, as are to be seen on every hand in Sarawak.'"

Translation of the document appearing on the opposite page. The document and translation appear in the author's book, "Natural Man," published by Messrs. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., by whose courtesy they are here reproduced.

SARAWAK TREATIES

SARAWAK, 1841

TRANSFER BY PANGERAN MUDA HASIM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SARAWAK

(Translation)

This Agreement made in the year of the Prophet one thousand two hundred and fifty-seven at twelve o'clock on Wednesday the thirtieth day of the month of Rejab sheweth that with a pure heart and high integrity PANGERAN MUDA HASIM son of the late Sultan Muhammad hereby transfers to JAMES BROOKE Esquire the Government of Sarawak together with the dependencies thereof its revenues and all its future responsibilities. Moreover he James Brooke Esquire shall be the sole owner of its revenues and will be alone responsible for the public expenditure necessary for the good of Sarawak.

Moreover James Brooke Esquire acting with the same integrity and pureness of heart accepts this Agreement as set forth and further undertakes from the date hereof to pay to the Sultan of Brunei one thousand dollars to Pangeran Muda one thousand dollars to the Pettinggi three hundred dollars to the Bandar one hundred and fifty dollars and to the Temenggong one hundred dollars.

Moreover James Brooke Esquire undertakes that the laws and customs of the Malays of Sarawak shall for ever be respected since the country of Sarawak has hitherto been subject to the government of the Sultan of Brunei the Pangeran Muda and Malayan rajas.

Moreover should intrigues arise either within or without the State of Sarawak detrimental to its interests whether caused by peoples or princes or rulers who may be inimical to Sarawak the Sultan and his brother the Pangeran Muda shall uphold James Brooke Esquire as the lawfully appointed Ruler of Sarawak subject to no interference by any other person.

Moreover the Pangeran Muda and James Brooke Esquire do themselves make this Contract and the Pangeran agrees to relinquish all further activities in the Government of Sarawak except such as may be carried out by the consent of James Brooke Esquire and anything which they may severally or individually do in regard to the Government of Sarawak must be in accordance with the terms of this Agreement.

Written in Sarawak on the night of Friday the second day of Shaaban 1257 at ten o'clock.



هجو النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ابراهيم وادراش ليدفونهم توجبنا هفن عندنا والاول الكون

[illegible]





EXTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF BOM JESUS, OLD GOA

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EXTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF CALANGUTE, BARDEZ, "OLD CONQUESTS"

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GOVERNOR'S PALACE, PANJIM

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HOSPITAL MARGAO

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PORTUGUESE RULE IN GOA

BY E. ROSENTHAL, F.R.G.S.

THE study of Portuguese rule in Goa presents many interesting features, and is a story of success and failure of meteoric character. When Albuquerque set foot on Goanese territory in the spring of 1510 he was fired with ambition to acquire for his king what he considered would be the most valuable gem in the circlet of Portuguese overseas territories. He was quick to grasp the possibilities of Goa, and to realize what an important weapon it would become in the hands of the Portuguese for the development of empire and the extension of trade.

In its initial stages Portuguese enterprise in Asia was crowned with brilliant success, for Albuquerque was singularly fortunate in selecting the opportune moment in which to embark upon his attack on Goa, and his first landing was in the nature of a triumphal entry. The Goanese, weary of the Mussulman rule of Bijapur, under which they had smarted since 1469, hailed Albuquerque with joy. To them he was the saviour whose advent had been prophesied by a *jogi*, and they regarded the Portuguese as their rescuers from the Muhammadan yoke. Albuquerque issued various declarations likely to encourage the confidence and win the sympathy of the Hindus, who viewed with disfavour the encroachments of the Moplas. These Arabs, as foreign to the Hindus of Southern India as the Portuguese themselves, had entirely monopolized the coast trade, and, from the outset, Albuquerque made it a feature of his policy to pose as the liberator of the Hindus and the destroyer of the Muhammadans. In furtherance of this policy he adopted a paternal attitude towards the former.

Despite this auspicious commencement, however, Albuquerque's career in Goa was destined to be a stormy one, beset with grave perils from within and without. Firstly, he was interrupted in the congenial task of establishing himself root and branch in his new territory by the advance of the ruler of Bijapur, Yusuf Adil Shah, with sixty thousand men. The Portuguese general would have stayed to face the enemy, despite overwhelming odds, but for the unwillingness of his captains, who considered trading to be

a more profitable and pleasant occupation than fighting. Much against the grain, therefore, Albuquerque withdrew to his ships, after setting fire to the arsenal at Goa, and beheading a hundred and fifty Muhammadan prisoners. It was only an instance of *reculer pour mieux sauter*, however, for after the monsoon was spent, Albuquerque returned to the attack with renewed vigour, and recaptured Goa on November 25, 1510. On this occasion the Portuguese proved their mettle as warriors and accomplished many heroic feats. A forecast of Albuquerque's Christian propaganda may be glimpsed in his first deed after reaching *terra firma*. He offered up thanksgiving, and vowed that he would build a church in honour of St. Catherine of Alexandria, for it was on her feast day that he planted the Portuguese flag on Goanese territory for the second time. Albuquerque's next act has left an indelible stain on the record of his achievements, for it consisted in the wholesale slaughter of the Muhammadan population, an act notable for its cruelty, even in a semi-barbarous age.

Good fortune again declared for Albuquerque, for Yusuf Adil Shah, a man with as much backbone as Albuquerque himself, died shortly after the Portuguese victory, and Ismail, a mere stripling, reigned in his father's stead. From Ismail's vassals Albuquerque obtained all the concessions he required without any particular difficulty, and in return he promised to assist the youthful ruler of Bijapur "against the King of Deccan, and against your enemies." In a burst of persuasiveness Albuquerque continued his communication by offering to make Ismail "a great Lord among the Moors," provided that the Muhammadan sultan agreed to accept Albuquerque as a guide, philosopher, and friend, and concluded his effusion by promising to be a father to the Bijapur sultan and to bring him up like a son.

Albuquerque has been likened to Alexander the Great, although the conditions in which the two warriors warred and won were vastly different.* Land formed the base of Alexander's operations, and he was compelled, therefore, to secure his rear by establishing fortified posts as he advanced. The sea was the stage of Albuquerque's operations, and, consequently, he was relieved of anxiety respecting his rearguard. He was strongly opposed, however, to overmuch reliance being placed on the navy, and lost no opportunity of advocating emphatically the imperative necessity for building fortresses, and of advising the King of Portugal

* See remarks in "The Portuguese in India," by F. C. Danvers (W. H. Allen and Co., 1894), vol. i., pp. xxx and 328.

not to pin his faith on "ships as rotten as cork, only kept afloat by four pumps in each of them."

A much criticized feature of Albuquerque's policy was his encouragement of mixed marriages. He climbed the fence of race in his endeavour to kill two birds with one stone, for by the wholesale conversion of Indian women, and their marriage to Portuguese men, he proposed to establish a stable Christian population in Goa. Artisans would be required permanently in this new country, and Albuquerque reasoned that the most powerful inducement for men to settle on foreign shores would be family ties. Mixed marriages featured in all Portuguese colonization policy, and there was nothing particularly repugnant about the idea from the Portuguese angle of vision. In Goa special privileges were accorded to married men, certain posts were reserved for them, and, in 1518, all the crown estates were divided amongst them. Towards the end of the sixteenth century well-born orphans were dowered by the King of Portugal and sent to India, but Goa rejoiced in unenviable fame so far as morality or, rather, the absence of morality was concerned. Matrimony in bulk, as encouraged by Albuquerque, was responsible for much physical and moral deterioration, for in many instances the women were no better than slaves. The promoter of the scheme was far too shrewd an administrator not to visualize the perils in store. True, it was imperative that there should be a prolific younger generation. The quality of that younger generation, however, was just as important as quantity, for its members would be required to fill the ranks of the army and navy. Albuquerque knew right well that in a new colony there is no place for weaklings, and he proposed that all children between the ages of twelve and twenty-five should be educated in Portugal by order of the King.

The hothouse climate of Goa soon made its influence felt on the men as well as on the children. The husbands whom Albuquerque had established as armourers and cobblers left work to their servants, and preferred lazing to labouring while the wives replenished the family exchequer with the immoral earnings of their slave girls.

Albuquerque was quick to appreciate the talents of the people with whom he had to deal, and he encouraged the training and employment of Indian clerks and troops. In a letter addressed to his sovereign in 1512, Albuquerque requested that a competent schoolmaster should be sent out to instruct men in Western languages and customs. He

also wrote to the King of Portugal urging the retention of Goa, and the arguments which he adduced in face of opposition were sufficiently cogent to convince Emmanuel "the Fortunate" of their truth.

It was in 1515 that Albuquerque passed away, and his most distinguished successor was Vasco da Gama, the discoverer of the sea route to the Indies. Da Gama stood at the helm for too short a time, however, to steer the ship of State clear of the many shoals which surrounded it, for he died in 1524, after ruling over Goa for a period of three months only.

Missionary zeal had been a conspicuous trait of Albuquerque's policy, and the idea that they should encourage Christianity was impressed upon all viceroys. The influence of that remarkable man St. Francis Xavier still serves as a generator of spiritual enthusiasm, as evidenced by the scenes of religious fervour which are enacted at the present day during the expositions of the Saint's remains in the Church of Bom Jesus at Old Goa. St. Francis Xavier arrived at Goa in 1542, and, with a marvellous admixture of tact and shrewdness, the Saint commenced his mission in the East by endeavouring to regenerate the Christians before embarking upon the conversion of Hindus and Muhammadans, for he was well aware of the need of Europeans in Goa for moral uplift. Before leaving Europe St. Francis had assisted his friend and master St. Ignatius Loyola to found the order of Jesuit fathers, and his teaching and preaching paved the way for their activities in Asia. By a grant made about the middle of the sixteenth century, all funds formerly employed for the upkeep of Hindu temples were transferred to the Jesuits for the furtherance of education, and, within the space of a few years, their College of St. Paul in Goa became the leading educational institution in the Orient.

A series of disasters rendered Goa in a comparatively short time a drain on the vitality of Portugal. The downfall of Goa was due to a variety of causes, amongst which the sixty years' Spanish dominion from 1580 to 1640, the Portuguese love of ease, and the incursions of the Dutch take pride of place. The shrewd old Frenchman Tavernier, who visited Goa twice during the course of the seventeenth century, was struck very forcibly by the degeneration which had set in between his first and second visits. He noted that on his first visit he "met with people of fashion that had above two thousand crowns revenue; at my second voyage the same persons came privately to me in the

evening to beg an alms; yet abating nothing for all that of their inherent pride and haughtiness. Tavernier's compatriot Thevenot hit the nail on the head when he remarked, "Few nations in the world were so rich in the Indies as the Portuguese were before their commerce was ruined by the Dutch, but their vanity is the cause of their loss, and if they had feared the Dutch more than they did, they might have still been in a position to give them the law there."

One ill led to another in Goa. To raise sufficient funds to oppose the Dutch, the Viceroy, Pedro da Silva, put up for auction all public positions and knocked them down to the highest bidder. True, this legalized bribery brought in certain ready cash, but failed lamentably to cast out the Hollanders, whose power increased and multiplied at a rate exceedingly disconcerting to the Portuguese.

Another blow dealt to Portuguese power in India was the cession of Bombay to the British in 1665, in accordance with the marriage treaty drawn up between Charles II. of England and the Infanta of Portugal. The then Viceroy of Goa, Antonio de Mello e Castro, did not relinquish Bombay without many a pang, as proved by the correspondence which passed between him and the King of Portugal, Alfonso VI. In one letter in which he endeavoured to justify himself for having ignored the royal commands to deliver Bombay to the English Ambassador, Sir Abraham Shipham, the Viceroy described it as "the best port Your Majesty possesses in India, with which that of Lisbon is not to be compared."

In 1755 the Government rescinded the law passed in 1540, forbidding the erection of temples in the Velhas Conquistas, "Old Conquests," and religious liberty was accorded to the inhabitants of the Novas Conquistas, the "New Conquests." The "Old Conquests," comprising the ten islands of Goa, Bardez Province and Tiracol District, Salcete Province and the Island of Anjediva, were annexed soon after Albuquerque's conquest of Goa proper, and, consequently, for nearly four hundred years Christianity has held sway over this region. As in Roman Catholic countries in Europe, the churches are the principal buildings in each town, and they lend a queerly non-Oriental aspect to the Velhas Conquistas. These sanctuaries are a curious contrast to the sumptuous temples in the nine provinces of the Novas Conquistas, which territory did not come into the possession of Portugal until the second half

of the eighteenth century, and still retains many of its Hindu characteristics.

During the Napoleonic wars Goa was garrisoned by English troops, "with every demonstration on the part of His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the most perfect cordiality and the most distinguished attention," as Wellesley put it, in a letter written in October, 1799, to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. The British Auxiliary Force continued to occupy Goa until the general peace in 1815, when Portuguese territory was evacuated.

In 1881 extensive works were undertaken at Mormugao for the accommodation of important ocean-going vessels. Coupled with the opening of the West of India Portuguese Railway from Castle Rock station to Mormugao, this enterprise has been productive of satisfactory results. The seventy-mile line is worked by the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, and a considerable amount of goods traffic is conveyed by this route to the coast. Near Vasco da Gama station the Burma Oil Company and New York Petroleum Company have established reservoirs, and several English shipping firms have agencies at Mormugao, which is the headquarters of a railway district engineer, to whom usually the duties are entrusted of British consul.

Owing to the unhealthy condition of Old Goa, the seat of government was transferred to Panjim in 1764. Panjim, therefore, is now the centre of commerce, industry, and education, and possesses, incidentally, a noted medical college, whilst Margao, the capital of the Salcete District, boasts a hospital which would do credit to any large European city. This institution was erected recently by private enterprise, and is furnished with every modern hygienic convenience.

THE INNER EAST

THE BOLSHEVIKS AND AFGHANISTAN

[The author of this article has already contributed an article to the ASIATIC REVIEW in April of last year on the "Basmaji Movement in Turkestan." Mr. Chokaiev was President of the Provisional Government of Autonomous Turkestan which was elected by the Extraordinary Congress of Turkestan Mussulmans in November, 1917, and which was suppressed as a result of the bombardment of Kokand by troops of the Tashkent Sovnarkom on January 31, 1918. The Inner East Section is conducted in consultation with Mr. W. E. D. Allen, M.P., the distinguished Eastern traveller and author, who arranged with Mr. Mustapha Chokaiev for the following article, which, it will be noted, was written before King Amanullah's departure from Afghanistan.]

I

WHENEVER one has to speak of the feeling of the Bolsheviks for the peoples of the East, I recollect the words of Kirov, the one-time Minister of the Soviet Government in Georgia. Having returned from the famous "First Congress of the Peoples of the East," held in Baku (September 1-7, 1920), he granted an interview to a member of the staff of the Tiflis paper *Slovo*. Speaking of the "Eastern peoples," with the representatives of which the Bolsheviks were engaged in concluding "a sacred union for struggling against British Imperialism," Kirov expressed himself as follows:

"I am not an expert on the East, but I do know that the Orientals will willingly attend any Congresses, especially if they are given *pilaff*" (a dish with rice).

If it be taken into consideration that Kirov was introduced as a representative of the Communist Internationale into the so-called "Soviet of Action and Propaganda in the East"—i.e., into the body which was to lead the peoples of the East in a "holy war against the Imperialism of the World, and in particular against that of Great Britain"—it is easy to understand the true feeling of the Bolsheviks towards their "Eastern Allies." The Bolsheviks regarded and continue to regard them as peoples "ready to agree to anything as long as they are given *pilaff*."

I do not here use *pilaff* in that cynical, gastronomic sense in which it was used by Kirov, but in the sense of those unrealizable promises and declarations of love towards the "Eastern peoples" which are made by the Bolsheviks.

It is sufficient to read what the Bolsheviks say of the Chinese and Turkish Nationalists to understand what the "flavouring" of Soviet *pilaff* is. I follow events in Turkestan fairly accurately, and can say that the most terrible word—a real bugbear for intimidating our Nationalists (the partisans of the National Independence of Turkestan)—in the mouths of the Bolsheviks is "Kemalist." I recall that in the spring of 1927, at the Conference of Workers of National Education in Uzbekistan, the Bolshevik orator, in trying to slander the writer of these lines in the eyes of the teachers and students of Turkestan, and make him appear the most malicious enemy of the people, said:

"Do you know, Comrades, what would have happened in Turkestan if the plans of Mustapha Chokaev had succeeded in 1918? We should now be living in conditions similar to those of Turkey, under Mustapha Kemal."

Kemalism, which Bolshevik diplomacy is continually praising, appears in reality to be a terrible nightmare, from which the inhabitants of Turkestan must be saved at all costs. Even in the "Boy Scout" movement, which is entirely non-political, and has no connection with either the revolutionary or counter-revolutionary party, the Bolshevik Press of Turkestan saw criminal designs on the part of the Kemalists. According to the Tashkent feminine journal *Yangi Yul*, by training "Scouts" the "Kemalists are training future hangmen of the Turkish people. . . ." I could quote many similar examples of the Bolshevik "sympathy" towards the Kemalists. The ones I have mentioned are sufficient for us to see that the true feelings of the Soviets towards Kemalist Turkey are widely different from those "assurances" of "sincere friendship" with which the diplomatic notes and telegrams of the Moscow People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs are full.

When, two years ago, in China, a conflict arose between the leaders of the left (in sympathy with the Bolsheviks) and right (with Chiang Kai-Shek at the head) wings of the "Kuomintang," the Soviet Press discussed at length: Whether the Chinese National Revolutionary movement had become similar to the Turkish Kemalist movement or not? If it had (Trotsky's view), the traitor Chiang Kai-Shek, who had taken upon himself the "criminal part" of a Chinese Kemal, was to be "annihilated" without delay.

If it had not (Stalin's view), events were to be awaited,

but all measures were to be taken to prevent Chiang Kai-Shek from becoming a Kemal. . . .

The feeling of the Bolsheviks for Amanullah, before whom the Red banners of the world socialist revolution were lowered in Moscow, differs but little from their feeling for Kemal and Chiang Kai-Shek. One condition, however, puts the Afghan King into a more privileged position as compared with the Turkish President: that is, the geographical position of Afghanistan between Soviet Turkestan and British India. The desire to keep Afghanistan, as long as possible, within the sphere of its "Eastern Policy"—which is in reality the policy of promoting the "downfall of British Imperialism" and the "Liberation of India"—forces the Bolsheviks to make promises to Afghanistan which go far beyond the possibilities of realization.

II

It is essential for the Bolsheviks to demonstrate their "friendship" before Afghanistan, and to produce the right "impression" at the "Gates of India." For Soviet Russia the Afghan national movement and the reforms of King Amanullah Khan were important in so far as they could be used against "British Imperialism," at the most vulnerable point of the British Empire—*i.e.*, at the "Gates of India." A revolution in India is the most important—I should say the last—card of the Russian Bolsheviks. Without this revolution they cannot visualize "the fall of the Imperialism of the West." The Bolsheviks promised a revolution in India in the first "Appeal of the Soviet of People's Commissaries to the Mussulmans of the East" (November, 1917).

"Without the liberation of India," the Bolsheviks wrote in the so-called Blue Book, "there can be no social catastrophe in the West."

"We Russian revolutionaries and international Socialists," we read further on in the Blue Book,* "must not only hail the revolution in India, but directly and indirectly support it with all our power; we must unite our forces in the name of a struggle with imperialism, and help India to set herself free from the detestable yoke of Great Britain."

This idea of a "revolution in India," without which there can be no "social catastrophe in the West," permeates all

* "The Blue Book." Collection of secret documents, obtained from the archives of the former Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Published by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. Moscow, 1918.

the activities of the Bolsheviks: the work of the Soviet of People's Commissaries and that of the "Comintern." The more convinced the Bolsheviks become of the "stabilization of capital," and the less hopeful they become of the "revolutionary productivity" of the Western proletariat (British in particular), the more the Soviet Government turns in hope to the East. The defeat of the Soviets at Warsaw may be regarded as a turning-point which defined the "weakening of the revolutionary movement in the West" and increased attention on the East. For Stalin, the present-day powerful dictator of the Kremlin, the defeat at Warsaw was not so much a military defeat as a defeat of the hopes of the revolutionary strength of the proletariat of the West.

I shall refer to Stalin's speech at the Twelfth Congress of the Party (April, 1923).

"We could not go further, after we had suffered defeat at Warsaw. . . . We undertook a new policy within our country—we introduced the N.E.P., and in foreign lands (in the West) we decided to decrease the advance movement and carry out further work among the Eastern reserves of the revolution, which form the backbone of world capitalism. . . .

"Either," continues Stalin, "we shall arouse the back areas of imperialism—*i.e.*, Eastern Colonies or Mandated States—and thereby accelerate the fall of imperialism, or we shall fail there, and thus strengthen imperialism and weaken the power of our movement. That is the position of the question at present."

It was in the name of "arousing and revolutionizing the Eastern countries," and in the sole hope of, if not making him an ally, at least of engaging his sympathies in the Soviet anti-British policy—*i.e.*, in the so-called "colonial-liberating revolution"—that the Soviet Government lowered the Red banners of the world social revolution before the Eastern monarch.

I do not personally think that Amanullah Khan could have given any guarantees in the matter of strengthening Soviet hopes in this direction. But the Bolsheviks did not require these guarantees. They merely hoped to make use of the Afghan's "fear of England" in the most profitable manner for themselves. . . .

III

I recollect my short conversation with the late Djemal-Pasha, during the latter's visit to Europe, in the spring of 1922.

Djemal-Pasha was then the organizer of the Afghan Army. He arrived in Afghanistan after a fairly long visit to Moscow and Tashkent. He believed (or perhaps wanted to appear as though he believed) in the early "expulsion of the British from India" by the Soviet Red Army. He made the impression on me that he was carrying out his mission of organizing the Afghan Army with this possibility in his mind.

At this time Enver, who had already a fair knowledge of Bolshevik policy, was in Eastern Bokhara (now Tadjikistan), and was struggling against the Red Army. When I pointed this out to Djemal-Pasha, and drew his attention to his equivocal position in relation to the Soviets, Djemal-Pasha called Enver an "extremely impulsive man," and asked me to "write to my friends in Turkestan and ask them to influence the 'Basmajis' to stop their activities against the Soviet Authority, and even join forces with the Bolsheviks, in view of forthcoming events of enormous importance in India."*

I tried to warn Djemal-Pasha of the danger to which he might subject Afghanistan—the country which had only just entered the path of European culture. The danger seemed to me to be the definite desire of Djemal-Pasha to keep Afghanistan and her young monarch in the fairway of Soviet policy, with a sympathy towards Soviet Russia. I did not succeed in convincing Djemal-Pasha; he appeared to be over-obsessed by the idea of "expelling the British from India." He hoped that this would be realized, and believed that Soviet Russia would help in the affair. The Afghan Army, according to the unexpressed idea of its organizer—was also to participate in the "revolutionary liberation of India." I was forced to put the question: "Will the Afghan Government consent to this?" Djemal-Pasha refrained from giving a direct answer, but . . . I remembered the history of the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, which, without the clearly expressed consent of the Turkish Government, began military operations in the Black Sea. . . .

* It is probable that Djemal-Pasha also believed in the rumours spread by the Turkestan Bolsheviks that I was the instigator of the "Basmaji" rising.—M. CH.

IV

The true feeling of Soviet circles—if they were free from the desire for the “social catastrophe in Europe”—towards the King-reformer Amanullah, was very different from that which might be supposed to have existed, judging from the “Moscow review of the Red Army” held before the Afghan monarch.

While the Soviet diplomats were praising the reforms of Amanullah Khan, the *Ogonek*, an extremely popular weekly, published the following (May 15, 1928):

“Not the padishah Amanullah Khan, with his State Council of the wisest men, will bring about radical reforms in the country, but the working masses. There is no doubt about this. . . .”

We shall see later what reforms the *Ogonek* hinted at, and also that it was precisely this journal which expressed the true feeling of Soviet circles towards Afghanistan and her King. Let us look back. In an appeal to the Mussulmans of the world, published in 1924, by the Tashkent Department for Affairs concerned with the Mussulman Faith, we read that:

“Great Britain . . . through the mediation of mercenary reactionary leaders has raised a revolt against the young Emir Amanullah Khan, which has led to the shedding of innocent blood. . . .”

Reference is here made to the Khost rising in 1924, which, as is known, was led by a certain pretender to the throne named Abdul-Kerim.

Looking through Turkestan papers, I came across some back numbers of the most important local paper, the *Kzıl Uzbegstan* (written in the Uzbeg language), in which a totally different explanation of the Khost rising is given (numbers of papers for August, 1925). The author of these explanations is the prominent Uzbeg Communist Mannan Ramzi, who not only knows and understands the line of Soviet “foreign policy,” but is initiated into her secrets. His explanations of the Khost rising are therefore of interest as a Bolshevik interpretation of Afghan events. In a long article especially devoted to the Khost rising (see *Kzıl Uzbegstan*, dated August 20, 1925) Mannan Ramzi writes:

“The activities of the Afghan administration are responsible for the people going over to Abdul-Kerim. . . .”

Further, we read :

"The risings against the Government show that the entire administration of Afghanistan, from top to bottom, is organized on a system of violence and robbery. . . ."

Nowhere in the articles of Ramzi in the pages of the *Kzil Uzbekstan* will you see England blamed for the Khost rising, as she is in the "Appeal to all the Mussulmans of the World." On the contrary, the rising is described in such a way that its "legality," as well as that of other risings, leaves no doubt in the reader's mind. Kamzi proposes a method whereby Afghanistan could be freed from risings, and to hear this friendly advice to the Afghan people is not without interest :

"Conditions in all places in which the Soviet system has not been introduced are bad," writes Ramzi in an article entitled "Rayat Talashi" (*i.e.*, "The Robbery of the Poor"). "The working masses of countries adjoining those in which the Soviet system is working are eagerly awaiting its introduction into their countries. The masses have awakened not only in Afghanistan. The new desire for freedom" (*i.e.*, "Soviet freedom") "is ever growing, and will increase and gain strength with time. . . ."

And after describing his sojourn in the Afghan fortress of Kala-i-Byarpanaj, Mannan Ramzi concludes :

"The future revolution in Afghanistan lies deep in our hearts. . . ."

Can we doubt that he is not referring to the revolution which was being brought about by Amanullah Khan through his reforms, but to the class, proletarian revolution of the "Afghan Rayats" against Amanullah Khan and his loyal "Sirdars" ?

"The future Afghan revolution" is not only "in the hearts" of the Bolsheviks in Turkestan. They are carrying on propaganda among the Afghan refugees in the Pamir and the Afghans working in Turkestan. For example, members of the special Afghan Government Commission who had been sent to the Pamir for the purpose of elaborating the conditions under which certain Afghan refugees could return to their native land, were met by the Soviet delegates and representatives of the refugees.

Turning to the old Kazia, who gave the refugees the

paternal wishes of Amanullah Khan and his request that they should return to their native land, a certain refugee delegate—according to the above-mentioned article, "Rayat Talashi," in the *Kzil Uzbekstan*—interrupted the words of Amanullah's representative and shouted:

"This Kazia, along with others, drank the people's blood" . . . thereupon the Soviet delegate, who was present, commented: "If this Kazia is a blood-sucker, then, following the rule of 'blood for blood,' we should kill this man today."

If these remarks are openly made to the head of the Royal Commission, it is not difficult to imagine what is said by the Bolsheviks, "who nurse in their hearts the idea of the future Afghan revolution," to the Afghan refugees in private.

I can imagine what the Bolsheviks would have said in the "Revolutionary East" if this attitude towards the Afghan Government Commission had been adopted by the British.

V

The receptions held in London in honour of King Amanullah were regarded by Soviet Moscow as "insincere flattery by the Imperialists" to the head of independent Afghanistan, which in the event of a conflict between England and the Soviet Union might prove to be a dangerous neighbour. To counterbalance "British wickedness" the Russian Bolsheviks tried to emphasize their "absolute sincerity," and were loud in their praises of the reforms of Amanullah at all official gatherings.

In these reforms the official Bolshevik speakers tried to trace a "kinship of souls" between the Afghan people and the "revolutionary proletariat of the great proletarian Republic of Soviets." The symbolical review of Red troops, with banners lowered before the Eastern monarch, had to be justified before the Soviet proletariat in some way. The Bolsheviks, however, did not take into account the results of their "sincere praise" of the Afghan reforms. They did not foresee that in Turkestan, for instance, their attitude might result in totally undesired and open signs of sympathy towards Afghanistan, and even sow amidst the population the seed of "counter-revolutionary" desire to "form a national independent Turkestan on the lines of Afghanistan. . . ."

Some time ago the Soviet Press drew attention to the fact that among Turkestan students (for instance, in the

Higher Pedagogical Institute in Samarkand) there appeared groups of active agitators, prepared to demand "the right for Turkestan to develop independently on the lines followed by Afghanistan and Egypt. . . ." The entire party machine was immediately put into operation to nip this in the bud. The principal culprit was discovered, and proved to be a student—an Uzbek—a member of the Communist Party, Mirza Rakhimi. Enquiries proved that he was not alone in his demands, but that he enjoyed the full support of a portion of students and teachers. The authorities then restricted their activities to expelling Rakhimi only from the party and from the Institute for attempting to "put into practice the nationalist ideas . . . of Mustapha Chokaev," the author of these lines. The authorities, however, felt they could not stop here. In Turkestan Amanullah Khan enjoyed great popularity and respect, which was certainly not based on his "Soviet sympathies." In Amanullah Khan the natives of Turkestan saw a man who embodied the idea of an independent Afghanistan together with the keen desire for progress.

The fact that among that section of Turkestan youths who have passed through Soviet schools there has sprung up an active group demanding "Afghan and even Egyptian conditions" for the national development of Turkestan is clear evidence that neither Amanullah's "pro-Soviet" nor "anti-British" policy—if such terms could honestly be applied to his policy—played any part in the popularity he enjoyed in Turkestan. The sympathies of the Turkestan people for Amanullah Khan were upheld by the longing for the independence of their country, over which the Red standard "of Red Colonial Imperialism" has been raised for the last twelve years. The Bolsheviks understand the situation very well. It was for this reason—*i.e.*, in order to discredit Amanullah and his word in the eyes of the Turkestan population—that on the eve of recent events in Afghanistan they intended to open a "revolutionary" campaign against the King and his reforms.

Perhaps it is not without interest to relate this fact now when the Soviet Press, while "protecting Amanullah Khan and his reforms from British Imperialism," was trying to remove all traces of its own attack on the foundations of Afghan national statesmanship.

I have before me several numbers of the Tashkent paper *Pravda Vostoka*—the official organ of the so-called Central Asiatic Bureau of the Central Committee of the

All-Russian Communist Party, which is at the head of all party and Government activities of the Soviets in Turkestan. Zelenski, the responsible secretary of the Bureau, writes (see *Pravda Vostoka* of November 2, 1928) :

"The reforms of Amanullah are capable of misleading many, especially owing to the one-sided non-Marxian inaccurate information received of those reforms.

"From the point of view of class, the measures outlined or enforced by Amanullah Khan tend to create most favourable conditions for the development of a bourgeois state, for the normal development of trade and industrial capital. Compared to feudalism, capitalism is of course a sign of cultural and economic development. . . . Yet capitalism in Afghanistan will be fed by blood, by toil, by the exploitation of the workpeople and by the ruin of the village.

"A misunderstanding of these questions" (*i.e.*, the class significance of Amanullah's reforms), continues Zelenski, "only assists the spreading of Rakhimi's (or similar) ideas" (*i.e.*, those supporting Turkestan nationalism).

"This (wrong) attitude," concludes Zelenski, "merely misleads the workmen and peasants of our (Central Asian) republics. . . ."

And so we see a true Soviet representation of Amanullah Khan and his New State, a representation which should serve as a "true guide for the workpeople and peasants of Central Asia." We see what this Soviet conception is :

"Amanullah Khan is building up his State on the blood of Afghan workpeople and upon the ruin of Afghan peasants. . . ."

VI

The true reasons of the present-day events in Afghanistan would appear to be as follows. I am not in a position to arrive at a thorough estimate of the tragedy of the Afghan people, and I shall only here refer to the explanations derived from Soviet sources. It is quite clear that the Bolsheviks accuse the British. The rising in Afghanistan, according to them, is in the interests of England only in so far as it affords a pretext for an "attack on the Soviet Union." A proof of the intention of England to attack Soviet Russia is seen—among other things—in the

visit of the French General Gouraud to India, which "coincides suspiciously" with the reactionary rising against Amanullah Khan.* Thus the editor of the *Bulletin of the Press of the Central East*, in dealing with Afghan affairs, "discloses the cards of the Imperialists." However, not England alone was to be blamed for the rising. The lion's share in the whole affair was attributed to Amanullah Khan himself. The following is what can be read in the Tashkent paper *Pravda Vostoka* of January 1, 1929:

"The development of capitalism in Afghanistan is accompanied by mass ruin and impoverishment of the peasantry. Yet the chief part of the yearly increasing taxes, required for the development of industry and the maintenance of the centralized State Departments and the Army, is borne by the peasantry. The discontented peasants, unable to formulate their demands, follow the feudal and clerical elements—who incite them to act against the Government."

Thus, according to Soviet explanations, the peasants, who form the bulk of the Afghan population, appear to be against the Government.

An article entitled "The Reactionary Rising is being Prolonged," in the *Bulletin of the Press of the Central East*,† is devoted to this subject. Owing to the great interest that is taken in the Soviet explanation of Afghan affairs, I venture to quote fairly long extracts from this article. The article is also interesting in that it gives us a comparatively simple idea of the distribution of Government and anti-Government forces.

From the point of view of territory, it is stated that the rising has affected two districts—Kukhistan and the Eastern Province, excluding Jelalabad. Soviet data give us an idea of the state of affairs in these districts. Let me turn to the article:

"The greater part of those participating in the rising in the Kukhistan district," as we read in the article, "belong to the peasantry of Afghan tribes."

It proceeds to indicate that the Afghan peasants have full reason to be discontented with the present state of affairs.

"The progressive trade reforms of the Afghan

* "The Reactionary Rising in Afghanistan," second edition, p. 22.

† The title of the special editions published by the "Press Bureau of the Central East" attached to the Central Asiatic Bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party in Tashkent. Two editions are so far to hand—December, 1928, and January, 1929.

bourgeoisie have not benefited the Afghan peasants. On the contrary, as a result of the reforms, the position of the Afghan peasants—the principal taxpayers of the country—has become considerably worse owing to the increased taxation and the substitution of the former taxation in kind by taxation in money. For instance, the tax on the land has increased three to four times since 1919; the tax on small-horned cattle, formerly equal to 7 puls (a rupee=60 puls), has increased to $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee; the tax on long-horned cattle has increased from 20 puls to 1 rupee; that on horses is now four times higher, and that on donkeys five times higher than before.

"No less have the peasants been affected by the substitution of tax in money for tax in kind.* Under prevailing conditions, in which the Afghan peasants have little connection with the market, the substitution leads to the enslavement of the peasants by money-lenders and opens a large field for possible abuses by officials.

"To this must be added widespread bribery, illegal collections by local authorities, and the absence of any incentives to raise the production of peasant labour (by means of technical appliances) and of peasant households.

"This difficult position of the Afghan peasantry is one of the reasons for the ever-present bandits in the country. Thus, after the partial failure of the harvest of 1925 in Afghanistan, the bandits increased to an alarming degree. It is characteristic that even after the failure of the crops in 1925 the Government did not lower taxation."

And so, from the point of view of class interests, it is alleged that the power of the Sirdars, the present-day commercial bourgeoisie, has only brought more misery into the lives of the Afghan peasants; further, that bribery and corruption have not only been unchecked, but the reforms themselves have served frequently as a means for new oppression of the population.

The peasants began to believe that the restoration of Islam and of the old Commune (the remains of which still exist) might relieve their sad fate, and that the wretchedness of their position was due, chiefly, to the fact that the padishah had become an "infidel" and was introducing

* Taxes in money are, of course, more progressive than the old taxes in kind.

"heretical" reforms against the will of Allah. The hard fate of the peasants was also taken to be the cause of the rising in the Eastern Province (tribe known as "Shinwari"). The Bolsheviks regarded the "refusal of the Durrani tribe"—the tribe of King Amanullah—to act against the "Shinwari" as significant.

"The Durrani tribal chiefs," says the article from which I have quoted, "were evidently in agreement with the demands put forward by the 'Shinwari' leader during the negotiations (the abolition of reforms, the cancellation of obligatory military service, and the retention of the right of local self-government in the provinces)." Thus the Bolsheviks held that the greater part of the population was opposed to the reforms of Amanullah Khan. Who, then, supported the reforms of the Government? The *Bulletin of the Press of the Central East* gives a reply to this question, which I shall now examine: "An insignificant portion of the population," we read, "is in favour of the reforms and of the Government." The supporters consist of the ruling class of Afghanistan, part of the Sirdars, the aristocracy, which has now become the commercial bourgeoisie. The Sirdars, who are placing their capital (derived from the robbery of the peasants under the hitherto prevailing feudal conditions) into trade, are interested in the capitalist development of Afghanistan.

The small town bourgeoisie (craftsmen, tradesmen, etc.), for whom the capitalist development of Afghanistan is more advantageous than the feudal conditions, also support the Sirdars. Finally, the small group of the Afghan "intelligentsia," the officers and young bureaucrats, are on the side of the Government.

Other weak points of the Government—*i.e.*, of those in favour of reforms—are pointed out in the *Bulletin* as follows:

"The seriousness of the position in Afghanistan is explained by the fact that this backward country—under conditions of imperialism and capitalism—is 'trying in a short time to cover the ground of development which it has taken European countries many hundreds of years to traverse.'"

From the above the conclusion could be arrived at that "too hasty a breaking up of the foundations of the religious and national life of the country has made Amanullah unpopular among the greater part of his subjects."

This idea, which is a logical outcome of Soviet explana-

tions of the Afghan events, the Bolsheviks regard as an invention of the "British bourgeois Press" (see *Pravda Vostoka*, January 1, 1929).

VII

If these causes, then, for events in Afghanistan be accepted, what is the deduction? Certainly not the one demanded by the insurgents—*i.e.*, the cancellation of all reforms. Nor the one recommended to the Afghan King by the Bolsheviks, who promised him the "sympathy of the working masses of the Soviet Union."

To sum up, the Bolsheviks' advice to Amanullah was to : (a) disregard the compromise made; and (b) show more courage in carrying on the interrupted struggle. In other words, they advised him to "support with bolder methods" than those practised hitherto the "attempt to catch up Europe in a short time"—*i.e.*, to enforce those very innovations which, according to the Bolshevik assertion, "have aggravated the position in Afghanistan." What this means is clearly explained in the Soviet source, the *Bulletin*, from which I shall quote :

" . . . All political reforms intended to modify the mediæval feudal system in colonial and mandated countries, although they mark progress, are in themselves a *Utopian* attempt to overcome imperialism without national colonial revolutions; *i.e.*, by 'peaceful' methods and without an *agrarian revolution*. . . ." (See p. 3.)

On the other hand, such political reforms as "the emancipation of women," the substitution of "religious" by "secular" schools, and "Shariat" by civil courts, are unsound if they cannot be supported by united social forces interested in maintaining and capable of defending the new institutions (see p. 5). In other words, the Bolsheviks advised Amanullah Khan to follow the basis of their own national policy, which has been operated in Turkestan. In Turkestan can be seen the effects of the real (not the "Utopian") "attempt to overcome Imperialism," by means of "national colonial revolution," based on the "agrarian revolution." There is, in my opinion, the grandest, the only experiment, in the history of the world of "building a foundation of united social forces" for such reforms as "the emancipation of women," the establishment of "secular" in the place of "religious" schools, and civil in place of "Shariat" courts. There I can point to the grandest ex-

periment of a merciless struggle against "religious and national foundations." It may be added that in Turkestan this experiment is being enforced by the proletarian dictatorship, supported by alien armed forces, who are not interested in maintaining the "religious and national foundations" of our people.

If I end by pointing out that Turkestan, having for half a century been under the power of Russia, can be considered more receptive to "European culture" than Afghanistan, where "religious and national foundations" have not been interfered with by any other nation and are therefore stronger than they were in our case, the Bolshevik advice to Amanullah Khan to follow their example should be considered with great caution, even though "the sympathies of the working masses of the Soviet Union" are promised him.

I hope my readers will not object if I give a short account of the Soviet experiment of a "revolutionary struggle with religious and national foundations" and of the "agrarian revolution" in Turkestan. I shall quote for accuracy from Soviet sources.

The Bolshevik author Skalov asserts that after five years' Bolshevik experiment in Turkestan he notices the "ideology of retreat" in the policy of the Soviet Authority, which has taken the form of "political concessions" of the following nature:

"The return of Vakufs to the clergy; the restoration of the courts of the Kazias; the call to power of so-called 'influential persons,' the partial restoration of former feudal laws (?), and the temporary suspension of the land reforms."*

Thus the "firman" of Amanullah Khan (January 9, 1929) cancelling the reforms was preceded by a Soviet decree of a similar nature. It is true that later the Bolsheviks disregarded the concession made with the religious and national foundations. But by what means? As an illustration I shall quote a document of great historical importance for understanding the revolutionary experiments in the Mussalman East. The subject of this document, translated from the Uzbek, is as follows:

Question: If large landowners possess much land and are not in a position to cultivate it personally, has the State the right, from the point of view of the "Shariat," to hand over the uncultivated lands to such *dekhans* (landowners)

* G. Skalov, "The Experiment of Class Division in Turkestan," published in the journal *The Life of Nationalities*. Moscow, 1923, vol ii., p. 41.

who are able to cultivate them personally, and does not this contradict the "Shariat"?

Answer: According to the teaching of Imam Agzam, landowners are definitely prohibited from handing over their lands to other persons for cultivation with the idea of obtaining benefit for themselves, without personally taking part in cultivation.

In the book "Sakhin-ul-Bukhari"—vol. v., p. 719—it is said that one of the great followers of Muhammad, a rich landowner from Medina, named Rafia, let sections of land to other men for cultivation on the understanding that he would obtain a certain portion of the harvest. On hearing of this, Muhammad forbade Rafia to accept the above-mentioned part of the harvest. In the book "Fatvo-i-Alim-Kari"—vol. ii., p. 240—it is said: "If a landowner is unable to cultivate all his land, the authorities can take away his land and give it to the poor."

According to this view, the State has the right to take the land from large landowners and give it to the poor *dekhans* for cultivation. This is not in contradiction to the "Shariat."

The document just quoted is the "Rivoyat"* of the Mussalman clergy in Turkestan. It was printed in the Soviet State Publishing Office and distributed throughout the country by the State Departments at the time of the introduction of the so-called "land reform (1925)" in the Tashkent, Samarkand, and Fergana districts.

In order to settle any doubts as to the authenticity of this document, I have taken the text from the Tashkent paper *Pravda Vostoka* of December 24, 1928, in which it was published as a reminder of the various stages of the Bolshevik struggle for the "agrarian revolution" in Turkestan. My notes on the "agrarian revolution" in Turkestan would not be complete if I failed to quote yet another document—the order of the People's Commissar of Agriculture of Uzbekistan (published in the *Pravda Vostoka* of January 11, 1928), from which we learn of the frequent refusals of the *dekhans* to hold a stranger's lands and of the voluntary return of the land to the former owner. In some places the Soviet Authority was forced to protect the land reform from violation by those in favour of whom it had been introduced, with the consent of the "Shariat."

I must now just say a few words on the "emancipation" of women in Turkestan. No other "revolutionary" reform

* "Rivoyat"—explanation given by Mussalman mullahs in doubtful cases.

of the Soviet Authority has encountered such opposition as the one bearing upon the "emancipation" of women (unveiling the face). Not a week passes without the murder of a woman who has unveiled her face, or of her nearest kinsman who is known to have encouraged the reform, or of a Soviet worker who has advocated the reform. I shall not speak of the opposition to the "woman's reform," shown even by members of the Communist Party, but I cannot refrain from the "sad pleasure" of quoting the extreme regret of the official organ of the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party—the Tashkent journal *Za Partiyu*—"that no one has attempted to make use of *quotations from and references to the Koran* (the most powerful weapons) to uphold the reform of the unveiling of a woman's face" (see *Za Partiyu* of January 1, 1928, p. 93).

VIII

It is necessary, then, to suggest that the "compromise with the religious and national foundations," which "the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat" (which at the same time denies religion and nationality) was forced to make, becomes an undisputed necessity for the head of a State (in this case Amanullah Khan) who begins all his most important actions with the words of the prayer: "In the name of Allah, the gracious and merciful . . ."

There are, of course, compromises and compromises. The nature of the compromise depends on the relation of the forces of the supporters and opposers of reforms in a country. To imagine that any modest land reform, without mentioning an "agrarian revolution," can be carried out with one stroke of the pen would be madness (especially after the evidence of the Bolshevik experiment in Turkestan).

No reforms are possible without the "existence of united social forces" to support them. There is and can be no such force while the "tribal system," which in effect is supreme in present-day Afghanistan, is in existence. The Government, however generous its intentions, cannot count on any success of its progressive reforms until the Afghan tribes have been consolidated into one whole State nation. Under the tribal system there can be no reliable army—the support of any Government and State. Has Afghanistan this reliable force at her disposal? The answer can be found in the article "Reactionary Rising in Afghanistan," published in the Afghan paper *Anis*, first edition, Septem-

ber 13, 1928, reprinted in the *Bulletin of the Press of the Central East*, in which we read:

"It is not possible to count on the obedience of troops and their submission to the orders of their chiefs if they are not in sympathy with the intentions of the Government or are uncertain of their own convictions. . . ."

The experiment of the Soviet régime gives some valuable lessons in this connection. Tribes with less marked influence on the affairs of State than that enjoyed by the tribes of Afghanistan exist in Soviet Kaizakistan. In spite of all measures of the Soviet Authority, the tribal differences are keenly felt in all spheres of life in Kaizakistan. After a number of reforms, of a most revolutionary nature, the Bolsheviks were finally—at the end of last year—forced to resort to measures which neither Afghanistan nor any other national Government could employ.

The Soviet Authority requisitioned all cattle and property of tribal chiefs, and banished a number of them to various outlying districts. This measure could only have been carried out by an authority supported by an outside armed force alien to the local population. There were many among the Kaizak and Kirghiz Communists who were definitely opposed to those "anti-tribal" requisitions in Kaizakistan. After the ruin of the tribal chiefs new elections were carried out for the local Soviets and party organizations of Kaizakistan, and the remarkable thing was that in a number of districts members of the same tribe were elected even to party nuclei (not mentioning local Soviets)—*i.e.*, the head of the party nuclei invited only members of his own tribe to join the party. . . .

If such was the case in the Soviet State, what can one expect in Afghanistan, where the tribal system is recognized to be the basis of the State?

I have tried to show the total unsuitability of the Soviet advice given to Amanullah Khan (in spite of the assurances that he will enjoy the "sympathy of the working masses of the Soviet Union") to the conditions and State problems facing Afghanistan at the moment.

The Bolsheviks, who themselves were forced to "retreat" owing to the pressure of religious and national feelings, who themselves have given up the idea of an "agrarian revolution" in favour of "land reform" (supported by the authority of Mussulman mullahs and the authority of the "sacred books"), advised Amanullah Khan to break sud-

denly with all "religious and national foundations" and begin a "colonial revolution against the imperialists of the West." Why encourage Afghanistan—a country which has only just entered upon the path of national progress, and one that occupies a most "sensitive" (I cannot find a better word) geographical position—to enter upon the blood-stained path of "colonial revolution"?

IX

The attitude of local Turkestan Communists towards Afghan affairs and towards Bolshevik advice to Afghanistan is worthy of note. They dare not, of course, express their own ideas openly, and are forced merely to repeat the words and writings of their Moscow teachers. . . .

Yet the Askhabad paper, the *Turkmenskaya Iskra* of December 27, 1928, had the courage to say that the salvation of Afghanistan would be to "follow the footsteps of Turkey"; that means, to ignore the Bolshevik advice relating to "colonial revolution," and to refrain from breaking up the national basis of the State.

The Bolsheviks took the paper at its word, and on January 29, 1929, the organ of the Central Asian Bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party, the Tashkent paper *Pravda Vostoka*, expressed its extreme indignation at the behaviour of these Turkestan Communists.

"To follow the footsteps of Turkey," in the conception of the inhabitants of Turkestan, means to throw off the "guardianship" of the Bolsheviks, the Soviet idea of the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," and the influence of the Moscow Internationale.

When the inhabitants of Turkestan speak of the "lines of development of Kemalist Turkey" they have in their minds, and they long for, not the Bolshevik idea of a "social catastrophe in the West," but a political catastrophe in Soviet Russia, after which Turkestan would be able to follow the lines of its own national development. In Turkestan, if it were nationally free, the foreign policy of suspicion towards the West, which is at times characteristic of the policy of Turkey, would be replaced by a policy of suspicion towards Russia. For this reason the Bolsheviks do all they can to discredit "Kemalism" (and the reforms of Amanullah Khan) in the eyes of the local Turkestan population. . . .*

* The *Pravda Vostoka* of January 29, 1929, rebukes the *Kzıl Uzbegistan* for its sympathetic reference to the attempt of Amanullah Khan

My own sympathy towards Afghanistan is at the same time the expression of a desire that the country should turn the imaginary difficulties of its geographical position into a favourable factor in its truly national State life.

I should like to conclude this article with words of warning taken from Bolshevik papers:

"The future Afghan revolution lies deeply rooted in our hearts," wrote the Bolshevik Mannan Ramzi in the Tashkent paper the *Kzıl Uzbeistan*.

And:

"Not the padishah Amanullah Khan, with his State Council of the wisest men, will carry out the true radical reforms in the country, but the Afghan working masses," wrote the Moscow journal *Ogonek* during Amanullah Khan's visit to Moscow.

MUSTAPHA CHOKAIEV.

March 16, 1929.

Mr. W. E. D. Allen contributes the following footnote to the above article: "Without entering into the question as to whether the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Bolsheviks is advisable, which is a matter upon which opinions are divided, it may well be suggested, especially after the perusal of some of the press extracts to which Mr. Chokaiev makes reference, that a modification in their tone in the future should be a fitting prelude to a change of policy by ourselves."

RECENT SOVIET PUBLICATIONS

(Reviewed by W. E. D. ALLEN, M.P.)

Publications by the Soviet State Publishing Department, and on the part of various learned societies and universities, are growing in volume, and during the last few years there have appeared many original contributions to a scientific knowledge of the history and cultures of the Asiatic territories which lie within the borders of the Soviet Union.

The following summary of publications is by no means complete, but it may give some indication of the mass of material which has appeared of recent years, and which is available for, if difficult of access to, European students of Inner Asia.

CAUCASIA

1. *Georgian Dictionary*, of Sulkhan Orbeliani, a valuable edition of the work of the eighteenth-century Georgian lexicographer, by Professor Kipshide and Professor Shanidze. Tiflis, 1928 (Georgian text).

to retain the national basis in the country while carrying out his State reforms, as this was in opposition to the instructions of Moscow, which was trying to influence Amanullah Khan to enter into a period of open struggle against "British Imperialism."

2. *History of Abkhazia*, by D. Goulia. Vol. i., Tiflis, 1925 (in Russian).

The value of this work is not increased by Professor Goulia's somewhat imaginative interpretation of the linguistic and mythical materials relating to Abkhazia. His later chapters, however, contain a useful summary of the accounts of Byzantine chroniclers and mediæval and later European travellers, of conditions in the Western Caucasus.

His notes on the religion of the Abkhaz, and particularly on the cult of the sacred tree—although mostly culled from earlier authorities—should prove of interest to anthropologists.

3. *Album d'Architecture Géorgienne*, comprenant 80 tableaux des Dessins Exécutés d'après les mesurages. Par le Professor E. Takaishvili (French and Georgian text). Tiflis, 1929.

In view of the interest aroused in Georgian and Armenian architecture by the works of Strzygowski, this volume should prove of great interest and use to archaeologists. Of particular value are the plans made by Professor Takaishvili, during the years 1911 and 1912, of ruins in Turkish Georgia, such as Taos-Kari, Kalmakh, Panaskert, Bana, Olti, and others, which are not available in the works of Brosset, Ouvarov, and earlier writers. It is to be hoped that at a later date Professor Takaishvili will make available to archaeologists the results of his explorations in 1916 at Ispir and Tortum.

4. *Bulletin of the Caucasian Historical-Archæological Society of Tiflis* (A publication of the Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R., 1923). In Russian.

This is an important publication of which only volumes i., iii. and iv. are available for review. Volume i. contains the valuable work of Messrs. Jordeev and Taranushenko on the historic monasteries of Chule, Zarzma, and Safara, all three of which are in the neighbourhood of Akhaltzikhe. In view of the fact that the magnificent frescoes of Safara are in process of suffering irreparable damage from their present neglect by the authorities, it is to be regretted that the authors publish only two photographic plates, and these are badly reproduced.

In volume iii. Professor Chubinashvili publishes plates of the gold and silver objects attributed to the early Sassanian period, found in 1918 at Sargweshi, near Kutais, and amongst other interesting papers are two by Mr. Melikset-bekov on the mediæval history of Georgia.

Volume iv. contains a suggestive paper by the well-known Professor Bartold on the historical relations between the regions of Turkestan, the Volga, and the Caucasus; Professor Chursin the geographer has some valuable notes on the Talyshes of the Lenkoran region; Professor Ter-Avitissian writes on the excavations at Hassan-Kala, east of Erzerum, in 1917, when important finds of the Hellenistic period were made; and Mr. Jordeev continues the publication of his researches in Georgian architecture.

5. *Bulletin of the Society for the Exploration and Study of Azerbaijan*. Baku, 1926. In Russian. The first three volumes only are available for review.

Volume i. contains a somewhat adventurous paper by Professor Mestchaninov on "Prehistoric Azerbaijan and the Culture of the Urartu"; there are two papers on the languages of Daghestan, which indicate that the serious study of these—which has never really advanced since the fundamental researches of Uslar—will be resumed; and there are two interesting papers on the economic and social history of Azerbaijan.

Volume ii. contains a paper on Osmanli literature, some archæological notes of great interest, and a paper containing some original research on the Tartars of the Baltic Provinces.

Volume iii. is a mixed grill of economic, linguistic, archæological and historical articles. They include two attractive little studies on "Old Crimean Patterns" and "Modern Kuba Rugs."

This publication is interesting as indicative of the development of new and wider interests among the younger generation of Caucasian Mussalmans. The Georgians have behind them an ancient tradition of intellectual activity, and Tiflis University, in spite of its meagre resources, is making valuable contributions to learning; the Armenians are making real progress, particularly in the natural sciences, mathematics and archaeology; the Tartars of Azerbaijan already have the example of Kazan University before them, and there is no reason why they should not make substantial contributions to the intellectual renaissance of the Turkish world.

6. *Southern Ossetia*, Series i., Part i., of the Publications of the Trans-Caucasian Scientific Association, Tiflis, 1924 (in Russian).

Southern Ossetia is an Autonomous Region of the Georgian S.S.R., and includes the districts inhabited by an Ossetian-speaking majority, to the south-west of the Daryal Pass and to the south-east of the Hamison, and to the north of the Trans-Caucasian Railway. The book is a composite work of 278 pages, dealing with the geology, the natural resources, the history and the archaeology of the region. The book, like so many Bolshevik official publications, is a re-hash of the works of earlier authorities. The statistics given are open to question, and remarks on political conditions must be taken "with a pinch of salt." Nevertheless, it is to be remembered that the Ossetins were the one people in the Caucasus who never seriously opposed the Russian conquest, and the repression of the Ossetin villagers by the Georgian Socialist Government during the period 1918-21 predisposed them to a tranquil acceptance of the Bolshevik régime. The most valuable parts of the present work are the "Ethnographical Sketch," by Professor Chursin, and Mr. Melikset-bekov's paper on "The Archaeology and Ethnology of Tualian Ossetia."

7. *Soviet Adigea*, Part i. (in Russian). Krasnodar (formerly Ekaterinodar), 1925.

Soviet Adigea is an Autonomous Region of small extent, along the banks of the Laba and middle Kuban, inhabited by Adighé (Circassians), the survivors of the mountaineers of the Western Caucasus, who were conquered by the Russians in the 60's of last century. This volume of 146 pages appears to be the first volume of a Bulletin, issued at Krasnodar. It is largely devoted to economic questions. It is interesting to note the influence of women on the development of Soviet organizations in this Region, which arises perhaps naturally from the peculiar position of women under the old partly matriarchal social system of the Cherkesses.

8. *Bulletin of the Ingush Scientific-Research Institute of Native Studies*, vol. i. Vladikavkaz, 1928 (in Russian).

This volume of 444 pages deals entirely with the Ingush, an important sub-tribe of the Chechens, who inhabit the north-east Caucasus and the middle valley of the Terek. A short introduction by Professor Borozdin is followed by a valuable essay (152 pages) in "Mountain Ingushetia," by G. K. Martvosian. There are papers on the art and folklore of the people, and by L. Semenov on "Archæological and Ethnographical Researches in Ingushetia in the years 1925-27." The present authors are to be congratulated on their intelligent continuation of the researches published in the years before the war by the Caucasian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, and by the editors of "Materials for the Description of the Tribes and Localities of the Caucasus."

9. *Embassy of Tolochanov and Yeolev to Imeretia, 1650-1652*. Russian and Georgian text, vol. i. Tiflis, 1926.

Embassy of Mishetsky and Klyucharev to Kakhetia, 1640-1643. Russian and Georgian text, vol. ii. Tiflis, 1928.

Both the above volumes are edited by Mr. Polievktov, and published by the Tiflis University.

In publishing the reports to the Moscow Court of Russian Ambassadors to the Georgian Kings, Mr. Polievktov has made an important and original contribution to the study of a little-known period of Russian and Caucasian history. His researches into the Russian State archives go a long way to fill the gaps left by the earlier works of Byelokurov, Marie-Felicité Brosset, Tsagareli, and Mr. J. F. Baddeley, which deal with the difficult period of the Russian approach to and conquest of the Caucasus. It is hoped at a later date to review these works at a length adequate to their importance. Unquestionably Mr. Polievktov's work is the most valuable contribution to the political history of the Caucasus since Mr. J. F. Baddeley's "Russian Conquest"; and in regard not only to the light it throws on the methods whereby the Russian Empire was built up, but also in respect of its human and literary interest, it can bear some comparison with Mr. Baddeley's masterly work, "Russia, Mongolia, and China." The seventeenth century, in many ways the most vital in the history of Russian Imperial expansion in the East, has been entirely neglected by English historians, and it is to be hoped that the mass of original material contained in Polievktov and Byelokurov, and above all in Baddeley's massive work, may one day be made available to the general history-reading public of the country.

CENTRAL ASIA

10. *History of the Cultural Life of Turkestan*, by V. V. Bartold. Publishing Department of the Academy of Science (in Russian). Leningrad, 1927.

More than one of Professor Bartold's works have appeared in English, and he is widely recognized as an authority on Central Asia. In the space of 254 pages Professor Bartold here sets out to combine both history and economics in a picture of "the cultural life" of Turkestan. His wide knowledge, not only of archæology and history but of modern political economics, enables him to give a picture which is at once succinct and vivid.

After surveying the pre-Mussalman period, the periods of the expansion of Islam and the Mongol domination, Professor Bartold passes through the centuries of the Uzbek hegemony to modern times. His chapters on "Settled and Nomad Life under the Russian Régime," on the Russian colonization policy, and on "European Rule and the Natives," give much new information which has not hitherto been available in this clear and concentrated form; and the Professor artfully sets the stage for the events of the last few years, about the history of which the Soviet allow us to have as little information as the Imperial Government did of their régime in the pre-war years. It is to be regretted that the book lacks both maps and an index.

11. *Sketches in the History of the Kazak-Kirghiz Nation in Relation to the Common Historical Destinies of the other Turkish Peoples*. Part I: "Ancient Times and the Middle Ages," by A. P. Chuloshnikov. Kirghiz State Publishing Department. Orenburg, 1924 (in Russian).

Mr. Chuloshnikov's work is useful as an attempt to treat the mass of material collected by travellers and anthropologists in a strictly historical background. The extensive bibliography at the end of the book, referring as it does to a mass of scattered researches in rare Russian scientific periodicals, should be of real value to future historians who may concern themselves with this obscure subject.

SIBERIA

12. *In the Unknown Mountains of Yakutia*, by S. Obruchev. State Publishing Department. Moscow, 1928.

The author led an expedition with the twin objects of exploration and prospecting, which in the summer of 1926 penetrated the unknown country in the region of the River Indigirka, several hundred miles to the north-east of Yakutsk in north-east Siberia. The expedition had important results in the discovery of a chain of mountains, which have been named Cherski, in memory of an earlier Siberian explorer. The book is well written, and there are a number of interesting, although badly reproduced, photographs.

GENERAL

13. *Vostok (The East)*. State Publishing Department. Leningrad (in Russian), 1922.

Vols. i., ii., iv., and v., which are available for review, are devoted to the literature and ancient culture of the Islamic and Buddhist countries. Not a few of these papers are really attempts to make available to Russian reading students the latest researches of European and Indian scholars.

In vol. iv. Joseph Orbeli has an interesting paper on "Sasanian Art," with photographic plates of some of the fine pieces in the Hermitage Museum.

Vol. v. contains a paper on "Kirghiz Ornament," in which the author, Mr. Dudin, indicates the importance of Chinese influences.

14. *Vostochnie Sbornik (Eastern Collection)*. Issued by the State Public Library in Leningrad. Series v., *Orientalia*. Vol. i., 1926.

The only volume of this series available indicates that it is of much the same character as the above. Professor Marr contributes two interesting, although somewhat involved, papers in which he writes on "The Origin of the Abkhaz and the Ethnology of Eastern Europe" and "The Origin of American Man and Japhetic Linguistic Studies." It is to be regretted that Professor Marr does not make some attempt to make his work available to European students. His theories have never been clearly defined, and his literary treatment of his subjects, whether in Russian, Georgian, or French, is always involved, but there is, undoubtedly, much valuable and original material for linguistic and anthropological science to be extracted from his prolific writings.

15. *Novie Vostok (New East)*. Published by the Scientific Association for Eastern Studies, Moscow. Vols. xx.-xxi., xxii., xxiii., xxiv. (in Russian).

This series has appeared intermittently since 1921, and it is undoubtedly the most informative of all the Soviet publications devoted to the East. The scope is extremely wide, since papers, generally very ably written, are published on every country lying between Morocco and Japan.

In the Political and Economic Section of the volumes under review are papers on "The Modern Economic Problems of Japan," "The Dutch East Indies," "Railway Construction and the Railway War in Manchuria," and "Ten Years of Afghan Foreign Policy" (by the well-known Soviet agent, Reisner). Much attention is devoted, particularly in vols. xxiii.-xxiv., to the "problems" of the world revolution in India. In vols. xx.-xxi., H. Sventitsky, who has already in previous numbers written on the communication systems of Trans-Caucasia and Persia, contributes a well-informed paper on "Ways of Communication in Modern Turkey." In vols. xx.-xxi. B. Dantzig discusses the "Foreign Trade of Persia in 1925-26," and emphasizes the progress of British enterprise, a state of affairs which is perhaps minimized in this country. In the same volume Makhtajir Sindjahi writes a long and rather venomous paper on the activities of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co.

There are instructive papers on the situation in the Asiatic territories of the Soviet Union: the well-known writer Gurko-Kriajin has a paper on the Khevsurs, and Professor Borozdin writes on the Ingush; there are also articles on the Ajars, on Turkoman poetry, on family-right among the Cherkess, on the excavations at Termiz in Central Asia, and on the new Siberia-Turkestan railway. In vols. xx.-xxi., two short but interesting papers deal with the conditions of the artisans of Stamboul and of Tartar workmen in France.

The Historical-Ethnological Section of vol. xxii. is devoted to an appreciation of the work of Professor Marr in papers by well-known Russian scholars. V. Aptekar, in "The Japhetic Theory of N. Marr and Marxian Ideals," attempts to associate the scientific study of the "submerged languages" with Bolshevist championship of the interests of "submerged races." It is an interesting corollary to the political use of the Turanian theory, which was made years ago by Vambéry and other Hungarian writers, and of the "Indo-Germanic" theory by the protagonists of pan-Teutonism.

The extensive Bibliography, which is published with each number, and Chronicle of Scientific Authorities, form a useful summary of the condition, from year to year, of Eastern studies in the Soviet Union. No less interesting are the reviews of English books, such as Lawrence's "Revolt in the Desert" and A. Carhill's "Lost Dominion."

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY

EXPLORING ROYAL NINEVEH

BY WARREN R. DAWSON, F.R.S.E.

"We, in the ages lying,
 In the buried past of the earth,
 Built Nineveh with our sighing,
 And Babel itself in our mirth;
 And o'erthrew them with prophesying
 To the old of the new world's worth;
 For each is a dream that is dying,
 Or one that is coming to birth."

ARTHUR O'SHAUGHNESSY.

ON the left bank of the River Tigris, about a mile from its bed and facing Mosul, there lies an area of some 1,800 acres enclosed by an ancient rampart. Within this boundary rise two mounds, one greater, the other lesser: mounds that were once adorned with palaces and temples. This rampart-encircled area with its mounds marks the site of the ancient city of Nineveh, once the capital of the Assyrian kingdom, that after centuries of proud supremacy was finally overwhelmed, and in the year 612 B.C. fell after a siege of two months to the united forces of the Babylonians, Medes, and Scythians.

The city of Nineveh, and the other dead cities of Mesopotamia, unlike those of Egypt, are not marked by massive pylons, towering obelisks, avenues of sphinxes, and colossal statues of kings. They are seen today as a series of mounds of insignificant height, rising from the vast and level plains through which the two great rivers wend their way. The two mounds of Nineveh are those of Kouyunjik and Nebi Yunus: the former has been much explored, the latter hardly at all, for it is covered by a mosque, a village, and a graveyard that make excavating difficult or impossible. Nebi Yunus, "the tomb of Jonah," is the place where, according to tradition, Jonah preached repentance to the Ninevites, and there seems to be a local belief that, just as the mound of Nebi Yunus contained the prophet, so did that of Kouyunjik contain the whale.

Dr. R. Campbell Thompson, whose works have often

been discussed in this journal,* has carried out extensive explorations in the great mound of Kouyunjik, and in collaboration with his assistant, Mr. R. W. Hutchinson, has just published a deeply interesting and well-illustrated account of the ancient city and of the explorations of its ruins that have been carried out since Claudius James Rich described and mapped the site in 1820.† Rich had an adventurous career. He was born in France in 1786, and having from boyhood a passion for Arabic and other Oriental languages, he made such progress therein that in 1804 he was appointed to the Bombay establishment of the Honourable East India Company, in the service of which he travelled much in the Near East. He was afterwards the first British Consul-General of Baghdad, and he has left many valuable records of the places he visited, including Kouyunjik. Dr. Campbell Thompson has truly said: "To the great Oriental knowledge of Rich, to his power of observation, and, not least, to his capacity for making a good map, Assyriology properly owes its beginnings." He fell a victim to cholera in helping the people of Isfahan to overcome the ravages of the plague, and died in 1821 at the early age of thirty-four.

The next name associated with Nineveh is that of Sir Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894). Layard was a traveller and a man of great energy, but he was neither a scholar nor an Assyriologist. In 1840 he travelled in Mesopotamia, and later explored and excavated the palaces of Calah and Nineveh. His greatest work was the excavation of the mound of Nimrud, which he at the time believed to be the site of Nineveh. The famous sculptures that he sent home are well known to visitors at the British Museum. During his excavations at Nimrud (Calah) and Khorsabad, he returned from time to time to Kouyunjik, where in the meantime Emil Botta, French Consul at Mosul, had been working without much success. Layard's principal quest had been sculptures and bas-reliefs, colossal winged bulls and portraits of kings, but in 1847 he found, without at the time realizing the immense significance of his discovery, "small oblong tablets of dark unbaked clay having a cuneiform inscription over the sides." The tablets were the first indications of the royal library of Ashurbanipal. Sir

* *ASIATIC REVIEW*, July, 1924, vol. xx., pp. 522-526; October, 1925, vol. xxi., pp. 669-671; October, 1927, vol. xxiii., pp. 665-667; October, 1928, vol. xxiv., pp. 673-674.

† "A Century of Exploration at Nineveh," by R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., and R. W. Hutchinson, M.A. 7 plates and 9 maps and plans. London: Luzac and Co. 1929. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Ernest Budge has related an interesting episode in connection with this "find." He says: "Birch* told me that Layard thought the writing on the tablets was a species of ornament, and hardly deemed them worth the carriage to England. They were shovelled without any packing into old digging baskets, which were tied up and put on rafts, and in this way they arrived with the larger objects at Basrah, where they were shipped to England. They suffered more from their voyage from Mosul to London than from the fury of the Medes when they sacked and burned Nineveh."† Vast numbers of clay tablets were sent to London, and subsequent excavations added many more.

In 1851 Layard abandoned Assyriology for a political career, but his discoveries had greatly stirred public interest. The effect has been well expressed by Dr. Campbell Thompson in the following passage of his book (p. 41): "Much, of course, of the interest taken in Assyrian history was due to its connection with the Old Testament. Contemporary pictures of kings, hitherto only names, were to be seen on the new sculptures in the British Museum. But one cannot help thinking that these enormous Assyrian bulls had something very much in common with the ponderous, conservative philosophy of the Mid-Victorian period, with its unshakable faith in this best of all possible worlds, with its definite social castes duly prescribed by the Catechism, all doubtless to be maintained *in sæcula sæculorum*. The 'Great Exhibition' of 1851 came opportunely to spread the knowledge of these wonders, and a contemporary poet burst into song with a refrain in the irritating form so popular at the time, the first verse ending, 'A winged beast from Nineveh.' Even in schools the 'Discoveries at Nineveh' were the theme for prizes in Latin verse. Nineveh, in point of fact, was no longer a waste, and its ruins over which the Hebrew prophet so exulted were known to far more inhabitants of the globe in the middle of the last century than was the teeming, living city itself in the very heyday of its imperial dominance."

After the retirement of Layard a successor had to be found to carry on excavations at Nineveh, for which the Trustees of the British Museum had obtained the concession. All eyes naturally turned to Sir Henry Rawlinson (1810-1895), to whose researches the decipherment of the cuneiform script was mainly due. Rawlinson, then British

* Samuel Birch (1813-1885), the well-known Orientalist, and Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum.

† "By Nile and Tigris," vol. i., p. 46.

Resident in Baghdad, could not, by reason of his official duties, do more than undertake a general supervision, and another man had to be found to take charge of the digging. The choice fell on Hormuzd Rassam, a native of Mosul, who had been Layard's right-hand man, and who had proved himself to be an excavator of great energy and skill. He began operations for the British Museum in 1852 on the north-east of the Palace of Sennacherib, where he soon found pottery and sculptures. A French excavator, M. Place, was working near by, and Rassam, who had eagerly desired to attack the northern corner of the mound of Kouyunjik, was faced with the difficulty of carrying out his project "without getting into hot water with M. Place." By a series of adventures that came very near to poaching, Rassam discovered the Palace of Ashurbanipal, and thus staked his claim to the site. Fortunately Place accepted the position, and congratulated Rassam on his good fortune.

Rassam discovered a fine series of sculptures, but a "find" of still greater scientific importance awaited him. Layard had already found two chambers strewn with inscribed tablets, and now Rassam, in the great "lion-hunt" room, came upon some thousands more.

In 1854 the funds at Rassam's disposal were running short, and he left the digging in order to take up a political appointment at Aden. The work was carried on by Kennet Loftus and William Boutcher. The collections of the British Museum had been enormously enriched by the discoveries of Rassam and his successors, and enough epigraphic material had been accumulated to occupy many years of intensive research at home; consequently no more active explorations were carried out for another twenty years.

The next phase in Assyrian exploration is associated with the name of George Smith (1840-1876). Smith began life as bank-note engraver, but from his earliest youth he was interested in Old Testament history and Oriental research, and spent much of his leisure time in the British Museum. He came under the notice of Samuel Birch, on whose recommendation he was appointed in 1866 Assistant in the Department of Oriental Antiquities (as it was then called). Smith had studied cuneiform with avidity, and his capacity for reading texts amounted to genius. His principal official duty was the congenial task of sorting and classifying the tablets from the royal library of Ashurbanipal. He was a man of the greatest modesty, but he was soon destined to leap into fame by his announcement that he had discovered amongst the texts in his charge the now world-

famous Deluge Tablet. Fired with the importance of his discovery, he ransacked the vast collection for further fragments of the legendary texts of which the Deluge Tablet formed a part, and by discovering other fragments and duplicate texts he was able to complete the greater part of the story now widely known as the Epic of Gilgamesh.*

George Smith communicated his wonderful discovery to the Society of Biblical Archaeology in 1872, and its effect was to arouse popular interest to a high pitch of enthusiasm. Interest was shifted in a moment from winged bulls and sculptured palaces to clay tablets: a new era in Assyrian studies had begun, Noah's Ark sailed boldly across the popular imagination, and the *Daily Telegraph*, with great public spirit, offered to provide five thousand pounds if Smith were sent out to Kouyunjik to seek for the missing fragments of the Deluge story. The Trustees of the British Museum fell in at once with the proposal, and Smith made three expeditions to Kouyunjik, in 1873, 1874, and 1876. After only five days' work, "I sat down," said Smith, "to examine the store of fragments of cuneiform inscriptions from the day's digging, taking out and brushing off the earth from the fragments to read their contents. On cleaning one of them, I found to my surprise and gratification that it contained the greater portion of the seventeen lines of inscription belonging to the first column of the Chaldean account of the Deluge, and fitting into the only place where there was a serious break in the story." Seldom has an archaeologist been rewarded with such astounding good luck. Whilst on his third expedition Smith fell ill, and died on August 13, 1876. His grave is in the Christian cemetery at Aleppo.

Excavations were recommenced in 1878 by Rassam, who obtained further tablets from Kouyunjik, where he worked until 1882.

Of the more recent excavations at Nineveh, little need be said here, as they are within living memory and have been fully recorded. Sir Ernest Budge worked at Kouyunjik in the seasons 1888-9 and 1890-1, and after an interval of twelve years, operations were resumed in 1903 by the late Dr. Leonard King (died 1919), who was joined in 1905 by Dr. Campbell Thompson. Once more, excavations at Kouyunjik were abandoned for several years: the British Museum had in 1911 begun explorations at Carcemish

* The most recent edition of this remarkable text is that of Dr. Campbell Thompson. See *ASLATIC REVIEW*, October, 1928, vol. xxiv., p. 673.

under the late Dr. Hogarth, and these were stopped by the Great War. In 1918 Dr. Campbell Thompson undertook excavations for the Museum at Abu Shahrain, but it was not until 1927 that work at Nineveh could be resumed. Dr. Campbell Thompson and his colleague, Mr. R. W. Hutchinson, had a fruitful season in 1927-8, and it is greatly to be hoped that it will be possible for them to resume their labours next winter. One of the objects of the book under notice is to arouse interest in the excavations: it is much to be hoped that this fascinating and interesting account of a century's work at Nineveh will result in someone coming forward with financial help, for, as the authors truly say, "Nineveh is not yet by any means a squeezed lemon, and no site in Iraq can claim to be of more importance."

In the foregoing paragraphs we have run briefly over the principal explorations of Assyria's ancient capital. For the details and for the innumerable difficulties, official and unofficial, with which past excavators have had to contend, the reader must refer to the full account in this interesting and engrossing book. The final chapter sketches the history of Nineveh from the earliest point at which it can be detected to the present day, and it is a masterly journey, performed in Mr. H. G. Wells's "Time Machine" over many centuries.

In conclusion, a few words may be said concerning the royal library of Ashurbanipal, in an attempt to convey some notion of its contents. About 26,000 tablets or fragments of tablets have been registered, and the printed catalogue of them fills five stout volumes. Of these fragments some 2,000, or rather less, are "joins"—i.e., pieces that have since been recognized as belonging to other fragments, to which they have now been attached. Sometimes an entire tablet has been pieced together with a dozen or more "joins." One tablet in particular has been reconstituted from eleven fragments that have been recovered from six different expeditions—a good indication of the scattered state of the *débris* of the library. The Kouyunjik collection of tablets may be divided into five classes: (i.) the Historical, not properly included in the library; (ii.) the Royal Library; (iii.) the library of the Temple of Nabu; (iv.) the Royal Letters; and (v.) Contracts, or business documents. Of these sections, (ii.) is by far the most important; after subtracting about 5,000 for the other classes, about 19,000 tablets and fragments remain from the great literary collection of Ashurbanipal, who was a real patron of learning. Amongst the mythological texts, the

most important are the seven tablets of the Creation, and the twelve containing the Epic of Gilgamesh, with the story of the Deluge. There are many religious texts, ritual texts, and magical incantations, as well as oracles given during periods of national anxiety. Science is well represented: some five hundred tablets are inscribed with medical prescriptions, and many more deal with plants and their properties, with minerals, and with the manufacture of glass and glazes for pottery. Astronomical texts reveal a considerable acquaintance with the movements of the sun, moon, and stars, and with the observation of the heavenly bodies in reading omens. Finally, it may be mentioned that glossaries and syllabaries reveal the ancient study of philology. This great mass of texts is wellnigh inexhaustible in the material it provides for Assyrian scholars: apart from the publication of special texts in technical journals, reference may be made to translations of the medical texts, chemical texts, and the Epic of Gilgamesh by Dr. Campbell Thomson,* and of most of the historical tablets by the late Dr. D. D. Luckenbill.†

Let us hope that funds will be forthcoming to enable Dr. Campbell Thompson and his colleagues to continue the explorations that have been so fruitful in the past, and to resume their diggings to extract the treasure from a land where "there is nought but an earthy mantle to cover everything, spread by the callousness of one generation who cast aside the remnants of its fathers, just as its own children would tumble their predecessors' walls in their search for easy material, and so finally, when death, foes or plague had left none to build, kindly Nature would bury their works with a shroud of windblown dust" (p. 15).

* See *ASIATIC REVIEW*, July, 1924, vol. xx., pp. 522-526; October, 1925, vol. xxi., pp. 669-671; October, 1928, vol. xxiv., pp. 673-674.

† See *ASIATIC REVIEW*, April, 1928, vol. xxiv., pp. 305-308.

BRITAIN AND FRANCE AS COLONIZING POWERS*

BY COUNT DE NALÈCHE

(Managing Director, *Journal des Débats*, Paris)

It may be recalled that upon the occasion of the festival in honour of Jeanne d'Arc, celebrated jointly by the two nations that were opponents during the Hundred Years War, M. Hanotaux, the French historian, laid emphasis upon the importance of the victory which put an end to the conflict. The result (the triumph of Jeanne) saved France, and decided the fate of the Continent. The stake was the independence of France and of the rest of Europe, whether its civilization was to remain Latin and Roman or become maritime and northern, whether the colonization of the new worlds that lay at hand was to be a free and a joint effort or formed on one pattern. The latter idea calls for some further study. Owing to the state of balance brought about at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the colonization of the new worlds became a joint undertaking in which the western nations, and especially England and France, were associated. At one time it was a grim fight, but was continued in a spirit of friendly rivalry and close co-operation, revealing thereby the community of interests that united the two countries in every part of the world where they have carried on the work of civilization.

Their common task, however, is faced with two formidable obstacles :

1. The growing spirit of nationalism in the colonies, a spirit which is impatient, in a hurry, unreasonably passionate and anti-foreign in tendency.
2. Propaganda fostered by the jealousy and self-interest of the rivals and enemies of England and France, who are more concerned with the satisfaction of their own ambitions than the liberation of subject peoples.

Indeed, both our countries are menaced by the activities of these "apostles" and "philanthropists" who, while condemning our work, are hoping to reap where we have sown. Their denunciation of our colonizing methods are at the same time directed against capital and property.

* Published, by permission, as a translation from the author's recent address to the Anglo-French Luncheon Club.

No effort has been spared to come to terms. An offer has been made to Moscow in the following terms :

Cease your propaganda in Asia and Africa, and we will give you in Europe the economic and financial aid of which you stand in need. These terms have, however, not been accepted.

From another quarter there comes the proposal of a system planned on a new basis, which reserves for an organization which is without a real mandate, and will not shoulder the responsibilities connected with the charge, the economic exploitation of our overseas possessions. The offer amounts to this : that *they* should have all the benefits accruing and leave to *us* the onerous task of administration and the risks that are inseparable from the work of colonization. This offer is specious enough, but it is full of insidious dangers.

In reality the great colonial powers are quite capable of developing their charges unaided. Henceforth, however, the maintenance of their power and the success of their enterprises are dependent upon two conditions :

The first is that they should openly make common cause, and act in association with each other instead of in opposition. There is no question here of their abandoning their specific methods which are based on national character, or of unifying their methods, which would indeed be a Utopian conception. What is needed is an alignment of policies and the co-ordination of effort. And the success of this combination depends not on the two governments only but also on the public opinion in both countries. Every Frenchman should remember that he is also harming his own country if he feels and expresses a malign pleasure whenever the British meet with difficulties in India or elsewhere. In the same way laying stress on or even exaggerating French failures in Syria or Morocco runs contrary to British interests.

The non-European peoples are only too ready to exploit the real or supposed jealousies in order to weaken us, and neutralize any action we may wish to take outside its borders. Is it not wisest to deprive our opponents of the pretext for such a course, and make any such plan a manifest illusion ?

The second condition of progress and success is the spirit of confidence in ourselves and in each other. Our colonizing efforts have been useful and beneficial. We have no right to abandon them.

Those politicians and writers who envisage or even go so

far as to recommend to the public and to their respective governments voluntary abandonment of overseas possessions and a retirement are indeed badly informed, and that is their only excuse. To abandon those countries that have been saved from chaos, organized and modernized, not only runs counter to very obvious laws of an economic order, but is a course that defies the teachings of history and common sense. A great country worthy of being so described does not sign her own capitulation, she does not abandon, through fear of the dangers involved, or on account of the effort needed, undertakings which have been built up during centuries without counting the toil and risk. England and France are convinced that their colonial work has been planned aright, that it will be constantly improved, and that it must be carried to its proper conclusion.

But, in order to carry through these improvements, and apply them correctly to the present needs, and make them harmonize with the wishes of the governed, there is no better way than for England and France to profit directly by their mutual experiences, to inspire one another, and be guided by a feeling of generous emulation. The efforts and the progress of the one should be responded to by similar efforts and desire for progress by the other country. What more inspiring spectacle can be conceived than that of the two nations running parallel while pursuing their task of colonial development and civilization? If our colonial policies can be coalesced, it will mean that the Entente Cordiale, which is the corner-stone of peace in Europe, will make its pacific influence felt in every corner of the world.

DEBATES IN THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES

THE CHAMBER OF INDIAN PRINCES AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS ON FEBRUARY 12, 1929

H.E. THE VICEROY: I call upon H.H. the Nawab of Palanpur to present the statement regarding his work as a representative of India at the meeting of the League of Nations, 1928.

H.H. THE NAWAB OF PALANPUR: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—It was with feelings of extreme diffidence that I accepted the very generous and pressing invitation of Your Excellency in April last to proceed to Europe as a delegate to the Ninth Assembly of the League of Nations. I was oppressed by the thought that the responsibility was too great, that my experience of international affairs was nil, while there were several members of my Order far better fitted for the task. I had never been to Europe before, and it was the temptation, if I may so call it, of proceeding on an official mission and combining business with experience of the progressive countries of the West, that determined my choice.

I was expected to reach London by the beginning of August, but as I did not wish to face the monsoon, I decided to sail from Bombay towards the end of May. After a week's stay in Egypt, I arrived in London towards the middle of June.

I had received no papers or instructions in India, and on making enquiries on arrival in London, I was informed that the India Office would begin to send briefs on each subject included in the Agenda of the forthcoming session of the League, which would contain all the necessary papers, together with instructions from the Secretary of State and the Government of India for the guidance of the Delegation. These came in due course, and the wide range of subjects and the voluminous nature of the papers relating to each offered plenty of material for study.

My colleagues were Lord Lytton and Mr. S. N. Mallik, neither of whom I had the pleasure of knowing before, and whose acquaintance I was very glad to make, as also of the substitute delegates, Sir Edward Chamier, Sir K. V. Reddi, and Mr. A. Yusuf Ali. Both officially and socially we saw a great deal of each other, and I value deeply the friendships that I formed with them, and the assistance and co-operation I received from them throughout, both in London and at Geneva.

We had several informal talks before August 25, when we first met as a delegation at the India Office. Sir Arthur Hirtzel, the Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, was present and explained the India Office point of view on several matters, in the absence of the Secretary of State. He laid stress on the fact that we were all "Delegates of India," and that none of us was a particular representative of either the Indian States or British India.

We were told that within our instructions we were free to vote at the League as we liked, except in such matters in regard to which the whole of the British Empire Delegates (including the self-governing Dominions) decided by common agreement to act together. I might add here that,

during my stay in Geneva, we had several meetings with the British Delegation and other Empire Delegations, and in every case that came up there was no suggestion of the British Delegation exerting compulsion regarding the way the Indian Delegation should vote. In one or two instances the Indian Delegation did decide to vote independently of the British Delegation.

I arrived in Geneva on September 1, and a meeting of the Indian Delegation was held at the Beau Rivage Hotel on the following day at 6.30 p.m. It was at this meeting that the distribution of business was explained, and I was asked to serve on the Fourth Committee (which dealt with the Budget) and on the Sixth Committee (which dealt with Political Questions, such as slavery, etc.).

The Assembly meets every year on the first Monday in September, and consequently the Ninth Session opened on September 3. It lasted till the 26th. The place of meeting is the Hall of the Reformation, which is the largest in Geneva. There is no pomp or ceremony at the opening of the session, nor is there any but the plainest furniture in the Hall. There are no rules or restrictions regarding dress to be worn at the meetings, and delegates attend in any dress they choose. The whole atmosphere is one of stern simplicity.

Out of fifty-four States Members of the League, fifty States were represented at the last session, including Spain, which attended for the first time since 1926. As a sign of the increasing importance of the League, the fact might be mentioned that among the list of delegates there were seven present and seven former Prime Ministers, and ten present and seven former Foreign Ministers of the States represented at the League. It is sometimes said that the gathering of the League is a huge mockery, and we occasionally hear it described by certain sections of the press as "the Comedy of Geneva." I have no desire to enter into a discussion of what the League has accomplished and what it has failed to accomplish, but the very fact that so many Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and Prime Ministers should attend it seems to me of great significance. As Lord Grey said in his speech at the Albert Hall in London on October 26, 1928:

"The League has provided a place where, every year, the Foreign Secretaries of Europe can meet on neutral ground. Formerly they could only meet in each other's capitals, and each meeting of the kind was looked upon with jealous curiosity and suspicion. That has all been cleared away by the League of Nations. They are now able to discuss things frankly without exciting suspicion, and the League of Nations, by providing such a meeting place, has done a great deal to prevent the growth again in Europe of the condition of things which led to the war in 1914."

In fact, speaking so recently as November 13, 1928, the Prime Minister of Great Britain attributed the lack of understanding between Europe and the United States of America to the fact that America was not a Member of the League. To quote his own words:

"American Statesmen do not know European Statesmen, European Statesmen do not know American Statesmen, and there is no personal intercourse. The only intercourse that takes place is the written dispatch that goes across 3,000 miles of ocean. It is a far more difficult thing to get a mutual understanding in those circumstances."

As this Chamber has many points of similarity with the League of Nations, the remarks quoted above should be of peculiar interest to Your

Highnesses. We occasionally hear it said of the Chamber that it has not achieved anything. This may or may not be so, but it does furnish a meeting place for a large number of our Order, and this in itself has a great moral and political value.

Though each State Member of the League may have three delegates, it has only one vote, and the rule is that every resolution of substance, whether in the Council or the Assembly, must be passed without any dissentient vote, otherwise it can have no effect. This is necessary because all States are equal under the Covenant, and the League works on the basis that each Member State retains its sovereignty unimpaired. No Sovereign State can agree to be bound by the views of others which it is not prepared to endorse. But where vital interests are not involved, there is a commendable tendency on the part of dissentients to withdraw their objections in order that unanimity may be achieved and progress made. To this extent the views of the majority often prevail in practice.

The similarity of the above with the Constitution of this Chamber will at once be apparent to Your Highnesses.

There is a feeling in India that though she is an original signatory to the Treaty of Versailles, and pays a very handsome amount annually to the expenses of the League of Nations (being sixth in order of contributing States), there are not half a dozen Indians employed in the entire Secretariat establishment. This seems all the more surprising when a country like the United States, which is not even a Member of the League, has more than a dozen members on the League Secretariat. I referred to this subject in my speech in the Assembly as follows :

"Public opinion in India also looks forward to the time when some of my fellow-countrymen will rise to high office in the League, worthy of the great country of our birth. We are particularly gratified that within the last twelve months India has acquired a seat on the Economic Committee, and has been honoured by the appointment of one of her most distinguished countrymen as Vice-President of the Economic Consultative Committee."

Since the termination of the last session it has become understood that an Indian will be appointed in the Information Section of the Secretariat.

The social side of the activities at Geneva is no less important than the official side. It is easier to remove misunderstandings that may exist, and also to ventilate one's point of view informally, when one meets at social functions. In addition to the dinners and luncheons given by the Indian Delegation, I entertained several Delegations to lunch or dinner in my personal capacity. I had the honour of being entertained by several Delegations, and we had a frank interchange of views on several points concerning the Princes and States. I also entertained some Press representatives, European and Indian, in Geneva. I am happy to say that these social functions had the inestimable advantage of enabling me to come to a better understanding of the point of view of other nations, and I can only hope that they also appreciated our point of view a little better as a result of such discussions as I was able to have with them.

The Indian community in Geneva is very small, but there are a few Indian Officers in the Secretariat and the Labour Organization, and I invited them one afternoon to lunch. I was very happy to feel that they intensely appreciated meeting me in a foreign country, and from such talks as I had with them, I formed a strong conviction that it is of the greatest advantage to our country that the representative of Your Highnesses who goes to Geneva should entertain his fellow-countrymen resident in Geneva, and particularly the Indian Officers of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office.

It is chiefly through the social welfare and public health activities of the League that India comes into direct contact with that body. In this branch the League has been most successful in giving its work a world-wide extension. The Eastern Bureau at Singapore has continued its work of collection and dissemination of information about epidemics which is of special interest to India. The interchange of Public Health Officers, which took place in India last year, was found very useful, and acceptance of the invitation of the Government of India by the Malaria Commission of the League will also prove of great value to this country. Considering the high rate of infant mortality in India, any practical suggestions for lowering it that may result from the deliberations of the Infant Welfare Commission of the League will be received, as I said in the Assembly, "with the greatest degree of relief and interest" by us all.

The subject of Opium is raised every year before the League. The International Opium Convention of 1925 has now received the necessary number of ratifications. The Permanent Central Board which is to watch the execution of this Convention by the States Members of the League has also been formed. I was very glad to read in the newspapers the other day that Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick represents India on this Board. Speaking on the question of opium, I made the following remarks in the Assembly:

"India has for a very long time pursued an altruistic policy, and imposed upon herself obligations conceived in a spirit of the highest humanitarian ideals, even when she could least afford to bear the heavy financial burden involved in such a policy.

"India has accordingly every reason to hope that she will receive the support and co-operation of the States Members of the League in suppressing the illicit traffic in cocaine in India, which is stated to be as much as forty times the legitimate imports, and which, on account of the large gains of such a traffic, flourishes in spite of vigorous administrative efforts to suppress it."

Another question of interest to India discussed during the last session of the League was the legal age of marriage. The Child Welfare Committee of the League had urged the necessity of fixing the age of marriage and the age of consent sufficiently high to ensure effective protection, and this resolution was forwarded to Governments. While referring to this question in the Assembly, I spoke as follows:

"With regard to the Child Welfare activities of the League, my two distinguished predecessors, H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala and H.H. the Maharaja of Kapurthala, expressed apprehension in the Assembly regarding the danger which might attend international action in these matters owing to vast differences which exist between different communities and nations, differences which are deeply rooted in religion, national customs, and conventions. In spite of these difficulties and drawbacks it would be of interest to the Assembly to learn that the Government of India have recently appointed a strong committee of non-officials to undertake a comprehensive survey of the question of raising the age of consent. I may also mention in passing that Infant Marriage Prevention Laws have been adopted already in some Indian States."

The major portion of the work of the League is, as is well known, done in the Committees of the Assembly. The debates on the Budget at the last session in the Fourth Committee (on which I represented the Indian Delegation) and the Assembly were of a most interesting character. Some account of these debates has already appeared in the press and I will therefore try to be as brief as possible.

For some time past, it is being felt that the expenses of the League are increasing unduly from year to year. With every increase over the previous year's figure, the contribution of each Member-State increases proportionately. The Indian contribution is already much too high. When we looked at the Budget of the League for 1929, we found that it provided for an increase of very nearly two million francs. This would have meant an appreciable increase in the Indian contribution. The British Delegation agreed with us that a big cut in the estimates was required, and at a meeting of all the Empire delegates serving on the Fourth Committee a common line of action was decided upon.

In accordance with this course, the British delegate moved a resolution in the Fourth Committee suggesting that the estimates be returned to the Supervisory Commission for further scrutiny with a view to ascertaining the possibility of a cut of a million francs. I supported him in a speech in which I put forward the Indian point of view. To put it briefly, I said that India ranks sixth in the list of contributing countries, and that she thus contributes more to the expenses of the League than any country which does not permanently occupy a seat on the Council of the League. On the other hand, India is one of those countries which are least directly interested in most of the activities of the League. We can indeed point to details of the League's work, such as the Bureau at Singapore and other activities of the Health Organization, but it is hard by appeal to such secondary aspects of the work of the League to justify to our fellow-countrymen the large contribution which they are called upon to make. I added that I was far from wishing to take an unreasonable view, and that I should be prepared to agree that in an organization so comparatively young as the League we must be ready to allow, on good cause being shown, for increases of modest dimensions. But where should we be, say, in ten years' time, if the Fourth Committee accepted an increase of one and a half million francs or more every year?

This proposal did not, however, find favour with the Committee. When the estimates were discussed in detail, the Indian Delegation proposed several cuts, but was outvoted. The Budget as finally adopted was for a slightly higher figure than that originally proposed.

The Budget, as thus approved by the Fourth Committee, went to the Assembly, where Lord Lytton made a strong protest on behalf of the Indian Delegation against the increase in the estimates. A vote was taken on one point—namely, the creation of a new high post in the International Labour Office. Eighteen Members voted for the creation of the post, six, including India and New Zealand, voted against it, and eleven Members remained neutral. Not wishing, however, on this occasion to create a deadlock by preventing unanimity, India and the other abstainers later withdrew their opposition, and the Budget was passed by the Assembly without a single dissentient vote, as required by the Rules of Procedure.

The contribution of India for the year 1929 will, I am sorry to say, be about £57,080, or about £5,180 more than it was for 1928.

The main task of the League, however, is the maintenance of the peace of the world. At every session attention is focussed on this all-absorbing question. It is increasingly felt that before the world's peace can be assured three things must be achieved. First, the existing level of armaments must be cut down; secondly, there must be adequate machinery for the peaceful settlement of international disputes; and thirdly, there must be a reasonable guarantee of security to the nations before they can agree to cut down their armaments to the lowest possible figure. The question of reduction of armaments is being considered in the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament, which after the lapse of some years is

meeting again, as I see from the newspapers, in April this year. The question of security and arbitration is also being simultaneously considered in a committee appointed in September, 1927, and known as the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

The Committee on Arbitration and Security has undoubtedly made a valuable contribution to the means of counteracting the forces which produce insecurity. It has addressed itself to the practical problems which immediately confront the Western world. But to my mind there is a possible cause of insecurity lying even deeper, and capable of producing results even more disastrous than those which we now earnestly hope to avert. I refer particularly to those sentiments of racial inequality which may, unless appeased, again divide the world into hostile camps. As what I said on the subject has not been correctly reported in the Indian newspapers, I give below an extract from my speech in the Assembly:

"The League itself is based on the conception of universal equality, and I think that the words in the message just addressed by the Council to the Government of *Costa Rica*, 'equal obligation and equal rights,' should be welcomed and appreciated in other continents besides that of America. Great possibilities for the continuance of the beneficent work of the League will, I am sure, come into view as soon as a general conviction exists in the Orient that the League is, in the fullest sense, an association of equal peoples, with equal obligations and equal rights, affording equal opportunities to all its members, irrespective of racial origin, to work harmoniously together for the great humane objects laid down in the Covenant."

In conclusion, I wish to apologize for the length of this statement and to tender my warmest thanks for the courtesy shown in listening to a somewhat uninteresting narration of facts. But, in doing so, I am constrained to say that there are several matters I have omitted to mention for fear of taxing the patience of Your Excellency and Your Highnesses.

H.H. THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA (Chancellor): Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—We have listened with interest to the illuminating report of the last League of Nations Assembly by my friend and brother Prince, H.H. the Nawab of Palanpur. The report clearly proves, what His Excellency was pleased to refer to in his opening speech to the Chamber, that by his work at the League of Nations His Highness of Palanpur has added to the reputation both of India and the Indian States. I am sure that all of us heartily endorse that statement, and will unanimously welcome and support the vote of thanks which I have the privilege to move.

Your Excellency, the existence of the League of Nations has given rise to strong differences of opinion. Its advocates have seen in it the panacea of all the ills of human society; its opponents have denounced it as nothing more than a glorified debating society. We of this Chamber belong to neither of these groups. We judge the League by its results. As such we welcome it as a constructive step towards international peace, and towards that federation of world States to which the best of humanity has always aspired. We are aware of the shortcomings of the League; we recognize its limitations. But we feel that, with the present mentality of peoples of the earth, no very much better League of Nations could be established than the one which functions at Geneva. It has the germs of right development, and its constitution is flexible and admits of healthy growth. As such we welcome the League for what it is, and we look forward to the time when it will approach more closely to the high ideals of those who created it. Thus we always follow with keen interest the work of our representative at the League of Nations Assembly.

Your Excellency, His Highness of Palanpur has explained to us the valuable social welfare work advanced during the year at the League. This we all welcome, and I am confident that it will receive our earnest and immediate consideration for application to our territories. It gives me personal gratification, however, to see that the last Assembly of the League has made commendable progress in some of the problems of social welfare which I was privileged to discuss as Your Highnesses' representative at an earlier session of the League. We particularly welcome the inclusion in this year's activities of rural hygiene and anti-malaria work. India, including the Indian States, is primarily an agricultural country, and over 75 per cent. of our subjects are agriculturists and live in rural areas. Rightly, then, the improvement of rural conditions and the development of agriculture and Co-operative Societies has always formed an important plank in our programme of beneficent activities in our States. I am confident that any further improvement in the conditions of our rural population, to ensure for them "better agriculture, better business, and better living," will have our willing support.

Your Excellency, we have also listened with interest to the conclusions arrived at by the last Assembly of the League to reduce armaments. We welcome that as a step in the right direction. But it appears to us that *we cannot stop war* merely by reducing machine-guns in Europe and warships in the Pacific. In order to achieve that ideal we must attack not only the instruments of war but also the causes of war. These involve—as Lord Ballour once remarked—moral disarmament, adjustment of relations between capital and labour, and better understanding between the Eastern and Western nations. We hope and trust that continual attention to these aspects of the problem, along with the limitations of armaments, will effectively ensure world peace.

Your Excellency, I am sure our friends of British India will join us in congratulating His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur for the manner he pressed the claim of India's sons for participation in the Executive Staff of the League, and for his graceful and dignified reference to the suspicion which now exists, even though unfounded, that "the League is an instrument for perpetuating the hegemony of the races which are of European origin over the other races." And I repeat what I was privileged to remark elsewhere, that India, like other great Oriental countries, is a mother-country, and would ultimately judge the utility of the League by its contribution towards equitably solving the problem of Immigration. The treatment of our countrymen abroad is a matter of common concern both to British India and the Indian States, and we have watched with appreciation Your Excellency's efforts to secure an equitable solution of this knotty problem. We hope and trust that the League will find it possible to address itself effectively to this matter.

Your Excellency, the statesmanship of my gifted friend and brother, His Highness of Palanpur, richly entitled him, as our representative, to sit with the rest of the world's representatives. By his dignified, graceful, and courageous expression of our view-point he has justified his selection. We all appreciate and thank him for his good work at Geneva, and for contributing towards that better understanding between the best of the East and the best of the West which is our cherished ideal. With these remarks I have great pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to His Highness of Palanpur.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF DEWAS (Senior Branch): Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—It gives me great pleasure to second the Resolution of thanks to His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur which has been so ably moved by His Highness the Chancellor. We in this Chamber are grateful for the opportunity which the association of one of our Order

with the Indian Delegation to the League of Nations offered us of making known to the world the existence of the Indian States as a politically separate part of India. The Ruling Prince who is called upon to discharge this responsible duty is in a very real sense the representative of our Order, and the eyes of the delegates of many nations are fixed upon him. From the interesting report which we have heard, we know well that His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur has worthily upheld the excellent traditions handed over by his great predecessors. The Indian Princes have year by year been privileged to take a prominent part in the deliberations of the Assembly of the League of Nations: and I think we all of us owe a debt of gratitude to His Highness of Palanpur for the work he has done. With these words I have much pleasure in seconding the Resolution.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY: Your Highness would perhaps permit me to say a word or two, by way of identifying myself with the mover and the seconder, of an expression of gratitude to His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur, who has given us, I think, a valuable and detailed report, not only of his activities but also of those of the Assembly in which he took part on behalf of India. Those of us who have had an opportunity of reading his speeches will, I think, agree that in those speeches he worthily maintained the standard of contribution to which the representatives drawn from Your Highnesses' Order who preceded him have accustomed the Assembly of the League of Nations, and I am particularly grateful to him for having in his own way pressed the claim that has been constantly pressed from other quarters that, as time goes on, the representation of India in the Secretariat of the League should, as His Highness the Chancellor said, gradually approximate more closely to the size of the contribution that India makes to the League's finance. But, as anyone who has been to Geneva knows, speeches are not everything, and I have no doubt that His Highness will agree with me that a great deal of the most valuable work in Geneva is done both in informal consultations on committees and in the day-to-day social intercourse between representatives of different nations. All that I have heard of the manner in which His Highness has discharged his responsibility as our representative leads me to congratulate myself that I was able to overcome his original reluctance to allow himself to be nominated. I will now finally put to Your Highnesses the vote of thanks that has been proposed by the Chancellor and seconded by His Highness of Dewas (Senior).

(The Chamber signified its approval.)

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY: The resolution is carried unanimously.

HIS HIGHNESS THE NAWAB OF PALANPUR: I feel deeply grateful to Your Excellency for the kind words in which my work has been appreciated. I had all along felt myself handicapped for the proper discharge of the responsibilities and duties connected with this mission. In the face of this fact I highly value such a kind reference by Your Excellency, which gives me great encouragement. I am equally grateful and express my deep thanks and sincere gratitude to Your Highnesses for your generous recognition of what little I was able to do at the meetings of the League of Nations.

LITERARY SECTION

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

A. RECENT WORKS ON POLITICAL PROBLEMS

(Reviewed by A. L. SAUNDERS, C.S.I.)

1. THE BRITISH CROWN AND THE INDIAN STATES. (*P. S. King and Son.*)
10s. 6d. net.

THIS statement of the case of the Indian Princes prepared by the Directorate of their Chamber for submission to Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee should be read by all anxious to appreciate the circumstances that have called forth the appointment of that Committee. The enquiry in question, though necessarily intersecting with, is independent of the matters falling to be examined by the Indian Statutory Commission. Its genesis is fully explained in the very able foreword prefaced by Mr. Rushbrook Williams to the general argument, which we were able to publish in July, 1928. The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes first put forward a request for an impartial enquiry into the whole relationship between the Princes of India and the Paramount Power. That Committee represents more than three-fourths of the States who are members of the Chamber in their own right, and an equal proportion of the States not individually represented. Even the States outside the Standing Committee have expressed general agreement with its diagnosis of the situation. This book, therefore, speaks with practically complete authority on behalf of the rulers of the seventy millions of the Indian States.

This case comprises two main headings: firstly, the States have no voice in the determination of All-India policy; thus they are taxed, sometimes rather heavily taxed, by import duties and otherwise; they may be closely affected by railway, irrigation, or other schemes in which they have no voice. Secondly, there is no impartial tribunal to decide disputes between themselves and British India, so that the Government of India is sometimes both party and judge; there is a tendency for Political Officers to override not only the wishes of Princes but even rights asserted under treaty. This case is brought out with great force and clearness, and the statement is never overloaded with irrelevant matter. It is a masterly argument.

The constitutional problem may be looked upon from another point of view. Do the chiefs negotiate with the British Government as equal contracting powers? Have they full powers of sovereignty except in so far as they have ceded rights to their overlord, or do they merely exercise the powers the latter has delegated or relinquished to them? Their case rests,

generally speaking, on the former hypothesis. But the latter was affirmed with great emphasis by that distinguished lawyer and Viceroy, Lord Reading, in his correspondence with the Nizam in 1925 and 1926. "The Sovereignty of the British Crown," he wrote, "is supreme in India, and therefore no ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements, but exists independently of them." This is very different from the attitude taken up by the Standing Committee of the Chamber.

These things lie on the knees of the gods—that is, of Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee. But we must not omit to note that a meeting in Bombay in March, 1928, of rulers and representatives of States carried unanimously a series of resolutions expressive of the highest governing ideals, of zeal for the interests of their people and of India, and of loyalty to the Crown and attachment to the Empire. No differences of political opinion can weaken the public confidence that such is the aim of the Princes.

2. MEMORANDUM OF THE INDIAN STATES PEOPLE. (Poona: *Arya Bhushan Press*.) Rs. 10.
3. PROBLEMS OF INDIAN STATES. By G. R. Abhyankar. (Poona: *Arya Bhushan Press*.) Rs. 5.

Whatever the merits of the first-named memorandum, it must not be estimated on the same plane as the book published on behalf of the Chamber of Princes. The "demands" of the Indian States people are stated as eleven in number, and amount to this—that the rulers of such States should forthwith be induced or constrained by the Paramount Power to establish "responsible government." Considerable labour has gone to the composition of this volume, and ideas not without merit may be gleaned here and there. From letters from and to the Butler Committee it may be gathered that the "General Secretary of the All-India States Peoples Conference" is Professor G. R. Abhyankar of Poona. Professor Abhyankar is a copious journalistic writer, and in the second of these books, "Problems of Indian States," he has collected and reprinted a mass of his contributions to the Indian Press for some years back. Except that they all deal with Indian States, there is no special connection or line of argument.

4. INDIA IN THE CRUCIBLE. By C. S. Ranga Iyer, M.L.A. (*Schoyn and Blount*.)

Mr. Ranga Iyer holds a very high place among Indian political writers of the present day for ability, insight and literary expression. His reply to Miss Mayo's "Mother India" was much the most effective, largely because he managed to keep his temper. In this review of the Indian political situation he is at his best. It would be hard to improve on his ironical treatment of the exclusion of Indians from Sir John Simon's Commission. A Commission appointed to consider how to reconcile the growing Indian spirit of nationality with administrative efficiency and the British connection should obviously have consisted largely, if not principally, of leading Indians, with a European representation of official, military and commercial

experience and an infusion of the Colonial Governor type. It had not a single one of these elements. The reasons offered do not bear examination. They are, that as the Commission has to report to Parliament it must be composed of Members of Parliament, that there are so many kinds of Indians that they cannot all be represented, that they will be represented in an indirect and subsidiary way, and, finally, that it matters very little who the Commission are or what they say. The last was, in the upshot, the real reason. Mr. Baldwin's words, quoted on pp. 80, 81, are, as usual with him, lofty and eloquent, but when analyzed that is all they amount to. Mr. Ranga Iyer is a trenchant critic, but his task is almost too easy.

His examination of the differences between Moderates and Extremists is a good one, and worthy of study by European readers who are apt to regard such parties as all tarred with the same brush. He is fairer to the British authorities than most Indian writers of his way of thinking, though even he is not absolutely fair. In his Chapter XIV., headed "Communal Glasses" (*sic*), he treats the Hindu-Mussalman feud as largely the fault of the British Government, an imputation entirely without justification. It is true that such disputes are markedly less in the Indian States, but that is not because their governments are Indian, but because they are despotic. If the Mussalmans of Kashmir or the Hindus of Hyderabad were granted a measure of political power, there would be plenty of such disputes. Mr. Ranga Iyer says communal electorates are no remedy. That may be true, but an ineffective remedy is not the source of the disease.

Mr. Ranga Iyer rightly puts his finger on racial estrangement, the growing anti-British feeling, as the danger in the path. Here he writes generously as well as truly. It is a matter on which Parliamentary Commissions can do little. It is the responsibility of every man and woman in the communities concerned.

An index would have been useful. There is one other defect in the otherwise excellent production of the book—that is, that it is sometimes hard to tell what is the author's own and what is quotation.

5. INDIA ON TRIAL. By J. E. Woolacott. (*Macmillan*.) 10s. net.

Mr. Woolacott gives us the other side of the shield. His is an excellent presentment of a somewhat familiar case. The people of India were always steeped in misery before the rise of the British power. That people consists in the mass of peaceful, contented peasants and workers who prefer British rule to any other, while the upper classes can be divided between aristocratic warriors devoted to the British throne and talkers who appear only to want power. To the latter classes foolish British politicians persist in surrendering power. The book is a useful contribution on its own lines. The author's final conclusion that India's association with the British Empire must be maintained is one which no responsible politician can dispute.

6. INDIA: THE NEW PHASE. By Sir Stanley Reed, Kt., K.B.E., LL.D., and P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E. (*Philip Allan and Co.*) 3s. 6d. net.

This review of the present political and economic situation in India is, as might be expected from the standing and distinction of its authors, an

admirable study marked by deep thought and clear expression. The limitations imposed by the frame of the series, the Westminster Library, of which this book forms a part, have prevented them, they explain, from setting forth their statements and conclusions as fully as might have been desirable. On the whole, it is hardly a matter for regret; undue conciseness is seldom a fault in present-day writers about India.

The authors begin by outlining the constitutional system, called "Reformed," enacted in 1919 on the advice of the then Viceroy and Secretary of State. It does not speak well for the general knowledge of political history in this country that dyarchy should so often be regarded as a novel and doctrinaire experiment. It is the oldest form of government after that of sheer force; it has often mastered and replaced the latter with at least temporary success, as in the Holy Roman Empire and in the case of our own Parliament. The British rule in India started as a dyarchy when the Mogul ruler conceded to the East India Company the *diwani* or "transferred subjects," retaining for himself the *faujdarī*, the equivalent of our "reserved subjects." It would be a strange coincidence if it ended with the rôles reversed.

The new constitution met with misfortunes from the first, the financial crisis of 1919, the Afghan war and the unrest in the Muhammadan world, for none of which were India or its Government responsible. It has even been suggested that dyarchy suffered in the eyes of the less-instructed Indian public by the identification of the name with that of a distinguished but unpopular soldier. But our authors do not, like Balbus, consider that it is all up with the Commonwealth. They profess a sturdy hopefulness, to which one is glad to respond. Their criticism of the new legislators is well founded. These seem to have no idea of consulting or representing their constituents or of judging measures on their merits. Indeed, they are sometimes found advancing proposals to which the opinion of their public is violently opposed, so as to place Government in the dilemma of being unprogressive or unpopular, as in the cases of the age of consent or the elevation of the untouchables. The authors have some hankering after a system of secondary election which, like all schemes of the kind, never works in times of stress. One mistake, and that a serious one, in connection with the new constitution, was the promise of revision, now being implemented by Sir John Simon. An undertaking to alter what is not approved of is bound to call forth expressions of disapproval.

The question of the Indian States has, perhaps somewhat illogically, been referred to an independent commission. If the position of those States is an argument against Indian *Swaraj*, it is also an argument in favour of provincial autonomy, at least on non-representative lines. The authors rightly insist on treating this question as an integral part of the general Indian problem. It is also interwoven with the question of defence. An army partly British in *personnel* and wholly British in control and organization is indispensable, especially in view of the attitude of the present rulers of Russia, but it cannot be subordinated to an Indian representative assembly. But the problem is not insoluble. If the Indian

States, many of which are of great warlike capacity, can fit into an Indian army system, still more could an Indian province.

The internal questions of agriculture, manufactures, education and the like, are reviewed by the authors in the light of Indian political development. They enumerate four objects as specially to be kept in view—universal primary education, self-defence, economic improvement, and “the more courageous use of legislation for the assistance of social reform”; with the first three, at any rate, no one need quarrel. Their concluding words are worth quoting: “We have a hard thing to do; it will be made easier if we try to understand it and to understand the standpoint of our Indian fellow-citizens.” To that end they have made a valuable contribution.

B. INDIAN HISTORY

1. A CALENDAR OF THE COURT MINUTES, ETC., OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1668-1670. By Ethel Bruce Sainsbury, with an Introduction and Notes by Sir William Foster, C.I.E. Published under the patronage of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India. (*Clarendon Press.*)

(Reviewed by SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BART.)

A Calendar of Court Minutes of the East India Company is, like a dictionary, fine confined reading, and yet it can be made in skilled hands to throw a peculiarly vivid light on the life of bygone days. Sir William Foster's introduction to these instalments, compiled with exceptional skill by Miss E. B. Sainsbury, regularly published by the India Office at intervals, is a strong instance in point. The latest of these handsome volumes, that for 1929, covers only three years of the mid-seventeenth century—three years, too, with nothing particularly spectacular or exciting in them—just quiet progress without the war or rebellion or plague or fire, which so greatly disturbed other triennial periods about that time. And yet, by diving into the carefully arranged matter with the guidance of Sir William's remarks the student can see how very much alive the actors were and how seriously they took the troubles of their day according to their lights.

Thus, in July, 1669, the Company's Accountant-General, Jeremy Sambrooke, who had been in their service sixty years, committed suicide. This was not an event of general importance, but it must have caused a great sensation in a considerable society: so old a public servant in so responsible a position. There is naturally much reference to him in the Court Minutes, for such an official would require the Court's instructions constantly on many matters, but there is nothing to show directly why he should have committed suicide, and, moreover, his salary was high for the period, £220. He must, however, have been lax with his balances—as such officials frequently were at that period—for he was hauled over the coals for it in April, 1668, and again in May, 1669. On July 1 he hanged himself, and all the notice we find in the Minutes of such an event is on July 2: “John Harbert is chosen Accountant in the room of Jeremy Sambrooke, deceased, his salary to be according to his deserts.” It may

be that the cause of the apparent callousness was a general desire to hush the matter up, as suicide was then a serious offence, and it must be remembered that it is still a legal crime in England.

To return to public matters. As usual at that time, there were many negotiations in these three years, 1668-1675, between the English and the Dutch in regard to their respective East India Companies. The Dutch were rapidly acquiring a monopoly of Eastern commerce, and this naturally did not suit the English traders. The East India Company accordingly made a strong effort to get the Dutch authorities to allow them to compete, using the English Ambassador, Sir William Temple, for the purpose. The negotiations came to nothing because Charles II. in 1670 threw in his lot with the French and concluded with Louis XIV. the Secret Treaty of Dover, and this caused the withdrawal of Sir William Temple from the Netherlands. But the interesting point for the student in these protracted proceedings is to note that the East India Company were using, with the Dutch in their own behalf for leave to "interlope," the very arguments which they steadily rejected, when applied against themselves by the Scotch and many other "free-traders" at that period in England. The whole situation therefore becomes an illuminating study in human nature.

Though the Company was carrying on negotiations with the Dutch, advantage was taken of Lord Sandwich's successful treaty with Spain to improve its trade in the East and with the Portuguese at Macao. Further, the Company also took special steps to push the trade in silk in Bengal, and we thus see that in all such matters the Directors were wide awake. All the while, too, there was the aftermath of the disturbance caused by the rebel Governor of Madras, Sir Edward Winter, who had imprisoned the man sent to succeed him, practically in the end with impunity to himself. This settlement of so violent a quarrel naturally gave much trouble, leading to at least one very human incident, when one of Winter's chief supporters, the Rev. Simon Smythe, turned up at a Court meeting to explain matters.

Bombay was then a new possession, and its affairs occupied a great deal of the East India Company's attention in a manner that is of the highest interest to those concerned in learning all that is to be known regarding the beginnings of administration and business there. Among many other things it is casually remarked in a Minute dated January, 1668: "There are about 115 Englishmen on the island, and it would be convenient if about 40 women were sent by the Company's first ships to live there." Then in December we read: "Women or maidservants going to Bombay are not to be obliged to remain with their employers over a year from the time of their arrival, and if they marry an Englishman within the said year, with the consent of the Governor and Council, they are to have their liberty, and their husband is not to give their employer any consideration for their time." In the same month there is a report by a Committee about Bombay, suggesting that "twenty women or maids related to soldiers or others, of sober and civil lives, might be sent at the Company's expense," but they were not to marry Portuguese or any other foreigner or anyone

but a Protestant. In February, 1669, it was ordained that they were to have proper cabin room on the way out. But these women were not always fortunate, for two widows of soldiers applied as paupers for help in 1669. In these formal entries we see the beginnings of the supply of wives to the men serving in India, a system that was so prominent a feature in the life of succeeding years.

St. Helena was then under the East India Company's control, and in December, 1669, it appointed a new Governor, Captain Richard Cony; but there was no ship going there directly, so he had to go to Bantam and disembark at St. Helena on the ship's way home. The story is a lesson in communication, but in November, 1670, a new chaplain, the Rev. William Nokes, was luckier, for he got a direct ship.

Lastly, there is a good deal in these Minutes about the great case, which so troubled the two Houses of Parliament at that period—*Skinner versus the East India Company*. Skinner, in March, 1670, won his case in the House of Lords, which had taken it up *ab initio*, and got damages. The Company immediately appealed to the Commons, and a great fight as to privilege turned on the right of the Lords to determine a cause that had not been before the ordinary courts. This was fought out with extraordinary acrimony on both sides, and some queer things happened. The fight had been going on for about two years when in February, 1670, Charles II. intervened with effect, and both sides agreed to drop their disputes and erase all records of them in their Journals. Thus ended a very notable disagreement between the two Houses with a victory for the Commons, for the Lords have never since asserted a claim to original jurisdiction. Poor Skinner was left out in the cold, though he repeatedly made efforts to recover his money till he died.

Such in the merest outline is an account of three "uneventful" years of the East India Company's life as recorded in the work under notice, and readers must turn to the work itself for detailed information on hundreds of points of interest. But he will not find it easy to get exactly what he wants quickly in spite of the extraordinary accuracy of the printing and the proof reading bestowed on it, and the ample and again extraordinarily accurate index.

2. HISTORY OF THE PALLAVAS OF KANCHI. By R. Gopalan. Edited with introduction and notes by S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar. (*Madras University*.) Rs. 5 net.

The author has compiled a very able book on the Pallavas, and has undoubtedly added considerably to our knowledge of this South Indian race. He has made himself familiar with previous research, both in English and in Tamil, and enters into the theories regarding the origin of these people by V. A. Smith, L. Rice, Jouveau-Dubreuil, A. Rea, and some Indian scholars. References in Prakrit and Sanskrit have been carefully checked and used. Hereafter comes the history proper. A long appendix contains a chronological index of Pallava inscription. Professor Krishnaswamy Aiyangar has contributed a very learned introduction and some valuable notes at the end.

3. SOME DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE RISE OF THE DUTCH POWER IN CEYLON, 1602-1670, FROM THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE INDIAN OFFICE. By P. E. Pieris. (Colombo: Luzac.) 17s. 6d. net.

Dr. Pieris is a well-known writer of historic books on Ceylon, especially the Portuguese and Dutch periods. The present volume consists of a collection of documents pertaining to the early period of the Dutch occupation of Ceylon, with appropriate notes by the editor, who is a serious and able student. Dr. Pieris reminds us in his introduction of twenty-five pages that the Dutch arrived in that island with the purpose of driving the Portuguese out of that sphere of trade and to substitute their own. The trade concessions, which they easily obtained from the King of Ceylon, soon gave rise to a desire for wider political power, and the Dutch were, after the first struggle, accepted as the protectors against the Portuguese. Gradually they became the masters of the island. Dr. Pieris has told his story well in the small space at his disposal, and the documents produced should be of great service to the historian of colonial and Asiatic affairs.

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4. THE COMMERCE BETWEEN THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND INDIA. By E. H. Warmington. (Cambridge University Press.) 15s. net.
(Reviewed by M. E. R. MARTIN.)

This book throws strong and concentrated light on a subject of great interest. The story of early travel to and from the East along well-defined trade-routes has been dealt with by other writers, but the author of the book under review describes in much greater detail than any previous writer the sea and land routes between Europe and India, while he also displays a considerably greater acquaintance with the subject. Adequate proof of this is afforded by the excellent map inserted in the volume which gives both the main land-routes to India and the main routes followed by the silk traffic to China, while it further shows clearly how greatly the sea-borne traffic developed as a result of the discovery of the monsoons. Both the ancient and modern names of countries and towns are given in the map. The first part of the book deals with the commerce between Rome and India from the reign of Augustus to the death of Marcus Aurelius. The author has wisely limited his work to the description of the trade to that period. A complete history of the commerce between the East and West could not have been compressed into one volume, and this the author has purposely avoided attempting to do. Mr. Warmington makes an interesting statement which he considers still applies to trade conditions with India. He says that even in Roman times the flow of commerce from the East always exceeded that from Europe eastwards. The value of the goods received by the Romans was paid in coin not in products, and this accounts for the large amount of Roman money found in many parts of India. The discovery of the monsoons and the important part they played in the development of the trade-routes are now buried in the past; whether history will repeat itself and the air-services find valuable assistance from the trade-winds only the future will reveal.

In Part II. the author describes in detail the nature of the goods exported

from Rome to India, as well as of those received in exchange—the latter including animal and plant products, minerals, and precious stones. The export trade from Rome was entirely sea-borne, and it is curious to find that in part it consisted of slaves, who were imported into Italy from India. The slaves taken from Rome were intended as presents to the Indian princes, or were considered "specially selected merchandize."

The very full notes in Part II. prove how carefully Mr. Warmington has verified his facts. They afford most valuable data to those desirous of pursuing their researches along the same lines. He has also added a list of the abbreviations employed in the notes, by the use of which he has avoided much unnecessary repetition.

C. RELIGIONS OF INDIA

1. CHRISTIANITY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. By Arthur Mayhew, C.I.E. (*Faber and Gwyer.*) 12s. 6d. net.
(Reviewed by F. H. BROWN, C.I.E.)

Mr. Arthur Mayhew, formerly Director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces, and now a Master at Eton, here follows his valuable study of "British Educational Policy in India," published in 1926, by what is described in the subtitle as "an examination of the Christian forces at work in the administration of India, and of the mutual relations of the British Government and Christian missions" from 1600 to our own day. The work goes a good way to fill a notable gap in the critical literature of British administration in India, for it traces the mutations through which the policy of neutrality in matters of religion, accompanied by fairness toward missionary enterprise, was at last shaped. While not sufficiently documented and complete to leave no room for a more thorough and systematic investigation, the book well serves its purpose of providing material for some broad general conclusions. The note of irony here and there lapses into flippancy, and now and again a striving after brilliance leaves a sentence with little or no meaning. But in general Mr. Mayhew writes with a grace of style and a mastery of facts which are most attractive.

Throughout the story Mr. Mayhew duly recognizes the remarkable contribution made to the social, intellectual and moral progress of India by missionary enterprise and devotion. Carey, Heber, Wilson and Duff are depicted not only as great missionaries but as men of vision and statesmanship. Mr. Mayhew condemns the timidity of the East India Company in excluding missionaries from their territories until compelled by the pressure of public opinion at Home to admit them, and the reluctance with which any substantial provision was made for the spiritual needs of the British services, civil and military. The Hindu and Muhammadan communities, as he writes, were accustomed to rulers who took care that there should be no misunderstanding of their own religious beliefs. Indians found it easier to respect the Government when it made decent provision for its own religion from 1833 onwards. Such provision showed the British administrators to be not only strong and resolute, but also human and generous,

"and these are characteristics dear to the Indian world." Mr. Mayhew has scant patience with the irreligious outlook of the British community in India at certain periods. It encouraged the carrying of the policy of neutrality to such extreme lengths as to blur the distinction between what might be done by a supporter of missionary enterprise in his official and in his private capacity.

Mr. Mayhew shares the opinion of John Lawrence, quoted on the title-page, that "Christian things done in a Christian way will never alienate the heathen." It was concealment of, or an apologetic attitude regarding, a Christian outlook which, in old days, aroused Indian suspicions of overt designs. Mr. Mayhew does not hesitate to formulate the conclusion that the British Government of India has earned the title of Christian by the character of its activities, "which have progressively displayed qualities emphasized by the Christian faith, and still more by the essentially Christian vigour and hopefulness that have inspired them." Though he says little of the noteworthy absorption by the educated classes of Christian ethics, he shows due recognition of this feature of the Indian situation by the remark that there is not the smallest reason to anticipate any antagonism to Christian mission work or interference therewith as an outcome of constitutional changes. The Indian Christian has established his position in Indian society. "Thanks largely to his firmness and the wisdom of our missionaries, Christianity is no longer viewed as a Western and exotic plant." Mr. Mayhew's study is the more valuable since it is inspired by that hope for, and confidence in, moral and spiritual progress in India, as elsewhere, which is of the essence of the Christian faith.

2. THE PATH OF PURITY. Being a translation of Buddhaghosa's "Visuddhimagga." By Maung Tin. (Oxford: *University Press*.) 10s. net.

It is indeed a pleasure to note that the translation of the Buddhist Scriptures makes steady progress, and the present volume forms No. 17 of the Translation Series of the Pali Text Society. The original has been edited several times and in 1920 was issued the text by Mrs. Rhys Davids. Professor Maung Tin of Rangoon, a well-known scholar of Pali, has now translated the second volume on Concentration, and continued therein his conscientious work. All students of Buddhism, including those in Ceylon and Japan where Buddhaghosa is greatly revered and read, will be grateful to Professor Maung Tin for the completion of this difficult piece of work.

3. BRIEF SKETCH OF THE ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION AND CUSTOMS. By S. D. Bharucha. Third edition revised and enlarged. (Bombay: *Taraporevala*.)

The firm of Taraporevala is in the front rank of the large Indian publishing firms, and most of the books issued by them have gained a wide reputation. The fact that the volume before us is the third edition (since 1893) speaks highly of the importance of the subject. Dr. J. J. Modi, the great Parsee scholar, has contributed an introduction. The book is beautifully printed, and is certainly one of the best that we have seen from any Indian Press. The "Brief Sketch" is rather short, containing eighty-three pages only, but the valuable Appendices comprise another

hundred pages. This is a short but at the same time a very clear account of the chief elements of the religion of Zoroaster which can be strongly recommended to all students.

D. INDIAN ECONOMICS

1. PUNJAB VILLAGE SURVEYS. I.—GAGGAR BHANA. (Lahore: *Civil and Military Press.*)

(Reviewed by SIR RICHARD BURN, C.S.I.)

This economic survey of a village in the Amritsar District, made by Mr. S. Gian Singh under the supervision of Mr. C. M. King, C.S.I., C.I.E., Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, is a valuable product of the Board of Economic Enquiry. In its detail and wealth of corroborating statistics it shows a great advance on the studies of South Indian villages published ten years earlier by the University of Madras. While no single village can be taken as typical of more than a particular tract, the student of economics can learn here much of the strength and weakness of the Indian peasant, and especially how the Hindu Jat of the Punjab maintains a sturdy independence. Methods of agriculture, the system of land tenures, the land revenue, debt, sales of land and prices obtained, marketing of produce, yields and expenses of cultivation, and consumption of foodstuffs are all adequately examined.

The pessimist who believes that British rule is ruining India will find it hard to explain away the facts that in this village at any rate debt is decreasing and the value of land is rising. The first effect of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act was to reduce prices, but when new conditions were understood substantial rises occurred, helped in this village by an extension of irrigation. An examination of the incidence of land revenue shows that in a certain year the crop of sugar-cane would have been sufficient to meet the whole of the land revenue and cesses, the cotton would have met this with a margin of 60 per cent., and the wheat with a margin of 80 per cent.

Of the sturdy uprightness of the peasant two examples may be quoted. One is the honesty of dealings with water, the internal distribution of which within the village is left to the cultivators. The second is that though a substantial area is cultivated by tenants, none of whom has any written lease, litigation is almost unknown.

The village is purely agricultural, and spinning, weaving, tanning and leather work, and rough carpentry are the only industries; they merely supply local needs. It should not be inferred from the fact that there are more goldsmiths than tailors that the inhabitants live in luxury.

An interesting table shows the average working hours throughout the year and illustrates the difficulty of prescribing a uniform day for the agriculturist. During the slackest time of the year in the latter part of July a couple of hours a day are sufficient, while in the end of May a man is employed for more than ten hours.

It must not be supposed that the book records only favourable items. The entire absence of adequate medical treatment on the spot, and the

usual insanitary conditions produce heavy mortality and much suffering. Education is backward, especially among the lower castes, though there are signs of advance, especially in the case of temporary emigrants to towns. Nobody from the village has ever obtained a higher standard than matriculation and no Jat has even reached that stage.

2. INDIAN ECONOMICS. Being a comprehensive and critical survey of the economic problems of India. Vol. II. (Bombay: *Taraporevala*.) Rs. 5.4 net.

The authors had intended to put their theories on economics before University students. They were extremely modest in their claim. After reading the second volume, now concluded, we do not hesitate to express the opinion that this work should be studied by a wide circle of students of economics; in fact, it should be placed among the standard books. It is pleasing to note that the authors adhere strictly to their subject and do not enter into the arena of politics.

The new volume deals chapter by chapter with Industrialization, Indian Industries Old and New, Industrial Labour, Legislation and Welfare. Some thirty pages refer to Poverty in India, then comes a chapter on the various forms of Transport, one on Trade of India, external and internal, on Currency and Exchange, Finance, Taxation, and Unemployment.

It will be seen that the survey is pretty comprehensive and it is also painstaking. Moreover, it avoids extravagances.

3. FEDERAL FINANCE IN INDIA. By K. T. Shah. (Bombay: *Taraporevala*.) Rs. 6 net.

Professor K. T. Shah is a voluminous writer on Indian economics, and his work "Sixty Years of Indian Finance" has enjoyed a great reputation even outside India. The present volume is one of six lectures delivered at Patna University last year, which have for their subjects: General Principles of Federal Finance, its Evolution, a Review of Public Revenues and Expenditure in British India, and Economic Relations with the Indian States, and finally one on Financial Organization and National Development. The book is not addressed so much to the expert as to the intelligent public, and for this reason statistics have been limited to the minimum. Professor Shah, therefore, has not so much put forward definite suggestions, as given a clear exposition of this difficult subject.

4. THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA. A comparative study. By J. L. Raine. (Bombay: *Taraporevala*.) Rs. 2 net.

In order to advance the co-operative movement, Mr. Raine has visited the Provinces of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, and the United Provinces, and appears to have made a thorough study of his subject. He comes to the conclusion that, although great progress has been made for the betterment of the depressed classes, further extension is necessary in order to bring it to permanent success.

FAR EAST

A SHORT HISTORY OF CHINA. By Edward Thomas Williams, M.A., LL.D., of the University of California. (*Harper Bros.*) 16s. net.

(*Reviewed by* BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.)

"The superiority complex of the Chinese induced by long isolation and success in dealing with their feeble neighbours made rational intercourse with the European impossible. This Chinese arrogance betrayed them into a conflict with nations with whose strength they were unacquainted, and brought humiliating defeat and the imposition upon their country of an inferior political status which they were impotent to resist but which has rankled ever since in their breasts."

In these few lines is to be found the keynote to Chinese history ever since the arrival of the Portuguese, the advance guard of the Western invasion, in the sixteenth century.

To compress the history of over four thousand years into six hundred pages is a stupendous task. How many thousands of books, learned and unlearned, have not already endeavoured to record these hoary periods! There are Chinese histories, Chinese classics, not to mention commentaries innumerable upon every one of the originals. What to leave out is the test of success in such a history as this. Professor E. T. Williams is to be congratulated upon his discrimination.

The author, as he tells us in the preface to his book, has to a certain extent followed the example of one of the best known Chinese histories. "The 'Shu King,' or 'Classic of History,'" writes Professor Williams, "does not purport to give a continuous history of ancient China. It is a collection of documents that have preserved valuable fragments of that history, and which describe the character and relate some of the deeds of ancient worthies."

The author of the book under review has divided his history into periods, each of which he tells the reader is marked by some overshadowing event or distinguishing feature that has profoundly affected the lives of the people, modified their social institutions, influenced their superstitions, or created some new fashion in art or literature.

What more can any lover of history ask for?

In these days of modern research and higher criticism few readers are prepared to spend time over ancient so-called history. Much of what our immediate forebears accepted as gospel truth the present generation knows to be at least allegory, at worst the inventive imagination of primitive writers and enthusiasts. Today the wheat must be carefully sifted from the chaff before, as mental food, it will receive any attention whatsoever. On the other hand, well written authenticated history, both that of earlier and later civilizations, has, probably, never been more eagerly sought after.

Professor Williams has thought fit to give the larger share of his history—thirteen chapters out of twenty-one—to recent events in China. In this, no doubt, he is wise. For one reader who is interested in the remote periods of the Chou, Han, or T'ang ("the Golden Age") Dynasties, there

are a dozen who would, if they could, acquire accurate knowledge of modern China, its immediate past, its paradoxical present, and its unpredictable future. Here again the author does his best to supply the want.

Out of such a storehouse of information it is only possible to call attention to a very few of the many matters of interest. Among these, first and foremost to history lovers, is that concerning the origin of the Chinese people. In Appendix II. is set out such evidence as Professor Williams has thought fit to collect. It is well known, of course, that the original home of the earliest recorded inhabitants was situated in the valley of the Yellow River, but there are those, like the present author, who believe that they migrated there. Professor Williams favours the idea that the Chinese came from Central Asia, if not from even further west, and that between their early civilization and that of the Sumerians there is strong affinity. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that those earliest representatives were fairly well civilized, especially in agricultural methods, and were by no means rude savages. Authentic records begin *circa* 2200 B.C. Any earlier so-called history is hypothetical, and it is of interest to remember that Dr. Lionel Giles places the date when real history may be said to commence as about 1122 B.C. with the Chou dynasty. Nor was China proper, the eighteen provinces as we know them, unified until as late as 221 B.C., in the time of the tyrant Emperor Shih Huang Ti, the infamous burner of "the Classics" and other books.

Many other matters of very great interest to readers are all clearly and concisely dealt with in the accounts of early dynasties. These form a series of connecting links with modern China, and carry the reader forward to what the author rightly describes as "The Dawn of the Modern Era," Chapter VIII. Then follow two chapters, both full of information, until the reader is introduced to history as it can be recalled by many still living, Chapter XI. From Chapter XI. onwards the clash of two opposing civilizations becomes more and more marked, and is carefully traced and explained, never unfairly to China. From the T'ai P'ing rebellion, which might have wrecked the Manchu dynasty eighty years ago, and when Nanking figured as the capital of the T'ien Wang ("Heavenly King") until the return there of the present Nationalist Government, each page of Chinese history is skilfully unrolled.

Of present-day politics the author writes from personal and intimate experience. Of that wonderful figure Sun Yat Sen he has much to say. How or why a man with a proved record such as Professor Williams gives could ever have reached the pinnacle of fame he did passes understanding. Again and again Sun Yat Sen brought bitter misery upon thousands of his fellow-countrymen. Not once but several times did he decline to co-operate with opponents who were prepared to meet his views more than half way, when a unified north and south China might have followed. He was mainly responsible for the inflow of Bolshevism: under Borodin and his agents. It served his purpose, but it will be long before the country he inoculated frees itself from the poisonous virus of communism. Nor, if we may accept as genuine the letter to Moscow he wrote on his death-bed, did he repent of his action.

On the future of China the author is too well-informed to prophesy. "No one," writes Professor Williams in his final chapter, "can say today to what all the present ferment may lead. When the peasant and the coolie begin to think politically, will they," he asks, "become the tools of demagogues, or will they find a wiser leadership? Of one thing we may be sure, whatever the form of government that may be evolved out of the present chaos, the Chinese people will remain—sober, frugal, industrious—the foundation of the state, just as in the days of Mencius, and will become the foundation of one reunited nation."

FIFTY YEARS OF ROMANCE AND RESEARCH, OR A JUNGLE-WALLAH AT LARGE. By Dr. Charles Hose. (*Hutchinson.*) 3os. net.

Anyone spending almost a quarter of a century far from home amid people of a different mind and culture should be possessed of some intellectual curiosity. He must also find material, unfamiliar to most people, to keep him busy and interested in new surroundings—in short, he must find romance in his work. Romance is kept alive through hard work and detailed research. It is here that Dr. Hose proves to be indefatigable. He was not satisfied only with his official duties; he spent his spare time in research which gave him pleasure and brought to his country, and the world at large, great benefit through disclosing the result of his continuous study. This research work makes a true student kindly, and we find throughout these pages sign after sign of his sympathetic regard towards the native, after he had learned to understand his mind.

The author's own mind is mirrored in every page. His sense of duty and of justice while serving the people of Sarawak must have endeared him to them. He has learned, far from home, that man is man all the world over, that joy and pleasure fill the breast of all alike.

There are not many English books on Borneo and specially Sarawak. All the more must we congratulate ourselves for having obtained one which will be of lasting value. The author has inherited a love for natural history, and therefore the chapters on Fauna and Flora, as well as Geology, are particularly instructive and valuable, and the appendices afford testimony to Dr. Hose's wide reading and great learning. The Index is very complete and enables one to look up any special subject, which the list of contents may not disclose.

We cannot end this notice without drawing attention to the excellent illustrations throughout this attractive volume, including as the frontispiece the portrait of Mrs. Hose, which reveals a very kindly and sympathetic lady who has shared her husband's life and work.

THE CLOUD-MEN OF YAMATO, BEING AN OUTLINE OF MYSTICISM IN JAPANESE LITERATURE. By E. V. Gatenby. (*Murray.*) 3s. 6d. net.

The Wisdom of the East Series, to which the present volume belongs, was begun some twenty-five years ago. A great many volumes have been

issued since that time, and some of them have enjoyed a very great reputation. The purpose of the new volume is to inform the West of some of the things it has to learn from the East. It treats of the mystic approach to reality through nature. The author shows the Japanese mind in connection with pantheism, nature as understood by Buddhism, and enlightenment as revealed in their poetry. Mr. Gatenby is of opinion that the East has been long in advance of the West in responding to the influence of natural beauty.

THE LAND OF THE LAMA. A description of a country of contrasts and of its people, their religion, ways of living, trade and social life. By D. Macdonald. With illustrations and map. (*Seeley, Service.*) 218. net.

Mr. Macdonald has had excellent opportunities during his long residence in Tibet to study the people in their various occupations, as well as in their daily life. The twenty-four chapters comprised in the volume open to the reader the home and the temple, and give also an insight into their trade; in fact, the information regarding the country and its people is practically complete, and it may well be doubted whether in this generation another book on the same subject will be placed before the public. The author very properly introduces the book with an account of the natural products and geography of the country, and follows it up with a short history. Details are given of the religion, religious life and the priesthood, and perhaps for the first time a plan of the hall of worship in a temple is reproduced. The officials, architecture and housing are exhaustively dealt with. Great pleasure is afforded to those interested in the home and married life of the Tibetans, where magic and superstition reign supreme. Nor has Mr. Macdonald failed to give a bird's-eye view of the country's literature. His thorough knowledge of the country, the people, and the language has enabled him to write a really fascinating volume in which the importance of good illustrations have not been overlooked.

NEAR EAST

THE HOLY CITIES OF ARABIA. By Eldon Rutter. Two vols. (*G. F. Putnam's Sons, Ltd.*). £2 2s. net.

(*Reviewed by H. A. R. GIBB.*)

Mr. Rutter's book, considered first and foremost as a narrative of travel and a diary of life in Arabia, is excellent reading. He set out to make himself one of the company, to speak with their tongue, and see with their eyes, especially in matters of religion. His religious sincerity is one of the notable things in the book, but when it is remembered that most of his English predecessors have shown the same enthusiasm, one wonders whether the cause is to be found in the religious atmosphere of Mecca, or more probably in the fact that only those can successfully pass through the

ordeal who have already something of the Muslim intensity and simplicity of faith, schooled by the long and arduous preparation in Islamic theology which the enterprise entails. In politics also Mr. Rutter has generally let his Arab friends speak for themselves, with the result that the political comment is in general disappointingly jejune. He accepts their patronizing view of the "poor mad Wahhabis," and his admiration of Ibn Sa'ud appears to derive from his opinion that Ibn Sa'ud is an "ambitious statesman," who has found out how to make of the unruly Bedouin an instrument to further his private political ends.

But, of course, Mr. Rutter, not being an Arab, but a Westerner—that is to say, a man with a sense of proportion and method—could not help standing a little aside from the crowd and taking notice. When he reproduces, as he does in the most lifelike way, the animated chatter of the Arabs, it is the artistic selection and sly wit of the European that gives its peculiar brilliance to his descriptions. Many of his comments will be endorsed by all who know the Arabs, however slightly. "It takes Arabs a long time to see what is essential and what is not. They are a race of pursuers of the side issue. The irrelevant has only to enter their thoughts in order to become the theme." "'Listen, Hajj Ahmad!' said Abdurrahman, with his ever-ready urbanity and desire to impart information. 'The Arabs are always prepared to teach and instruct, however meagre their knowledge of the subject in hand may be. They are a race of born teachers.'" And there are several delicious passages where "Hajj Ahmad" with the straightest of faces heartily pulls the legs of that honourable male company, which never mentions members of the lower classes of creation, such as women, without adding "God honour you" in diffident apology.

Some of the minor characters stand out more distinctly than a number of the honourable male company. The Badawi camel-men, the Malay pilgrims, and other companions of his travels are excellently if lightly drawn. One of the best is the Egyptian Fatma, whose quavering emotional voice, "as substantial as her person," brought all the camel-men in a delighted muster alongside her camel. Whereupon, "becoming intoxicated with so much popularity, Fatma would sing a wanton flesh-potly ditty of Egypt."

In details the book shows obvious signs of hasty composition, and the proof-reading has been deplorable. At times the transition from one subject to another is so abrupt that anyone not familiar with the subject is liable to find himself in difficulties. These are minor blemishes, however, and what other criticisms may be brought are generally too technical to be of interest to the general reader. It should be said, however, that Mr. Rutter's judgments are decidedly against the Wahhabis. No doubt the Ikhwan are exceedingly uncomfortable neighbours, but it is a little difficult to understand why a European should feel so strongly about the destruction of local shrines and the prohibition of superstitious rites.

TAMERLANE, THE EARTH SHAKER. By Harold Lamb. Illustrated. (*Thornton Butterworth.*) 10s. 6d. net.

After writing his book on Jenghiz Khan, the author has now issued a very readable English account of the life of Tamerlane, or Timur. It is perhaps well that the first information regarding one of the world's great conquerors should be written in an easy and popular style, as the ordinary reader, unfamiliar with research, will at least obtain knowledge of the life and accomplishments of this wonderful man, and perhaps some will grow so enthusiastic that closer study will follow, for which Mr. Lamb has provided a very good bibliography.

The notes provided towards the end are excellent; they show that the author has really entered upon the subject with a full sense of his obligations towards the reader. A learned book is generally read by the few, but a book of this kind, particularly when the material used is taken from trustworthy historical sources, will undoubtedly reach a wide circle.

THE ARAB'S PLACE IN THE SUN. By Richard Coke. With map of illustration. (*Thornton Butterworth.*) 21s. net.

This book is not only for the scholar but also the wider circle of readers interested in the past and present of the Arabs. It is evenly divided into these two parts. In about ninety pages the author gives a brief sketch of their history in Spain and Northern Africa. Then follow their conquests in Egypt. In the second part we read of their connections with the British, the loss of Tunis and Algeria, and the rôle which the Arabs played in the Great War and after. The reader will gain a valuable insight into the present political position of the Arabs.

I'BN BATUTA: TRAVELS IN ASIA AND AFRICA, 1325-1354. Translated and selected by H. A. R. Gibb. With maps and illustrations (*Routledge.*) 15s. net.

This latest volume is perhaps the most fascinating one so far published in the Broadway Travellers Series. A new translation from the Arabic has been made by a very good Arabic scholar who has wisely used his judgment in selecting those passages which are of interest to the reader of today. The old, and perhaps rather dry, edition by S. Lee was issued exactly a hundred years ago. Born in Morocco, I'bn Batuta, in order to make the Hajj, and to pray at the tomb of the Prophet, made his way to Egypt, Syria, Arabia, thence to Persia and Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, India and China. His observations were keen and accurate, and he offers us a perfect inside knowledge of the condition of the peoples whom he visited. The Christians he considered as infidels, but on the whole is, as a Muslim, very just and lenient towards them. Mr. Gibb has prepared his book for the general reader, the style is entertaining, and he has further added the European names after the Arabic names of towns and countries. Numerous notes at the end of the volume elucidate all the difficulties, and show the translator's wide learning and knowledge of Arabic. We congratulate him on the production of this handsome volume.

A BAGHDAD CHRONICLE. By Reuben Levy. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 15s. net.

In the introductory pages Mr. Reuben Levy gives a kind of bird's-eye view of Baghdad, which he has had the good fortune to visit, and he proceeds to record very briefly the foundation of Baghdad, and to remind the reader that the name of the city was frequently confused with that of Babylon. After the chapter on the building and expansion of the city, he gives his own account of the social history of Baghdad under the Abbasid Caliphs down to their fall. Within these chapters is to be found a good deal of political history, and a picture of the daily life of the city and of its typical citizens with their accomplishments. On the whole we obtain a good inside view of the life of Baghdad at that period.

The author explains why he has put his notes at the end of the volume. Many readers, however, would prefer to see the notes on the page to which they belong.

FICTION.

SUGIRTHA. By J. Sinna Durai. (*Hulberts, Ltd.*) 2s. 6d. net.
(*Reviewed by J. CHARTRES MOLONY.*)

Mr. Sinna Durai's method of story-telling is simplicity itself. If an event will help the story along, that event happens. When Ramalinga Roddiar is in financial difficulties, he takes a ticket in a lottery, and next day finds himself a better man by three lakhs. Natesan and Sugirtha must be parted for a season; so the wicked Venkatesan writes pseudonymously to each that the other is dead. Neither dreams of verifying the doleful news; and the two are living side by side and unsuspecting in the little town of Ranipet, when Sugirtha identifies her long-lost lover by a tattoo mark on his wrist. So two loving hearts are reunited, and Venkatesan goes mad. For if virtue must be rewarded, obviously vice must be punished.

But if Mr. Sinna Durai writes with a child's simplicity, he also writes with a good deal of a child's vivid perception and simple truthfulness. His Indian scenes and characters are real. The marriage procession of the first chapter is capital fun, with the tiny bride and bridegroom half asleep and squabbling in their gorgeous coach, and all the colour, noise, movement of a Conjeevaram merry-making about them. The conversations, have the frankness, inconsequence, queer tactlessness of genuine South Indian speech. Venkanna Chetty does not beat about the bush for an explanation of a sleepless night—there were bugs in his bed. Natesan, declaring his love, advises Sugirtha to improve her English and to study cookery. And in all affection Natesan assures his loving grandmother that she has had enough of life's pleasures, and has now one foot in the grave. But what is the Tamil equivalent of the metaphor? For surely granny, as a Brahmin, would have been cremated, not buried. Natesan, arriving in England, notes that the English in their own country are much more affable to the Indian than they are in India, that English ladies at times

wear embarrassingly little clothing, that bullock carts are seldom seen in the streets of London, that London editors must be very rich inasmuch as the populace does nothing save buy evening papers. A mingling of shrewdness with artless realism makes the little book very entertaining reading.

The story is in some degree a protest against the tyranny of Indian custom, especially as custom affects women. But Mr. Sinna Durai does not force the note. Indians, he says in effect, are just as moral, kindly, civilized, as any other people. Indian men are not cruel to Indian women, and the Indian husband is more often humble and hen-pecked than lord and master in his own home. But Mrs. Grundy—Girundhi Ammal might be a Tamil rendering of her name—is still in India the power that she was in England fifty years ago. After all, the "customs" which made Sugirtha's young years of supposed widowhood miserable are not very different from the "proprieties" which weighed heavily on the middle-aged Victorian spinster.

MUSIC.

THE STORY OF INDIAN MUSIC AND ITS INSTRUMENTS. A Study of the Present and a Record of the Past. By Ethel Rosenthal. (*William Reeves.*) 7s. 6d. net.

There is no lack of books on Indian music, yet a work on popular lines and including the modern efforts to arrive at a wider appreciation should be welcome. The author begins with the origins of Indian music, and describes after a technical chapter the various instruments. A fair portion of the volume is devoted to the musician, Tyagaraja, who was born in Danjore towards the middle of the eighteenth century, and a few samples of his music are added. The book is undoubtedly written with a view to interest English readers in Indian music, and the fact that the music publisher William Reeves have undertaken this work should find some new friends for this side of Indian art. And when that has been accomplished Mrs. Rosenthal has rendered a great service to the cause of mutual understanding.

HISTORY OF ARABIAN MUSIC TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By H. G. Farmer. (*Luzac.*) 15s. net.

Although there exist Arabic books on Arabian music, and a very good German work on that subject issued in 1842, no English history had yet been published, and Mr. Farmer has presented the Orientalist as well as the musician with a comprehensive and accurate treatise. In order to accomplish this the author had to study Arabic thoroughly and Arabic music at the same time. Mr. Farmer must have read an enormous amount of Arabic literature in search of references to music: the sources are all quoted, a long bibliography has been appended, and the Arabic works bear in all cases the right diacritic marks. The book is divided into seven chapters, arranged in chronological order. Music was practised in pre-

Islamic days ; the famous Mu'allagat, or Seven Poems, were either recited or sung. The early disputes about the use of music are dealt with in detail. But it may suffice to note that Mr. Farmer has wellnigh cited all references where music is mentioned in Arabic literature, books, and manuscripts, including Hadith, and has named all musicians with their dates and short descriptions. The splendid index of names should be of the greatest service to anyone following Mr. Farmer's footsteps, and the subject and geographical index is in itself a great work of research. Indian and Chinese music have been studied for a number of years by the West, and we feel sure that the present book will arouse a similar interest.

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The views expressed in the pages of the ASIATIC REVIEW must be taken
as those of the individual contributors.

THE INDIAN INQUIRY

I

PROGRESS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERN- MENT IN INDIA

BY THE HON. SIR JOGENDRA SINGH
(Minister of Education, Panjab)

IN passing under the British Crown, India came under a constitutional Government and entered upon an inheritance which ceaseless endeavour and sacrifice of her people had secured for England. The wisdom that guided British statesmen in their Indian policy began with the system of dyarchy from the start; the superior control was exercised by British Parliament through British officials, but Indian officials actually carried on the administration not only in every department of civil administration, but Indian soldiers, under British guidance, defended their own country and went out to fight the battle of the Empire.

Looking back it will be found that at no stage can a static condition be recognized which could be approached as an ideal and permanently established. From the beginning, British administration has been in a state of evolution, seeking the co-operation of the governed, affording opportunities of discussion, and finally with the reform scheme seeking to establish a system of self-governing provinces on lines similar to those established in British Dominions.

With the growth of public opinion in India the British Parliament as a trustee recognized the need of establishing an Indian constitution and placing British India on the road to responsible Government as the goal of her united endeavour. Dyarchy in its present form implied the old firm taking an untrained partner and giving him the oppor-

tunities of training ; it meant devolution of power to young Provincial Parliaments and safeguarding their period of apprenticeship. Paper constitutions, however ideal in conception, must fail, unless there are men to work them, and men can grow into rulers only through experience in ruling. Dyarchy gave this opportunity. I firmly believe that it is in the continuity of British-Indian partnership that paths of progress can be fully secured.

The Simon Commission have had ample opportunities of studying and realizing the magnitude of the problem. The difficulties, dangers, and uncertainties which surround the future are apparent. That future depends on a diversity of governing factors, and parts the rising tide of opinion in favour of self-realization and self-government like sharp-pointed rocks, thus breaking the force of the demand. It may, however, be admitted that as wave upon wave of patriotism breaks on the dividing rocks, it may eventually submerge them and establish unity. The work before the Simon Commission, therefore, is to appraise the past and the present and to prepare for the future. It cannot outline a cast-iron constitution however ideal in conception ; it can only lay down the principles and conditions of future development and leave the Provinces to work gradually towards the final attainment of a constitution suited to their needs.

It must be recognized that the vast Indian continent is held together by the wisdom and power of British statesmen who have almost worked a miracle in uniting a continent.

The question arises, What potent forces are going to hold the Provinces together once they are set on the road to provincial autonomy? What agency is going to guide the Provinces to self-government, and secure their allegiance to the Central Government? There can be only one solution. A strong Central Government alone can save the country from disruption and guide the course of future constitutional development. It follows that in the Government of India British-Indian partnership should be crystallized, that while Provincial subjects should be transferred to Ministers responsible to the Legislature, the central subjects should be held in reserve till the Central Legislature becomes fully possessed of its high responsibilities. The electorate for the Central Legislature should require high property and educational qualifications, and not only Provinces but Indian States also might find adequate representation, so that all the wisdom, power and statesmanship which the country can produce may be

available, and insure the present paramount position of the Central Government in all matters vitally affecting the interests of India as a whole.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

Dyarchy has proved that under proper guidance Provinces are prepared to work Provincial autonomy—that is to say, by the supremacy of the elected representatives of the people exercising power in the Provincial domain, under the general supervision of the Government of India. The Provinces that have worked the reforms have gained greatly, and others, which in pursuit of an ideal constitution neglected this opportunity, have missed ten years of progress. The Provinces that have refused to work dyarchy, if they compare the development in nation-building departments in Provinces which have worked dyarchy with their own, will soon realize the results of their policy and the waste of valuable opportunities.

Dyarchy conferred on the Provinces a system of Cabinet Government, though for the short period of ten years the Cabinet was divided into two halves, the reserved and the transferred. In practice the two halves were discovered to be one; a clear-cut division between the two was found impossible to enforce, and the Provinces that united the two halves in practice achieved the best results. The Cabinet now should be united, and Cabinet system established in the true sense of the word. The Cabinet should provide room for the representatives of all important communities in every Province by statute; the salaries and leave rules for the Ministers should be fixed. It goes without saying that the European community, as important a community as any other in India, if not more important, should have its representative in the Cabinet; he can be official or non-official at the discretion of the Governor, who should have full power of appointment.

The question whether a Province should have a chief Minister should be left to the people themselves to decide by a two-thirds vote of the Council, but even without the chief Minister there should be joint responsibility of the Ministers. As long as parties are formed on communal lines, practical politics demand that adequate safeguards should be provided to prevent the enthroning of any one community in permanent power. The advent of the chief Minister must await the breaking up of communal parties, and in the Provinces where communal difficulties do not exist

the party system can be fully introduced. In case of a vote of no confidence in a Ministry, the Ministry as a whole should resign and have the option of dissolving the Council.

FRANCHISE

Representative Governments can succeed if they bring men of God-given power to the helm of the State. Franchise, therefore, plays a most important part in the making of a Council which exercises sovereign power. In the present state of India's development a high property or an educational qualification is absolutely essential. The Commission, therefore, should not lower the franchise, but leave it to the decision of Councils, under adequate safeguards, to revise it at the end of every ten years.

The principles for representation in the Councils should be laid down by the Commission, and should rest on the voting strength of the various communities, and increase or decrease with the increase or decrease in the voting strength of the various communities, fixing such weightage as is considered desirable to protect the interest of important minorities. By important communities I mean a community like the Sikhs in the Panjab, which under the natural interplay of forces is likely to take direct command of affairs, but under the Reform Scheme has been placed in a position of comparative subordination: weightage will have to be given to its representation to place it in a position of equality until representation by communities disappears and people have the option to elect those who can serve them best. The Sikh Minister has only a small following in the Council, but in a moment of national crisis, at his bidding thousands of men would rise to give their lives for a cause to keep the place and position of the community secure. How could such a community accept a position which is not in accord with its true position in the country?

I am opposed to adult franchise. I am not sure if the extension of franchise to the adult male and female population in England is likely to work ultimately for the good government of the country. It is difficult to realize the consequences of extension of franchise in our present state of transition. The most reasonable course seems to be to leave the franchise at its present level and invest the legislative bodies with the power of revising it, in the case of Provincial Councils, with the approval of the Government of India, and in the case of the Central Legislature with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council.

There is no demand from people for an extended franchise, and we must wait for the demand and leave the final decision to the representatives of the people themselves.

SEPARATE OR JOINT ELECTORATES

The communal question at the present moment is full of difficulties and dangers. The communities have failed to recognize that the State is a symbol of unity, and that the Sovereign must serve all without any distinction, in fact, that the services for which a State is responsible cannot be masqueraded to serve one community to the disadvantage of another. Separate electorates keep the communities separate, the slogan at the elections is communal, and intensifies differences. The communal feelings invade the minds of Ministers, they are now extending to the services, and once the British traditions of non-communal service are undermined, the administration may be ruined. To submit to communal ideals is to give way to disruptive forces which reduce this land and its man-power of great potentialities to a state of powerlessness. Therefore, if we wish honestly to accelerate progress, we must introduce common and joint electorates, so that men with ideals of unity may come to the helm of the State. The Commission can leave the present position untouched, but if it provides for any expansion of Provincial Council and Central Legislatures, all fresh representation should be from joint electorates, so that the two systems working side by side may prove their value, and permit the people to discard the one that is found unsound and disadvantageous in favour of the other.

In the meantime, it is desirable that representation should be so arranged that no community is in a position to dominate the other. I have mentioned before the need of British guidance, but it seems to me that it is in the fitness of things that British representation under Provincial and Central Councils should be fully provided.

In conclusion, in any scheme of constitutional reforms broad outlines should be clearly defined and the principle and conditions of progress clearly set forth, providing the framework on which the people can build according to their changing needs, translating principles into practice with growing national consciousness at definite periods and under the ultimate sanction of the British Parliament.

II.

SIND AND THE PANJAB

BY P. R. CADELL, C.S.I., C.I.E.

THE question of the future administration of the Province of Sind is one that excites considerable interest in India. It has unfortunately been made a pawn in the game of Indian politics: the Muhammadans anxious for the creation of an autonomous Sind as an addition to the small number of Provinces with a preponderance of their co-religionists; the Hindu leaders willing to agree to it in return for concessions elsewhere; and the local Hindus afraid of it because of their numerical inferiority. Yet the question of the separation of the Province from the Government of Bombay is much older than recent political developments and present communal disputes. In recent numbers of this REVIEW the question, at least so far as separation from Bombay and conjunction with the Panjab is concerned, has been briefly but ably discussed by an eminent former Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab and by a Bombay civilian long and intimately connected with the people and administration of Sind. Meanwhile the report of the Simon Commission with its special bearing on the Sind problem is anxiously awaited.

If we first consider, with necessary brevity, the existing connection with Bombay, it must be agreed that it was chiefly due to causes that no longer exist. At the time of the conquest of Sind by Sir Charles Napier, the Panjab had not been incorporated in the British Empire, nor had that Province been fully settled when the military dictatorship of the conqueror had to yield to a more regular civil administration. The Province was cut off from the rest of India by roadless deserts, not then and still only partially traversed by the railway. It was inevitable, therefore, that Sind should be held by Bombay troops, and administered by Bombay civilians. It must not, however, be thought that the connection with Bombay was wholly due to temporary or fortuitous causes. So far back as 1820, when Sir Thomas Munro was protesting against the cession of Dharwar and Belgaum, occupied by Madras troops, and administered by Madras civilians, to Bombay, he observed that the natural expansion of Bombay was towards Sind. Moreover, the European mercantile houses

of Bombay, and the Indian commercial classes of Guzerat, Kathiawar, and Cutch gave a start and an impetus to the trade of Karachi which could not have been supplied from any other source. Yet the contrasts with Bombay and the Bombay system were great and permanent. Put very briefly, the differences were a Zamindári system in Sind as compared with a Rayatwári; a river-fed system of cultivation as against a rain-fed one; and a culture long connected with countries, chiefly Muhammadan, across the Indian border as opposed to one almost purely Hindu, and largely Dravidian in its origin. Yet by general consent the union worked well for many years. The Bombay revenue system, totally unsuitable as it appeared to Sind, was adapted with freedom and elasticity to the needs of the Province by the practically unfettered legislative power of the Commissioner in Sind, while the administration was in the hands of officers who served their whole time in Sind, or, if brought from Bombay, became notoriously devoted to the Province. While, moreover, the revenue system was more elastic than that of Bombay, the general administration was lighter handed, perhaps it might be said more lax, than that believed, at least in Sind, to be enforced in the Panjab. With the process of years, however, the drawbacks, in any case inevitable on considerations of time and distance, became more marked. To some extent this may be ascribed to the development of the Legislative Councils. The customs of Sind appeared strange to the councillors, mainly Hindu, elected from the southern portions of the Presidency. The resentment in Sind at the interference of the Council would doubtless have been greater but for the fact that the solid Muhammadan block of representatives from Sind has practically held the balance for the last few years in the Bombay Council. At the same time, the extension of the Council's authority, and to an even greater extent the increased centralization and enhanced power of the secretariat, a phenomenon not confined to Bombay alone, had the particular effect of reducing the authority of the Commissioner in Sind. The result was increasing delay in administration, which was not fully counterbalanced by the personal interest of the Governors of Bombay in the Province. At the same time, the commercial interests in Karachi were not satisfied with the Government of Bombay. It may be admitted that these interests were sometimes handicapped by the fact that the head offices of many of the firms were situated in Bombay. It may also be agreed that the admirers of the great port of Karachi have always been

inclined to be over-sanguine about its rate of development. The commercial community of Karachi was, however, inclined to believe that the Government of Bombay was not unduly energetic in pressing for improved railway communications between Karachi and the north of India, where such communications would tap areas served by the port of Bombay. Finally, the development of Karachi as the air-port of India has greatly increased the importance of the city. When all is said, however, there can be little doubt that the chief impetus for the forces demanding separation from Bombay has come from an increased feeling of self-consciousness, and a desire for self-expression, within the Province itself. Put at its lowest, this feeling owes perhaps something to a desire for the loaves and fishes of administration; but it is deeper-rooted than that. It must be remembered that both the traditions and the culture of Sind are entirely different from those of Bombay. Not only the Muhammadans, but many of the leading Hindus, at least before the recent exacerbation of communal feeling, and the independent and intelligent Parsi community of Karachi, have been in favour of separation from Bombay.

It may next be considered whether union with the Panjab would be preferable from the Sindhi point of view to union with Bombay, or to a local administration. The arguments in favour of such a union are almost entirely geographical. The historical connection is extraordinarily slight. Even if we discard the somewhat mythical rule over the Panjab of a king who had his capital in Upper Sind, it cannot be disputed that, while Sindhi rulers have, at various periods, held the Southern Panjab as far as Multan, the Panjab has never ruled over Sind. The ethnical and linguistic connection, with the exception of the Southern Panjab districts, is not much stronger. The Panjab has received and absorbed various northern invaders, only the fringe of whom reached Sind. The great and still continuing Baluch immigration into Sind has not affected the Panjab, again with the exception of the southern districts. Sind also has had a connection with oversea countries, possibly dating from intercourse between the Mohan-jodaro culture and Babylonia, and certainly from the Arab conquest of Sind, which has hardly affected the Panjab. But the greatest bar between the two provinces is one of dread and dislike on the part of the Sindhi. "Let the snake pass, but kill the Panjābi" was a common proverb in Sind, and it may be doubted whether it has lost its

popularity. The dislike is common to all communities. The Muhammadans dread the greater reputed energy of the Panjabi; the Hindus fear what they believe to be a harsher administration, and an assured Muhammadan majority. Both alike are afraid of a higher rate of land and water assessment, and perhaps fail to recognize that this is in any case inevitable. The merchants fear that they would be little better off, unless the Panjab Government were to give up its hill residence and confine itself to two seats of government, Lahore and Karachi. Moreover, the latter city already has the Panjab trade, and must continue to have it. Its grievance is that it has been denied direct communication with the United Provinces, and the merchants are not convinced that the Panjab Government would assist them in obtaining this. Finally the commercial, and of course the legal, classes in Karachi are apprehensive that their still recent Chief Court will be taken from them.

The apparent lack of inclination on the part of the Panjab Government for the absorption of Sind is some obstacle to that union taking place. At first sight, expansion to the sea and control of the chief port would seem a natural rounding off of the Panjab, and one likely to be eagerly desired by its administrators. It is, however, believed that neither in the seventies of last century, nor in the first decade of this century, when the union of Sind and the Panjab was so seriously discussed, did the Panjab authorities display any overpowering desire for the change. Even at the present day the Panjab Government is credited with anxiety lest the addition of Sind, with its preponderant Muhammadan majority, should upset the nicely balanced equilibrium of its present parties.

The chief argument for union between Sind and the Panjab remains—namely, the undivided control of the Indus. Sind has complained in the past that the well-meant efforts of the Government of Bombay have not always been able to counteract the greater local influence of the Panjab with the Government of India. But would Sind be any safer as a portion of the Panjab?

There is no wish to doubt the absolute good faith of the Panjab Government, and the supreme skill of its Irrigation Officers. But the people of Sind cannot fail to be aware of the great political pressure brought to bear in support of further irrigation projects within the limits of the Punjab. Such schemes would doubtless be highly profitable, but they would water lands not hitherto reached by the river, while nearly the whole of Sind has at one time or another been

inundated, more or less regularly, by the river floods, and the Sindhis, possibly selfishly but with some excuse, think that they have the first claim.

The question then remains, can Sind stand alone? This would undoubtedly be far the most popular decision with the vast majority of its people. It is hardly possible for the Province itself to expand geographically. Union with Baluchistan, the population of which readily assimilates with Sindhi conditions, is scarcely practicable on account of political considerations. The addition of some of the Southern Panjab districts, with a like population and climate, would merely restore an old ethnic and historical connection, but would hardly be accepted by the Panjab. Some years ago the secretariat in Bombay produced a statement showing that Sind could not stand financially alone, and indeed received more from Bombay than it gave to her. That statement was regarded with much, possibly ill-founded, distrust in Sind. There ought, however, to be little doubt that Sind should be as well able as Assam to pay for a modest system of administration. The rates of land and water assessment must be raised, but that would in any case be inevitable if the Sukkur Barrage Scheme is to be solvent, and would, moreover, be fully justified by the more secure water-supply provided by that scheme. As regards local ability, there need be no apprehension. The Hindus of Sind, if comparatively few in number, possess a high degree of intelligence sufficient in any circumstances to safeguard their position; nor are the Sindhi Muhammadans, or the Baluch immigrants, in any way lacking in brain power or administrative capacity. A Chief Commissioner with a local Council, and two Sindhi Ministers, would suffice for the superior administration. The difficulties inherent in a small cadre of officers could be overcome by borrowings from Bombay or the Panjab. As regards questions of central administration the people of Sind believe that they would have more weight if they constituted a separate unit than they can exercise as a minor part of a much larger Government. Rightly or wrongly, they consider the present arrangements as unsatisfactory. If the Simon Commission recommends that the desire of smaller units of administration for self-expression and local administration should be favourably considered, the majority in Sind would undoubtedly ask for a unitary existence, even if it be admitted that many of them would not know the full consequences of their request, and that the early years of the new administration would be full of difficulty.

III

THE SOCIAL EMANCIPATION OF INDIA

BY THE HON. SIR PHIROZE SETHNA, KT., O.B.E.

(Member Council of State)

It is important to know the real nature of the national movement in India. The world knows something of the political movement that has been going on there for the last forty-five years, but I am afraid the world knows little of that other vital movement—the movement for the social emancipation of India—that is, in fact, older than the political movement, and in a sense is more fundamental, and goes deeper into the roots of Indian thought and life. Both are two different aspects of one and the same national movement: they are mutually complementary, and their ultimate objective is the same, viz. to further the fullest self-realization of the Indian people, to remove all barriers that fetter their development, and to secure those opportunities which will make their life—personal and national—richer, fuller, and more in harmony with enlightened reason and the highest ends of humanity.

I have stated that the movement for the social emancipation of India is much older than the political movement that figures with such natural prominence on the canvas of the world's attention. The first effect of British rule and Western education was to give the greatest shock to the consciousness of India, such as she had never experienced before. To the educated and thinking mind, British rule with all that came in its train, including, in particular, Western education, was a challenge to her ancient civilization, her social and religious structure, her thought, her institutions, her ideals. Muslim rule was a mere material conquest, it gave no such challenge, and the Hindu mind felt no doubt whatever about the superiority of the ancient Hindu culture and civilization over the Islamic culture and civilization. But British rule and Western education constituted forces which gave the intelligentsia of India furiously to think. British rule and the system of administration which was gradually established, and its control by a body called Parliament, challenged age-long political notions; Western thought and literature seemed to undermine the very foundations upon which Hindu thought and

life rested. The Romans conquered the Greeks, but it was a purely political conquest; the Romans were themselves in course of time Hellenized, and the Greeks, though a subject race, won an intellectual and spiritual victory over their own conquerors. The British conquest of India looked as though it was not only a political conquest, but an intellectual and spiritual conquest as well. The first effect upon the Hindu mind was to evoke the spirit of self-introspection. The higher educated classes of India came to the conclusion that India's regeneration was impossible without a critical examination of her whole social and religious thought and life, and without building them up anew in the light of the lessons which a calm reflection upon her fall revealed. This was especially the effect upon the Hindu mind; the Muslims, unfortunately, skulked in their tents.

The movement for the social emancipation of India is the direct and immediate effect of this self-introspection and inner awakening. The evils which were eating into the vitals of the Hindu society were (1) caste; (2) low status of woman; (3) early marriage; (4) the very inferior condition of the masses, in particular of the depressed classes. And the great aim of the movement was, and is, to eradicate these evils completely, so that India, purified, renovated, and strengthened, may be able to bear her burden in the stress of the modern world, and regain her proper place in the great family of nations.

I shall now consider how the movement stands at present with regard to each of these matters.

First comes the most important question of caste. There is a general recognition that caste is an evil, that it has done, and is doing, the greatest harm to the country and its progress, and that the true unity and solidarity of the Hindu society cannot be realized so long as it is divided and subdivided into castes and subcastes. Before the advent of the British, people believed in the institution of caste, they had faith in it; it was regarded as possessing some good and some potency which ensured the stability of society, and made somehow for its well-being and happiness. This faith was shared in by all castes and subcastes, so that there was no revolt, so to speak, of the lower castes against the higher, as there is at present. The social order, hoary with antiquity and consecrated by unbroken tradition, was not questioned; it was regarded as a part of the Divine order, and everyone submitted to it, not as a necessary evil, but as the instrument of Divine Providence

for promoting human evolution. This intellectual faith in caste no longer exists : it is no longer accepted, submitted to, or acquiesced in, as a Divine institution or as something inevitable. "Caste has done us great harm," is a remark which we often hear made by men and women in Hindu society.

One of the great objects of the Hindu Social Reform Movement was, and is, to abolish caste. The abolition of caste has been urged on two grounds—viz., first, that it is an evil institution that fetters the growth of individuality and retards progress ; and secondly, that it is utterly inconsistent with nationalism and the urge for democratic self-government. The rigidity of caste has been greatly weakened. Inter-dining is now fairly frequent, and inter-caste dinners are specially arranged, in which members of all castes take part on a footing of perfect social equality without distinctions of caste, and to which even members of the depressed castes are admitted. The educated classes dine freely, not only without regard to caste, but also with Muslims, Europeans, and other non-Hindu communities in general. The many popular assemblages, such as the National Congress, the Liberal Federation, the Provincial Conferences, the Labour Conferences, and the Legislatures play an important part in promoting inter-dining and relaxing the bonds of caste. The members of Legislatures for the most part dine freely without the least consideration of caste, and such has been the advance of public opinion in the matter that such inter-dining arouses little or no opposition even among orthodox circles. Some provinces, such as Bombay and the Punjab, are more advanced in this respect than others.

It may be stated in general terms that on the whole caste is no longer a living institution so far as inter-dining is concerned. In this respect, caste is more followed in the breach than in the observance.

But, of course, the fact remains that it is a living operative institution as regards marriage. Intercaste marriages are yet far from common. One reason for their rare occurrence must, however, be mentioned. Just as in countries where there is no caste, and where marriages of choice take place, young men and women choose their partners in life from among the same or similar classes or ranks, so also even those in Hindu society who have lost all faith in caste naturally think that marriages are more likely to be happy if the parties belong to the same caste and consequently share the same habits and traditions.

Caste has engendered differences in habits, in modes of family life between members of different castes, and these differences give rise to a fear that intercaste marriages may not prove as happy as marriages within the same caste. The matter is further complicated by the fact that Brahmins do not eat meat, whereas non-Brahmins do. This difference in the diet of the Brahmins and non-Brahmins is a great difficulty in the way of an intercaste marriage between a Brahmin and a non-Brahmin, not that such intercaste marriages have not taken place, but there can be no doubt that it constitutes a serious obstacle. Brahmins are, however, overcoming their prejudice against meat-eating, and a prominent member of the Brahmin caste, who is a member of the Legislative Assembly, openly declared his view that Brahmins should take to meat-eating.

The situation as regards caste reveals a curious feature at the present moment. There is no doubt that there is a general realization of the evils of caste, but there is also a feeling that its complete abolition is very difficult, if not impossible. And therefore every caste is trying to assert itself and seeking equality of opportunities. There is a revolt against the supremacy of the higher castes. The backward non-Brahmin castes are receiving modern education, and desire that they should have a due share in Government service and in representation on the local bodies and the Legislatures. This process of levelling-up is going on, but of course it is bound to be slow and difficult. Many castes have formed associations with the object of promoting education among themselves and removing social evils. This awakening is a happy sign, and with the growth of education, the process of levelling-up cannot fail to be accelerated.

To sum up, the position with regard to caste is as follows : (1) Faith in it as a wholesome institution has disappeared ; (2) caste distinctions and restrictions are not rigidly observed as before ; (3) inter-dining is frequent, is freely tolerated, and is deliberately encouraged in some cases ; (4) intercaste marriages do take place, and are no longer condemned as serious violations of caste rules, they are approved and welcomed, but they are not so frequent as to bring about fusion of caste ; (5) there is greater spirit of caste assertion, but the underlying motive is not faith in caste, but a desire to win equality, and to come up to the level of higher castes in public administration and institutions and in national life. But (6) in spite of all this caste has not yet been abolished, and many take the pessimistic

view that it will never be abolished, even though some of its restrictions may disappear, others may be weakened, and its general hold and influence upon society may not be so strong as before in the modern conditions of world life.

The greatest social problem that India has to face is caste. Will Hinduism be able to solve it? Hitherto it has not been able to do so. Both Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj have discarded caste, but they are protestant movements with a small following; and though the former is a strong force in the Punjab and the latter in Bengal, they have not yet become so powerful even in those provinces as to purge Hinduism and Hindu society of the evil of caste. But Hinduism is an elastic religion with a metaphysical foundation; it is also a social system, of which, it may be argued, caste is not an essential element. It is possible that, with the unprecedented conditions of modern world life and the much stronger urge for the abolition of caste, it may be able to achieve what it has failed to do in the past. The first important step that will have to be taken is to summon a convention representative of all castes, and to declare in that convention that caste is abolished. Something of this kind has recently happened. At a conference a resolution was passed declaring that all Hindus were Brahmins, and there were no longer any caste distinctions. Unless Hinduism succeeds in abolishing caste there is the danger of reactionary forces seeking to reassert themselves in the political and national life of India. And here comes the moral justification for the continuance of the British connection and the continued operation of Western influences. The British connection must be maintained and Western influences must continue to operate, because it is absolutely essential that reactionary forces should not again raise their head. And here also comes the necessity of making substantial constitutional advance, for otherwise such hostility may be created against the British connection as to imperil its continued existence, and, moreover, that hostility may create a mentality unfavourable to the assimilation of all that is good in Western civilization. The continuance of the British connection on the basis of willing acceptance, the destruction of reactionary forces in India so completely that they will not be able to assert themselves again, and a just influence of Western civilization upon the future development of India—all this is bound up with the governmental machinery being reformed and readjusted so as to win for the British connection the willing support of the Indian people. This

may sound like a digression, but it shows the mutual interdependence of social and political problems in India.

I now come to the question of the status of woman. There has been a distinct elevation of the status of woman during the last twenty-five years. The principle of the equality of the sexes is becoming recognized, and woman is considered as being entitled to take part in and promote the varied activities of a full, healthy national life. Woman's education is making progress, and the universities are turning out women graduates in increasing numbers every year. There are now many women doctors, and some are also practising the legal profession. A Brahmin lady, a relative of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, is practising in Poona, one of the strongholds of Hindu orthodoxy. Women are also taking an increasing part in political movements. The name of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is well known; a few years ago she was elected to preside over the Indian National Congress, and she has just concluded a tour to America, where she had been deputed by that body to enlighten the American people on the subject of India. In certain areas in India women enjoy the same political status as men. The Deputy President of the Madras Legislative Council is a woman, whereas a Brahmin lady is a member (nominated) of the Central Provinces Legislative Council. Political meetings are freely attended by women; and it may be mentioned that some women took a prominent part in the Satyagraha movement at Bardoli. There are also women journalists, women novelists, and women dramatists. Indian women possess remarkable natural qualities: their intelligence is of a high order, and in hard work, firmness of purpose, and spirit of self-sacrifice they stand unrivalled. Lady Simon, on the eve of her departure from India, remarked quite truly that the future of India would be quite assured if Indian women awoke and filled their proper place in the national life of the country. This awakening has already begun, and there can be no doubt that women will exercise an increasing influence on the future destiny of India.

In connection with the question of the status of woman, it must be pointed out that the evil custom of early marriage is beginning to die out among the other higher castes, among which it prevailed some twenty years ago. At that time the idea that girls must be married before puberty had such a strong hold upon those castes that marriage of a girl after puberty was rare. In addition to the custom of early marriage, widow remarriage was also

prohibited among the higher castes. The result was that (1) girls were married at an early age; (2) their education before the primary stage was utterly neglected; and (3) the Hindu society contained a considerable number of young widows who could not remarry. All these evils are tending to disappear. The age of marriage in the case of girls has been raised, and measures for raising it still further are under consideration; the secondary and higher education of girls has been making progress; no new young widows are coming into existence; and the ban on widow re-marriage is in the process of being removed.

The question of elevating the status of the so-called depressed or untouchable classes has received the greatest attention during the last ten years. The removal of their untouchability is an important plank in the programme of the National Congress and of every social reform association. Mahatma Gandhi has been the greatest champion of the cause of the untouchables, and he has often declared that Swaraj is impossible without the removal of untouchability. There can be no doubt that considerable progress has been made in the matter of removing untouchability and improving in general their status. The problem is acute in Southern India; but there, too, progress is perceptible. The most hopeful sign is that the depressed classes themselves have awakened, and are doing their best to promote their self-improvement. In enforcing their social rights, such as taking water from a common village well or tank, they have sometimes not hesitated to apply the doctrine of Satyagraha, which Mahatma Gandhi has so often insisted upon in the political sphere. Satyagraha literally means insistence on the truth, and is a Sanskrit term denoting passive resistance or civil disobedience.

Representatives of the depressed classes now serve on school committees, municipalities, and local boards. They are also nominated as members of the Legislatures. One of them, a member of the Legislative Assembly, is a member of the Indian Central Committee that is working with the Simon Commission. The Bombay Legislative Council contains a representative of these classes, who is a very highly distinguished member. He has received education at the Columbia and the London Universities, is a barrister practising at the Bombay High Court, and author of two excellent books on finance, written in English and published in London.* He is leading the movement in the Bombay Presidency for elevating the status of the depressed

* Messrs. P. S. King and Sons, Ltd.

classes. He is a member of the Committee of the Bombay Legislative Council, elected to co-operate with the Simon Commission. It may be mentioned in passing that his political views are advanced enough, and he has urged that there should be full provincial responsible government in the Bombay Presidency in his minute of dissent to the report of the Bombay Legislative Council Committee.

The educated classes fully support the movement for the removal of untouchability and for raising the status of the depressed classes. In urban areas, particularly in the more advanced provinces, such as Bombay, the lot of the depressed classes has undergone considerable improvement; but in the rural areas the old prejudices are dying hard, and the movement for the removal of untouchability is still meeting with a good deal of opposition from the uneducated conservative agricultural classes.

I have now sketched the chief elements in the movement for the social emancipation of the Hindu society. It is a vast problem, and the conditions are not the same in every province. In the Bombay Presidency, to which I belong, the people are more advanced in this as in other respects. The city of Bombay, the city of Poona, and the city of Ahmedabad are the three centres from which all progressive thought emanates. In all these centres and elsewhere there are associations for promoting social reform, removing the evils that have crept into the Hindu society, and making it more efficient to play a worthy part in national and international life. It is truly an emancipatory movement designed to liberate the forces of the spirit from the dead weight of unreason, superstition, evil customs, meaningless ritualism, irrational and harmful practices and institutions. It seeks to do away with all that impedes the free and progressive life of India.

The Hindus form nearly 70 per cent. of the population of British India, and their uplift on the lines indicated above would transform the general life of that country. The leaven of the emancipatory movement is also working in the Muslim community. Fortunately, that community is free from the evil of caste; that in itself makes it a strong, united force. But the community is comparatively backward in education, and in consequence is still to a great extent under the influence of unenlightened and narrow religious ideas. The custom of *pardah* which prevails among them is also doing a lot of harm. The status of woman stands in need of great elevation. But the forms of liberalism and progress have begun to work in the

Muhammadian community no less than in the Hindu community, and their natural consequences are slowly manifesting themselves. What the community needs is a rapid spread of Western education.

The exact stage of development through which India is passing at the present moment calls for very sympathetic and delicate handling. The world will be much the poorer if she does not become a great modern, enlightened, progressive nation. If she becomes such, the forces that make for the peace and happiness of the world will be strengthened. On the other hand, if she does not become such, the position of the world will be in a state of instability. The future of India is thus a matter of world-wide importance. A wrong step or policy may result in disaster. The forces of social and religious reaction must be scotched for ever; modern, liberal influences must continue to work until they have gained complete ascendancy over such forces. India must, of course, become the architect of her own fortune; her social progress is almost entirely in her own hands. But the British Government and people can do much to help and strengthen these forces by wise timely action, both in the particular sphere of social reform and also in the political sphere, in accordance with enlightened, progressive Indian public opinion. A genuine spirit of co-operation between Great Britain and India is essential if India is to develop on sound modern lines, the British connection continue to be maintained, and a better mutual understanding between the East and the West to become a permanent feature of international life and the international situation.

THE INDIAN STATES AND THE BUTLER COMMITTEE'S REPORT

BY A. H. E. MOLSON

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IT would be necessary to go back a century and more to find the first causes of disagreement between the British Power and the Indian States as to their respective rights; and it is a fact worth remembering by British administrators that one of the contributory causes of the Mutiny was the policy of Dalhousie in annexing Indian States on the failure of natural heirs. Anything in the way of common action, however, on the part of the Princes to defend and assert their rights was almost impossible so long as the Government of India kept them isolated from one another. The main proposal that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report made in regard to them resulted in the creation of the Chamber of Princes, thus ending the policy of isolation. The administrative developments of British India have given the Princes that inducement to co-operation for which the Chamber of Princes affords the machinery. Resolutions have led to action, and the appointment and report of the Indian States Committee marked a new epoch in the constitutional history of India.

It is typical of British thought and methods that it should only be in the year 1927 that the first detailed enquiry was made into the constitutional position of the Indian States. Just as the common law was administered for centuries before its principles gradually became crystallized, so decisions had been taken and orders passed in connection with the Indian States for upwards of a century before the relationship between them and the paramount Power was authoritatively investigated by a public body. The Princes, having obtained the appointment of the Committee, retained Sir Leslie Scott and other eminent Counsel to investigate the whole position and to present their case.

There are, it is true, the works of Lee Warner and Tupper, now a generation old, and learned discussions in the back numbers of the *Law Quarterly Review** between

* Cf. vols. xxvi., xxvii.

eminent jurists as to how the Indian States should be classified by international lawyers; but the discussion was academic, and Secretaries of State and Viceroys do not necessarily read such disquisitions. There was, at the other end of the scale, a vast volume of "case law" in the files of the political department of the Government of India. This "case law" is still confidential, and it is curiously reminiscent of Roman law prior to the publication of the *Decem Tabulæ* in 450 B.C. that the law which is today applied to the Indian States is not disclosed to those who are expected to comply with it.

The result of the investigations of five learned Counsel came perhaps to many who read it as a surprise, and probably put the Princes' rights higher than they themselves had anticipated. Counsel are of opinion that the relationship is one which exists between the Princes as heads of their States and the British Crown; and they argue that the responsibility of carrying out the obligations of this relationship cannot be delegated to any government of British India which may at some future time be responsible to a British Indian popular assembly. This is a mere application of the well-known maxim *delegatus delegare non potest*. They further find that the relationship is wholly a contractual one, and that each of the major Indian Princes is a sovereign except in so far as he has explicitly or implicitly alienated that sovereignty to the British Crown. Every right, therefore, that the British Crown, acting through the agency of the Government of India, claims to have over any individual Indian State must, it is argued, be justified by showing affirmatively that that particular State has agreed to grant that particular right to the British Crown. Paramountcy consists in the one feature common to the relations subsisting with all the States: the surrender of all foreign relations to the Crown in consideration of an undertaking to protect them from aggression at home and abroad. It is manifest that an undertaking of this kind necessarily implies the right to take such measures as may be, in the opinion of the paramount Power, necessary for such protection, and in particular to intervene to prevent serious misrule. It is clear that the British Crown never contracted to keep a Nero safe upon his throne, and a right to insist upon a certain minimum of good government must be implied in the treaties.

From this contractual relationship certain further conclusions follow. There is no right of general supervision and control enjoyed by the British Crown in virtue of any

suzerainty not derived from agreement, nor can the Crown through the mouth of the Viceroy or Secretary of State augment its rights or diminish those of the States without their assent. Orders of the Secretary of State, therefore, or decisions of the Government of India which go beyond the treaties or agreements with the States, may have been effective in fact as exercises of *force majeure*, but they in no way affect the rights of the States. Similarly, "usage" is not effective to confer or withdraw rights except in so far as it may be evidence of an agreement on the part of the State to confer further powers on the British Crown.

This opinion of Counsel in effect denied the validity of the practice of the Political Department for half a century ; it said that much of the action taken by the Government of India, however innocently and benevolently intended, was an unwarranted breach of our treaty obligations. It was therefore obvious that the Butler Committee before whom this opinion was laid would examine this view very critically before accepting it, and many who were themselves unable to detect any fallacies in its reasoning hoped that the Committee would succeed in showing it to be legally and logically unsound.

The Committee printed Counsel's opinion as an Appendix. They agree that the treaties of the States are with the Crown and that their fulfilment cannot be delegated to any responsible Indian Government, but they do not accept the view that the rights of the paramount Power are exclusively derived from agreement. The unfortunate thing is that the Report does not appear to answer the reasoning of the opinion, and if that be granted, does not justify its own conclusions which, indeed, are incompatible with one another. It is impossible to reconcile the opinion of the Committee that the "treaties are of continuing and binding force as between the States which made them and the Crown" with their subsequent opinion that the orders of the Secretary of State can diminish the rights of the States under the treaties. If the treaties are binding, and the Crown has on frequent occasions specifically acknowledged their sanctity, it is surely erroneous to attribute to one signatory the right arbitrarily to vary their terms.

The Indian States Committee's Report was hampered by the terms of reference. It was never clear whether the Committee was intended to be a judicial tribunal or not ; some of the points referred to them were questions of rights suitable for determination by a judicial tribunal, while others were political and only capable of settlement by adminis-

trators. Moreover, an unwillingness on the part of the Committee to arrive at findings which might result in a deadlock between the States and British India can be well understood.

We may as well recognize frankly that for many reasons it would be impracticable—and certainly disastrous—to go back to conditions of a century ago. Practical convenience and the general economic unity and well-being of the sub-continent as a whole are vital considerations. It is the case of the States, however, that neither convenience nor good intentions justify what they consider to be the overriding of rights. They recognize that a pedantic insistence on the letter of their bond would be helpful neither to themselves nor to British India, and they know that if they were foolish enough to engage in obstruction, British India could retaliate with greater effect. What the Indian Princes feel is that these problems can only be settled after the two parties know what their rights are. They recognize that an obstinate insistence on the letter of those rights would be likely to lead to a situation advantageous to neither party, and they would be more than willing to arrive at a reasonable settlement by negotiation; but negotiation they feel can only be fruitful when they know what are their rights and what they are conceding.

Having dealt with the theoretical claims of the Princes, it may be desirable to enquire what are the concrete cases in which the States feel that they have a grievance. No one will make serious trouble over abstract doctrines such as that of "sovereignty" unless it is likely materially to affect him. The grievances of the Princes are of two kinds which can be fairly clearly distinguished, political and economic.

There have been numerous cases where the paramount Power has intervened in the internal affairs of States, unwarrantably in the Princes' view. Perhaps the most remarkable case was when the Government of India in 1921 wrote to the Maharana of Udaipur after a rebellion in his State which he had himself suppressed, demanding his abdication on the ostensible ground that the ruler had become too old and that, as the whole administration was concentrated in his own hands, it had degenerated. Now Clause 9 of the Treaty concluded in 1818 between the Honourable East India Company and the Maharana of Udaipur provides that the ruler "shall always be absolute ruler in his own country." That the Government of India did not press their demand for the ruler's abdication gave little comfort to the Princes, who were disquieted that the

paramount Power should, obviously in good faith, claim any such right in the face of the treaty, even if it did not insist upon it.

There is a similar dissatisfaction with the claims of the paramount Power as to its rights during a minority. It is not questioned that where there is a disputed succession it is the privilege and the duty of the paramount Power to give a decision, but the apparently unlimited—certainly undefined—right of the British Government to establish regencies and minority administrations is freely questioned. Lord Curzon, speaking at the installation of the Maharajah of Alwar, seemed to imply that the British Government would be entitled to make suitable education of the Prince a condition of his succession. Such a claim the Princes would never admit : they consider themselves princes by hereditary right.

It will probably be fairest in this connection to state the case as it was put to representatives of the Princes at a conference held on September 22, 1919, by the then officiating Political Secretary to the Government of India. The constitutional doctrine that gave to the paramount Power extra-territorial jurisdiction, the right of railway and telegraph construction, the administration of cantonments, etc., had been superimposed, he said, upon the original relations of many States with the Crown. The rulers' consent to such new doctrines had not always been sought in the past, and it was admitted that, benevolent as it was in intention, this body of usage had affected the treaty relationship and was to some extent arbitrary.

There is no need to go beyond that statement to establish the Princes' case. They willingly admit that the motives which have actuated the Government of India in encroaching upon their rights have usually been to benefit the Indian sub-continent, and if in some cases it has been British India which has chiefly benefited, it is natural and not ignoble that the Government of India should tend to look at things from that standpoint. This tendency is indeed becoming more marked, but chiefly because more and more matters have to be left to experts who are British Indian officials and do not always appreciate the peculiar position of the States. On the other hand, it may be pointed out that a Prince is clearly entitled to stand upon his rights. It is fairly evident that the whole of India benefited by the abolition of separate currencies in Bikanir and Alwar, but that did not justify the paramount Power in doing so during minority administrations. So it was to the advantage of the

whole of India that railways should be built and the Indian States through which they passed benefited particularly, but that did not justify the acquisition of land without direct compensation (as occurred in some cases) any more than the probable benefit to an estate of a road would justify the British Crown in taking over an English landlord's property on like terms.

Turning to economic problems, there is one which eclipses in importance all others—that of customs. Few of the Indian States have a seaboard, and still fewer have anything in the way of harbours for ocean-going vessels. It follows that most of the States receive all their imports through British Indian ports, and have to pay the customs tariff of British India. They therefore feel that they are being indirectly taxed by the British Indian Legislature and Government for the benefit of British India. This was not a matter of any great significance so long as British India was virtually a free-trade country, but in 1921-22 a policy of discriminating protection was started, and the revenue from maritime customs has risen from about five crores to nearly fifty crores of rupees. It is indeed a grievance with some provinces of British India, especially of Burma, that the cost of steel should be artificially raised for the benefit of steelworks in Bihar and Orissa. The Indian States have the same case, but immensely fortified by the fact that they have no voice in deciding the tariff, and in no way receive back any of the proceeds.

The Butler Committee denies that the Princes have any legal ground for complaint, but it agrees that the States have a claim in equity to some relief. How this should be done is a problem which it recommends should be referred to another committee. It must be frankly recognized that this recommendation will be embarrassing to the Government of India, for it is no easy matter at present to find the requisite money to carry on the administration and defence of India.

The Committee points out that if the States receive part of the customs revenue, they may fairly be asked to share in the cost of the defence of India. There is good reason to believe that the States would be among the first to endorse this point of view, primarily because it would establish the principle clearly that the army in India is there in the interests of India as a whole, and not merely in the interests of British India, where many members of the Assembly wish to obtain control of it; and secondly because the States Governments are confident of showing

that they already contribute a larger proportion of the defence resources of India than would be assigned to them upon any equitable computation.

The policy adopted by the Government of India in regard to the salt and opium monopolies has inflicted loss upon the States, or, at least, has deprived them of gain. In order to establish an effective Government monopoly of salt, it was probably necessary that the States should consent to suppress the manufacture of salt within their territories, or, at any rate, to forbid all exports into British India. In some cases a figure of compensation was arrived at about fifty years ago on the basis of the salt consumption of the respective States, and although the consumption has increased in some cases fivefold, the Government of India is slow to revise the compensation payable. The Government of India can denounce the treaty if its financial interests are shown to suffer, but no similar right appertains to the State. In the case of Patiala, where no agreement existed, the Salt Department insisted on controlling the State salt industry without payment of compensation. In the territories of Kishengarh State a large area is drained by streams flowing into the Sambhar lake. Since the salt manufacture of Sambhar is partly dependent upon the drainage of surface water from Kishengarh territory, the Kishengarh Durbar is required to consult the Northern Indian Salt Revenue Department before undertaking any irrigation project, and complains of difficulty in having the needs of the State effectively recognized in this respect. The State of Kishengarh may fail to obtain permission to use the water of its own river for irrigation for fear that the supply of water to a salt lake leased to the Government of India should be diminished. Similar grievances are voiced by States whose opium production might have interfered with the Government of India's opium monopoly. A much larger number of States complain that their subjects are compelled to buy salt and opium from British India, which in that way is indirectly taxing the States for the benefit of British India, although it has never been suggested that direct taxation would be permissible.

A striking example of how British Indian measures may affect the States which have no voice in deciding them is afforded by the Act of 1927 stabilizing the rupee at 1s. 6d. That measure profoundly affected every State budget in India, and yet it depended solely on the votes of British Indian politicians.

The Princes have, therefore, what they regard as con-

crete grievances; their Counsel have advised them that they are entitled to have these grievances put right. The Butler Committee has produced a report which is obviously an attempt at a compromise. It reassures them as to the future by saying that the Political Department cannot, without breach of faith, be made responsible to any legislature of British India; it denies that they have any right to a share in the customs, but it recommends that as a matter of grace a share should be made over to them; finally, it refuses to admit that the powers of suzerainty exercised by the paramount Power are unwarranted.

It is pleasant to contrast the attitude of the Princes to this report with the attitude of British Indian politicians to pronouncements which do not wholly satisfy their views. Instead of incontinently turning down a report which has in important respects disappointed them profoundly, they have, with the statesmanship that might be expected of hereditary rulers, declared themselves willing to enter into full and friendly discussion with the Viceroy on all outstanding points.

Plainly matters cannot rest here. The Princes have a case which deserves far more complete examination than the Butler Committee was able to make within its limited terms of reference. The report of that Committee, while it embodies a certain measure of practical good sense and exhibits a typically British dislike of pushing arguments to their logical conclusion, cannot be regarded as the last word on a subject at once so complex and so important as that with which it was appointed to deal.

THE "INDO-EUROPEAN"* PROBLEM IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

BY PROFESSOR DR. J. C. KIELSTRA

IN all colonies in the Far East the Indo-European occupies a special place. Owing to his European and indigenous extraction he possesses characteristics of both races. Through the fact of having been born in the Colony, and having made an unbroken sojourn there, he has, more than the European, adapted himself to his surroundings; his education, obtained in his own *milieu*, and the social influence of the latter are causes that explain his distinctive development. In social-economic life, too, he forms a separate group, separate from the immigrated European, and from the indigenous element.

Speaking generally, we may say that the Dutch have fully taken upon themselves the consequences accruing from the presence of offspring of mixed blood in their colonies. In the eyes of the law the Indo-Europeans are the equals of Europeans, and they are eligible to the same posts. There are numerous examples of their having occupied important offices.

Among them there have, however, always been some who have failed to find proper subsistence, and who consequently, owing to the peculiar colonial conditions, find themselves in difficult circumstances which are unknown to Europeans living in countries where society forms one whole. They belong to the group of those who have not succeeded in obtaining such knowledge as would fit them to fill posts in the ranks of lower administrative or technical officials, from whom elementary knowledge is required enabling them to express themselves properly in Dutch. This group, among whom the tradition of being Europeans was felt, but the status of which they had not been able to maintain, had either to be absorbed in the native population, principally in the "campongs" of the larger towns, or become parasites of more prosperous relations, if not become dependent on the indigenous population among which they have taken refuge. However sad the condition of these people was, they were exceptions, *déclassés* as

* The Dutch word "Indo-European" (Indo-European) is used in the same sense as "Anglo-Indian" is now used in India in English.

it were. The social problem of the Indo-European, however, arose later. The origin of it was, in the first place, that the indigenous population showed signs of qualifying themselves in the same direction, so that from their midst the Indo-European saw competitors appearing for various posts which before that time had been, so to say, reserved for him. In the second place, the improved communications with the mother-country, facilitating the emigration to the Dutch East Indies, were also the reason why fewer objections were raised to seeking a sphere of work in the Dutch colonies; this was promoted, too, by the growth of the population in the Netherlands. Besides, the policy followed by the East Indian Government was not favourable to the Indo-European. It gave the same remuneration for the same kind of work, whether performed by the indigenous, immigrant, or mixed elements. However equitable this line of conduct may seem at first sight, it really means a better rate of payment for the indigenous worker, as the latter's standard of life is, as a rule, lower than that of the European or Indo-European; and as his wants, therefore, by an equal remuneration for work are more fully satisfied, in reality he enjoys a higher rate of payment. This leads to the result that from among the indigenous population better trained applicants than the Indo-European often apply for such posts as are practically also open to the latter.

The Indo-European is thus exposed from two sides to the danger of being supplanted in posts that the relations of social-economic life had, as it were, reserved for him. He has therefore to face the problem of whether he can retain the position of forming a separate group in the population. There is for him something tragic in this state of things, as he is fully aware of the fact that complete assimilation to the one group or the other is an impossibility for him. And viewed as a social problem his case is a serious one, as measures formed purposely to relieve his needs are of very little avail. One is faced by a specific social-economic development, the result of which is that the Indo-European as a class is in danger of becoming superfluous in the social whole, and on that account it is to be feared that the future will hold in store no occupation conformable to his traditions.

These modified conditions required a course quite different from the one on which a solution of these difficulties was formerly sought.

Already in about the middle of the nineteenth century

the impoverishment and the social decline of a part of the Indo-European group had become a fact. From that time until near the beginning of the next century it was obviously to be expected that increased opportunities should be afforded for training in different forms of occupation, besides the institution of an organization at once appropriate and able also to raise morally and socially those who required its support. Among the measures taken may be mentioned the erection of the training-school for the lower ranks in the army in 1848, which offered the poorer Indo-Europeans an opportunity of finding a living under the colours, and that of a technical school at Batavia in 1886. In 1872 and 1900 further inquiries were made into the causes of poverty among the Indo-Europeans, which were followed in 1902 by the appointment of an official commission whose duty it was to work out in an extensive and comprehensive report the results of the inquiries of its predecessors. This committee proposed that a Central Board of Guardians for the poor and an Inspection Board should be formed, with the object of giving assistance and encouraging organization in the measures taken by private societies for the care of orphans, ragged children, and the waifs of society. Besides, the committee recommended that soldiers enrolled in Europe whose term of service had expired, and whose stay in the East Indies promoted the formation of Indo-European families, should be sent back to the Netherlands.

These proposals, except that of the return of the European soldiers, have, however, not been carried out. There can hardly be any question of negligence in the matter, having regard to the important amelioration of the economic outlook, consequent on the effects of the agrarian crisis having been overcome in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and which offered better prospects also to the Indo-European.

But the twentieth century brought changes with it in two respects. Alleviation of social needs was found to be no longer sufficient; it had to give way to efforts to find new channels for social welfare. There is also noticeable among the Indo-Europeans an individual endeavour to attain and maintain by their own exertions a field of their own in social life.

Efforts are made to grant the Indo-Europeans facilities for the practice of agriculture. In 1904 special measures were put into force whereby indigent Indo-Europeans could obtain the lease of land at a very low cost. Contrary to

the usual practice in such cases, the Indo-European was allowed to obtain land that had already been reclaimed by the Javanese, provided these owners renounced their rights voluntarily; this privilege was restricted to plots of 15 to 35 acres. Assistance could also be rendered to applicants by Government granting them the necessary working capital for the erection of farms and of horticultural establishments, while district colonizing committees were appointed to exercise supervision over the working and the spending of the credits granted.

This measure had but little success, the reason being that not sufficient attention had been paid to the fitness of the applicants for agriculture. It soon appeared that the lower classes, from the larger towns from which it was hoped to recruit applicants, were not suited for agriculture on a small scale either mentally or physically, owing to the heavy demands this work makes on mind and body. Moreover, it became apparent that not sufficient attention had been paid to the question as to whether any reasonable prospect existed for this kind of agriculture, carried on as it was with a minimum of capital. In only a few cases, owing to the proximity of a growing European centre, where produce of a quality that the indigenous labour could not grow was in request—as for instance, good vegetables and the supply of milk of a better quality—did it become possible for those who had acquired sufficient ability for such work to attain any success.

From about the same time dates an organization, formed principally in Indo-European *milieux*, which had the object of rousing its members to action. The object of the "Indische Bond," already established in 1898, was:

1. The setting up of a printing office of its own, for, among other things, the issue of an official publication for the "Bond."

2. The opening of "Bond" shops.

3. The encouragement of agriculture by Indo-Europeans.

4. The promotion of education.

All this was intended to further the interests of its members, and to afford material and moral assistance to European residents in the Dutch East Indies who needed such assistance and asked for it.

But these objects were doomed to failure. After a few years the issue of the official publication had to be dropped, and though the "Bond" had opened courses for lower and commercial instruction in some places, yet the activities of the society languished.

It may perhaps be attributed to the awakening of the Eastern peoples during the World War that the Indo-European became conscious that he would have to exert himself to the utmost if he wished to keep his ground. Anyhow, in 1919, a new powerful organization, the "Indo-European Bond," arose, whose object was to promote lawfully and legitimately the development of the Indo-European in social, moral, intellectual, and economic respects.

This society distinguishes itself from its predecessor in that it does not, in its work, occupy itself with the Europeans in the Dutch East Indies, but only with the Indo-Europeans. It describes as Indo-Europeans all who settled in the Dutch East Indies, whether of European or mixed blood (and their descendants), with the proviso that those of European blood should have been born in and within the Dutch East Indies. It is thus clear that in this case a new independent group in social life is forming itself, but not as a part of the European population.

Its organ, *Onze Stem*,* published in its first number an article entitled "Self-defence," which purports to explain its aims. It emphasizes in it the difficulties that the Indo-European experiences, and the necessity of his opening up new paths, now that there is danger of his being supplanted in the old ways. The founders of this association met with a wider response than the preceding one had done. The organization developed step by step, and the latest yearly report records that at the end of 1928 it numbered no less than 92 branches and 15 agencies, with 12,167 members on its rolls. Considering that the whole European population of the Dutch East Indies (including the Indo-Europeans) numbers about 170,000 souls, and that there are many heads of families among its members, one may infer that a very large portion of the Indo-Europeans are members of the said organization. Its efforts were crowned with success in many spheres.

The society succeeded in establishing a scholarship fund, the capital of which, according to the last yearly report, was estimated at 346,427 guilders,† and which had granted support to 208 persons for their training. It also formed a general relief fund, which showed a favourable balance of 18,810 guilders at the end of the year 1928.

The social work it undertook was the foundation of some schools and an agricultural colony. An elementary school, an elementary commercial school, and a training school for

* *I.e.* "Our Voice."

† One guilder = 1s. 8d., or slightly over Rs. 1.

teachers were also founded. More important, however, is the founding of the agricultural colony, "De Giesting," in South Sumatra. Its numerical strength was 80 Indo-Europeans, besides 270 Javanese and Chinese. The Bond has provided this colony, since its foundation, with 121,817 guilders, both for credits and regular contributions. A special fund for this object was able to raise 111,708 guilders, so that 10,000 guilders only had to be contributed out of the funds of the society.

So much for the measures taken. The question remains, however, whether success is to be expected along these lines.

I need not touch upon the value of "self-help." For the Indo-European it is as true as of anyone else that personal exertion braces one's energies, and that should at first disappointments be met with, yet the experience thus acquired can open up new prospects and stimulate the energies. Too long has the Indo-European let things drift, and too late has he realized that the altered social relations made new demands upon him! It is a momentous occurrence that he has now himself put his hand to the plough, which indirectly cannot but improve his chances in economic life.

But it may, not without reason, be doubted whether the measures applied will prove effective.

It must be remembered that a place in social life must be found which can only be occupied by the Indo-European, and which he can hold better than an immigrant European or the indigenous people. Moreover, the important fact must not be lost sight of, that the level of the daily requirements of an Indo-European does not incite him to so great an exertion in economic life as the immigrant, for whom the desire to be able later to return to his native country and live on his savings constitutes a greater spur. On the other hand, the Indo-European is inclined to greater and more continuous efforts than the indigenous man, as he would not find real satisfaction in the life led by the latter. He must thus look for something which has no attraction for either of the other communities.

Starting from these premises, it becomes a question whether anything can be attained by the Indo-European's own schools. These schools have the same curriculum as others to which he may be admitted on the same footing as other pupils. With his acquired knowledge he must apply for posts also sought for by other groups, and he does not enjoy any preference. It seems to me that the founding of

such schools is too much in line with the former idea of giving assistance to those who, owing to the want of proper training, could not succeed in life.

It is otherwise with agriculture. There it seems possible to find a system of working not acceptable to either of the other communities. In general, the Indo-European will have to cultivate farming with little capital. He can do so, because in contrast with the immigrant he can, in the climate of the colonies, work more easily. In this he has an advantage over the immigrant lacking working capital.

On the other hand, he is inclined to exert himself more than the indigenous farmer who is also lacking in working capital. If, therefore, a sphere can be found for the Indo-European which enables him to produce something that the others cannot, he will have won a place of his own in agriculture.

His system of working can be different from that of the larger plantations, where the owner limits himself to supervision, leaving the work to be done by coolies. This makes, in general, an undertaking of this kind suitable to production in the mass, in which neither the owner nor his deputy need, as it were, superintend every detail. It will also have to be different from the system of the indigenous population. This can take place if he decides to grow crops requiring great accuracy in their cultivation, as by so doing his disposition for greater exertion offers him a special outlet.

Something of this kind is to be found in such produce as, on account of their being raised in small quantities, have a special value on account of their good quality. In this category might be mentioned the finer sorts of Java coffee, the separate trees of which require much care, and also tropical fruit, only the most perfect kinds of which are exportable.

I am not convinced that experiments of this kind have been well organized in South Sumatra. That there should be two hundred and seventy persons of different races among the eighteen Indo-European families, numbering eighty souls, gives reason to fear that there is an inclination to follow on a small scale the example of the larger plantations, and thereby fail to reach what, for the Indo-European, should be his prime aim—namely, the chance of establishing a special branch of his own. Meanwhile it is possible that at first extra hands may be needed to push forward the heavy work of clearing the ground. Time alone can tell what the prospects will be. Meanwhile the Board of Agri-

culture is prepared to lend a helping hand in experimental work and in an advisory capacity.

There seem to be similar possibilities of success for the Indo-European in technical matters. Now that in the Dutch East Indies there exists a slowly growing industrial development, the Indo-European, too, may look for posts in which, thanks to his greater inclination for exertion than the indigenous workman, will find a special outlet, not in that of greater physical exertion or routine, but in that of accuracy. Both in the electrical and chemical industries he will find prospects of success. No employer will think of sending for an immigrant when he can find suitable workmen at hand. And the indigenous workman is not yet able to perform accurate work, at any rate if it requires judgment.

It appears sufficiently clear from the above that the Indo-European problem of the Dutch East Indies is by no means solved; but it will also be seen to be on the right road to finding such a solution. In the first place, it seems that, as far as concerns economic life, the direction sought promises in the long run to offer an outlet, but, what is much more important, that the initiative is in the hands of the people directly involved, and that the Indo-European realizes that he will have to take his life and future into his own hands. This is the first condition for independence in any social group.*

* Since the above has been written it has become known that the East Indian Government is prepared to grant a sum of 100,000 guilders to the Society for Indo-European Colonization in South Sumatra.

INDO-CHINA TODAY

BY HIS EXCELLENCY M. PIERRE PASQUIER
(Governor-General of Indo-China)

Translated by Miss Williams

[Arrangements have been completed for the publication in subsequent issues of a series of detailed studies upon conditions in France's Far Eastern possession. It was thought fitting to preface the series with an article of a general character. The present Governor-General in Indo-China has kindly consented to contribute this paper.]

IN the colonial possessions of France Indo-China occupies a unique position by reason of the density of its population, the extent of its wealth, and the antiquity of the civilizations found therein; most of all its distance from the metropolis and its position at the cross-roads of Asia, in the heart of the world of rice, and of silver currency, which has withdrawn it from the economic enterprise of France, has led to the development there of a policy which is rather different from the French policy in Africa.

Under French influence Indo-China has made rapid progress; indeed, one might even say that without France Indo-China would not exist. If we carried our minds back to about 1850, what should we see? Annam had pursued her conquests in the south and threatened Cambodia, which had no other course than to fall back on Siam; caught between two fires, it must soon have disappeared. On the other hand, China would have consolidated her hold on Tonkin. If France had waited twenty years before establishing herself in the peninsula, there is little doubt that Indo-China would not have existed today.

Between such diverse races as the Annamites, the Thai (Cambodians and Laotians), the Mois, and other primitive peoples of the Annamite chain, the Muongs, etc. . . . there is no other bond than that of the French administration. France succeeded in establishing peace among these different races, in putting an end to the system of extortion, which in conjunction with the uncertainty of the seasons used to lay waste entire provinces, and very soon an essentially peaceable population could take up its occupations in tranquillity.

It is well to note that in setting foot in Indo-China France has not had to impose herself upon a hostile people. The ruler of Cambodia himself placed his kingdom under

the French Protectorate without any pressure being put upon him; the King of Luang-Prabang did the same, and the Upper Mekong became French without the firing of a single shot; according to an expression that today is famous, this was a "conquest of hearts," and the phrase that was applied to the installation of France at Laos might be applied to the whole of Indo-China.

The sole resistance of any importance came not from the Annamites, sick of the extortionate demands of their mandarins, but from certain partisans of the Emperor of Annam. Otherwise the country was speedily conquered, and the ease with which this was done shows plainly that the people after the first moment did not meet the French as enemies.

If I am inclined to emphasize these beginnings of French rule in Indo-China it is to give a better understanding of the political quietness which the country enjoys today. This peacefulness is the more remarkable as the Annamites possess a past, often brilliant, sometimes glorious, and their contact with China, whose yoke they succeeded in shaking off, has only accentuated their characteristic tendencies. As soon as they saw the French constructing roads, railways, canals, hospitals, opening schools, the Annamites put their confidence in France. They realized that, far from signifying the end of Annam, the presence of the French was a pledge of prosperity, established on a solid foundation, which enabled their country to reach with the least possible shock to the degree of evolution made necessary by their contact with Western civilization.

Capital has sometimes been made of the claims of a section of the Annamite population of Cochin-China. In that country, where France has not been hampered by the presence of a protectorate, and has been able to carry out fully her programme of social and economic amelioration, the development of natural riches and the spread of education have produced a rapid growth of intelligence. A small number of young people, mostly educated in the French Universities, have taken it into their heads to claim for their fellow-citizens a larger part in the administration of the country; they have no following, and their campaign is a matter of profound indifference to the great majority of the Cochin-Chinese.

These certainly do not underestimate the considerable things that France has accomplished in Cochin-China, and the results that have been achieved; in twenty years, from 1907 to 1927, the number of those who have availed themselves of medical attention has grown from 188,000 to 484,000; the

birth-rate has gone up from 95,000 to 148,489; between October 1, 1927, and June 30, 1928, a third of the population has been inoculated against cholera, a real achievement which has not been realized in any other country in the world. Education has just been made compulsory in a large number of districts, and in five or six years all the children in Cochin-China will have at least three years at school. Moreover, in 1883 Cochin-China only had 675,000 hectares of land under cultivation; today she has 2,360,000.

If the budgets of Cochin-China and Siam are compared, it can be proved that Siam devotes to public works only 9 per cent. of her budget, while Cochin-China sets aside 30 per cent. of hers; to medical work she devotes 9 per cent. against the 2.3 per cent. credited to Siam. Add to this that from 1911 to 1928 the expenses of education have increased 500 per cent. and those of the medical service 600 per cent. Few colonized nations can show such eloquent figures on their balance sheets. This achievement is realized by the mass of the people, who more or less confusedly take it into account, and this is the chief obstacle to the interested propaganda of those who would lead them astray.

Yet it is important not to rest upon one's laurels, and if Cochin-China has shown remarkable progress, due as much to the direct administration that she has enjoyed as to the systematic development of her natural riches, it must not be forgotten that the other countries of the Union have advanced with slower steps, much slower steps.

The war period has held up the carrying out of the great programme of public works drawn up by Monsieur Paul Doumer, and it is a matter of urgency that the unfinished work should be taken up again. Since the war some important works have been carried out, notably those which concern roads, irrigation, and the protection of Tonkin against the rising of the Red River, but much still remains to be done, particularly in railroad construction.

For fifteen years Indo-China has confined herself to building a fraction of the Trans-Indo-China railway (the line between Vinh and Dongha), and undertaking the rack and pinion line from Lang Bian. This is not enough, and soon an effort must be made to attack the project of four great lines: In the south, the way from Bencat to Locninh, that from Battambang to Phnom-Penh, and that from Tourane to Nhatrang; in the north, the line from Tan-Ap to Thakhek, which will open up Laos. For this purpose a

contract will no doubt be put forward, and material has already been ordered in Germany for the carrying out of the programme ; this, then, is not a question of future plans only, but of imminent realizations. The execution of so great a work could not be delayed for long without serious consequences. Siam has pushed on with her railways towards Mekong, and threatens to put Laos within the economic area of Bangkok ; also the scheme will open up for colonization the rich tracts of the red lands which are desirable for the establishment of plantations of gum-trees, tea and coffee plants, etc. . . .

As regards economics, I cannot pass over in silence the projected reform of the Indo-Chinese currency. The piastre of Indo-China is one of the last silver-weight currencies ; and if this form was very useful to the colony in the past, in particular sparing it the high cost of living after the war, it has its inconveniences today. The adoption of the gold standard by the greater number of the countries of the Far East has proved that it is not necessary to have a silver currency in order to trade with China ; in point of fact, current prices are fixed in gold, and silver coinage only complicates external relations.

The stabilization of the franc, which has given France a safe and sound instrument of credit, has paved the way for the stabilization of the piastre. The silver piastre, which tempted the capitalists, and favoured, at the time of the paper franc, investment of capital in Indo-China, has become for the French not a security, but an uncertain factor. Thus it is now hoped to give the piastre a value calculated according to an agreed weight of pure gold. Naturally, silver piastres will always be in circulation, but they will be reckoned by gold rate, in any case in foreign negotiations, and the monetary system of Indo-China will closely resemble the Indian system.

In the realm of politics I have been successful in preceding my departure for France by measures which have given satisfaction to the French and indigenous populations. Certainly these last have an inadequate share in the administration of the country. Cochin-China only has a representative in Parliament. The other divisions of the Union, except Laos, have only one delegate to the Supreme Council of the Colonies, a delegate who, moreover, most often stays in the colony and attends the sessions of the Government Council. This "*Conseil de Gouvernement*," which shares with the Government General the exercise of executive power, is composed for the greater part of the

high officials of the colony, and it is not possible to modify its composition, given the character of the powers conferred upon it.

Accordingly, on my suggestion, the Colonial Minister has just formed a High Council of French Economic and Financial Affairs, on which will be no official in active service. Members will be almost all delegates elected from the French and native population sitting side by side. This High Council will have, in its small beginnings, only a consultive character; but the Governor-General will be bound to take its opinion on all questions concerning the economic life of the country. This organization supposes the existence in each country of the Indo-Chinese union of local assemblies composed of members elected from the population. Cochin-China has a Colonial Council composed of French and native elected members, who enjoy rights similar to those of the "Conseils Généraux" of our French departments.

In the other countries we find that the Head Resident has only a native consultive chamber, which in Annam has the title of Chamber of Representatives of the People. There is no French assembly which plays the same part, and this is a lack which is about to be made good.

Henceforth Tonkin, Annam, and Cambodia (and later Laos) will have a French Council of Economic and Financial Affairs; it will be composed entirely of elected delegates, who must have spent at least four years in the country where they put themselves up for the votes of their compatriots. Like the High Council, but this time in the more restricted organization of a single country of the Union, these local councils will be consulted on all economic questions.

Thus the colonists can put their often extensive experience at the service of the administration. It is not generally known outside the country that some French colonials have been settled in Indo-China for thirty or forty years, and sometimes they never go back to France. They thus acquire an intimate knowledge of the country which is rarely possessed by officials, and it is a matter of the greatest importance that they should have a share in the administration of the colony.

Without doubt the ten years now to come will be of the greatest moment for Indo-China. I am happy to state that she can face her destiny under conditions of security that inspire an absolute confidence in her future.

THE PACIFIC OCEAN

THE CHIEF THEATRE OF EVENTS IN THE WORLD'S HEREAFTER

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.

[The writer was for sixteen years in China, both in pre- and post-war days, including seven years as Chief Commissioner of the International Police in Shanghai, acted as adviser on Police affairs to the Chinese Government, and was for six years in command of the Wei Hai Wei "Chinese Regiment." He has travelled extensively in the interior as well as in Central Asia and Russian Turkestan. He is the author of "In the Footsteps of Marco Polo," a journey overland from Simla to Peking.]

"TODAY the Pacific is the scene of a stirring drama. What the Mediterranean was to the civilization of Rome, and the Atlantic was to Europe in the last three centuries, the Pacific is to the world of the twentieth century. On its shores lie two of the greatest nations of history—China and the United States—the older firmly established when the younger was unborn; the younger bursting with wealth and strength such as the older never knew in its golden prime.

"A little apart from the mainland of Asia, as England is from Europe, lies the great island empire, Japan. At the western gateway of the Pacific, Great Britain stands guard over her possessions scattered from the Antipodes to the Arctic, and shelters, incidentally, Holland's treasure trove in the East Indies. On the extreme north, pressing, expanding, grasping, lies the land of Muscovite-Russia, ever turning her back on her frozen steppes, seeking empire in Asia, and ports in warm waters. China, Japan, Russia, Holland, the British Empire, and the United States—these are the actors on the Far Eastern stage today."*

THE CHINESE PUZZLE

There is an ever-present difficulty in discussing the many problems centring round the Pacific Ocean. It lies in the entirely unpredictable future of China. We may think this or that about the future of China; experts may suggest what they consider will simplify its course: the ordinary man guesses at the time it will take the country to reunite—or how long it will remain disrupted, tem-

* "The Restless Pacific," by Nicholas Roosevelt (1928).

porarily, as has frequently happened in the past—but we actually know nothing. About other nations concerned we possess sufficient data of their past to predict, within limits, their future destiny. As regards China we have no such data, for never before in the history of the world has such a situation arisen. It is as though a Sumerian, an Assyrian, or an early Egyptian civilization were called upon to suddenly arise and to assimilate a twentieth-century culture: not, be it remarked, an Oriental but an Occidental one. That a people whose history reaches back some five thousand years should still survive vigorous and lusty is one of the wonders of the world. Still more wonderful that the nation should have continued to exist in a political framework more or less identical with that of the Chou Dynasty. On the other side of the Pacific Ocean its waters lap the shores of the most advanced, modern, and up-to-date country the world has yet known. Few will deny that America represents the acme of twentieth-century progress. Broadly speaking, the problem of the Pacific today is the fusion of two such utterly opposed civilizations. Before attempting so far as is here possible to discuss some of the conflicting interests of the chief Powers concerned, it may be advisable to consider afresh the latest conditions in and around the Pacific. Among these conditions are some which include interests so opposite as to appear, at first sight, almost insurmountable.

In China there is but one outstanding interest for the world today. It is the question of the survival or collapse of the present Nationalist Government. This Government, as we know, is attempting to re-unite the various conflicting interests which for nearly a score of years have disrupted the country. Should it fail and a renewal of the inter-provincial strife once more spread over the land the settlement of all the larger Pacific problems will be indefinitely delayed. Many of the problems are more or less ripe for discussion and solution, but they are so intimately connected with the presence of a strong central government in China that without such a stable authority any discussion becomes merely academic.

MONGOLIA

We can, however, discuss her outer territories of Mongolia and Manchuria. Over the former hangs today a permanent threat of Soviet aggression. This has grown to dangerous dimensions since the date when Russia signed the Outer Mongolian treaties of November, 1912, and 1914;

and when China, Russia, and Outer Mongolia made the tripartite agreement of June, 1915. In November, 1921, was signed another treaty between the "Mongolian Peoples Revolutionary Government" and the "Russian Union of Soviet Republics." In this treaty the two parties recognized, diplomatically, each other's existence; though, once more, the advantage was all on the side of the Soviet Republics against China's sovereignty over Outer Mongolia. This latter treaty was repudiated by China in 1922. Still later M. Karakhan negotiated the 1924 treaty, which attempted to restore friendly relations between China and Russia. One of the provisions of the 1924 treaty recognized Outer Mongolia as part of the Republic of China. The following year, 1925, the Soviet Ambassador informed the Chinese Government that the Red Army had been withdrawn from that region. Since then affairs in Mongolia have not stood still. This embarrassing portion of Chinese territory has remained the chief channel of communication between the Bolshevik military authorities in Siberia and their main hope for further interference in China, General Fêng yü-hsiang.

THE MANCHURIAN IMBROGLIO

In Manchuria, the other outlying territory to the north, the ever smouldering spark of Russo-Chinese animosity and distrust has once again flared up. Manchuria may yet be the scene of further fighting, in that the direct interests of China, Russia, and Japan are deeply and inevitably involved there. Neither could the British Empire nor the United States afford to stand aside should the triangular quarrel come to a head. The mere idea of interference in Manchuria on the part of the United States without consulting Japan was quite sufficient to stiffen the policy of the latter Government. It has been said that the greatest diplomatic blunder made by American statesmen in late years was the attempt to internationalize the South Manchurian Railway with a view to checking the influence of Japan. The attempt failed badly, as all the Far East is well aware. It is a matter of history that Japan has already fought two wars in defence of her interests in Manchuria. There is little doubt that her military leaders are fully prepared for a third should the unfortunate necessity be forced upon that proud people. We know that, in spite of the utmost desire for peace to every man and to every nation, there may come a moment when there is nothing for it but to fight. Such are the vital interests

of Japan in Manchuria that to secure them no cost would be considered too high. In reprehensible actions, like the seizure by force by China of the Chinese Eastern Railway, lies the ever-present danger of serious international complications. With Soviet Russia openly striving to bring about world revolution in the East, having failed in the West, the menace can hardly be rated too highly. So far Bolshevik efforts to definitely entangle China's 400,000,000 in her net have failed. But the efforts will not cease, and the Russian Union of Soviet Republics remains for the present a permanent factor for active unrest where already the atmosphere is sufficiently highly charged.

JAPAN'S PROSPECTS

"A little apart from the mainland of Asia, as England is from Europe, lies the great Island Empire Japan."

Do we always remember the dual nature of Japanese civilization? How much of it today is derived from Western sources and institutions; how much from her own immemorial traditions? The question is no easy one to answer. Fundamentally, Japanese civilization is still Oriental. Her elder statesmen thought fit, with consummate foresight, to adopt from the West its Occidental science, its railways, machinery, educational advantages, and its man-killing methods; but the two civilizations, as we have lately been reminded,* are still struggling for the mastery. Under an Occidental veneer the people of Japan are at heart loth to part with their ancient national customs, their traditional religion, their Shinto cult, and their Emperor worship. But until the nation can solve this problem of a dual existence, it must be admitted and allowed for in any attempts to forecast the future of Japan in the Pacific.

It is to her geographical position fronting the Asiatic mainland that Japan owes her claim to special interests and influence beyond those of any other of the Powers interested. Of the various and varied problems facing the Japanese Government three stand out as most important to the nation. They are, first, an adequate food supply to meet the demands of an ever-increasing population—the population of Japan has almost doubled during the last forty years; secondly, the question of where and how to dispose of her surplus colonists; and, thirdly, the provision of raw material to increase her expanding industrial efforts.

* "Modern Japan and its Problems," by G. C. Allen.

All three may be said to depend upon Japan's status as a first-class maritime Power. Hence the vital interest for Japanese statesmen of the Anglo-American discussions upon sea strength which have lately taken place. Whatever the ultimate issue of these efforts may be to obtain a reduction of naval armaments between England and America, from the Japanese point of view her interests in the Pacific are as great, if not greater. In the eyes of Japanese statesmen,* the most important task before the Washington Conference in 1921 was to effect an agreement on the ratio of capital ships, the backbone of the fleet. That this should still be a matter for discussion nearly ten years after only serves to show the difficulty—it might almost be said the impossibility—of expecting final results upon such variable matters as naval and military equality between nations. As the years pass, so are new factors constantly being introduced by science and by the wit of man. It can only be possible, therefore, to legislate temporarily in the light of existing conditions. At Washington in 1921, before any advance towards parity of sea-power in the Pacific could mature, the attempt was made to reach an agreement upon the ratio of capital ships on the American basis of 5 : 5 : 3. A provisional arrangement was reached. Now, once more, a fresh ratio is under discussion, but the fact remains that no such ratio nor any so-called policy of parity then arrived at can represent the true facts of the situation.

The special requirements of the British Empire with her scattered island empire and of the United States cannot be assessed in such terms, nor can those of Japan. In the Pacific, as in Atlantic waters, other factors obtrude themselves, such as the presence or absence of fortified or fortifiable naval or air bases and the control and protection of trade routes. Fresh significance is brought to bear upon these various means of reckoning naval strength by the epoch-making voyage round the world of the *Graf Zeppelin*. What the future may yet hold for these monster airships either in the way of trade or for additional national defence no man can yet say. The cross-Channel flight of M. Bleriot has just celebrated its now almost pathetic coming of age. What may not another twenty-one years give us in the way of air transport? The *Graf Zeppelin* crossed the Pacific from Kasumiquara in Japan to Los Angeles in the United States—5,800 miles—in sixty-eight hours fourteen minutes, at an average speed of 80 knots per hour. For the next

* "The Washington Conference and After," by Y. Ichihashi.

generation is the scrapping of all capital ships such a fantastic dream as some may think?

RACIAL EQUALITY

There is one other main factor which may at any time affect Japanese policy in the Pacific, and it is the burning question of racial equality. The Japanese are a proud race, proud in a sense some Western nations cannot understand. But it is the pride of achievement, the pride of a race who have so far worked out their own national salvation in the face of wellnigh insurmountable difficulties. "Why not," asked Japan's representative both at Versailles and at Washington, "face this momentous question?" The only answer received was the almost brutal Exclusion Act from the U.S.A. of 1924. Up to that time the Japanese had been treated on a different footing from other Orientals. From 1924 they have been placed on the level of all Asiatics. When the matter of racial equality was brought up at Versailles, as every one is aware, the late President Wilson found himself in a situation of extreme delicacy. He chose, or was faced with, the line of least resistance. That a second opportunity of discussing this burning question was allowed to pass at the Washington Conference may at the time have been unavoidable, but sooner or later the question will again arise, possibly under even more unpropitious conditions. Eventually it will have to be faced. Until racial equality is conceded by the West to the East, the danger of the present position in the Pacific remains. The imposition of exclusion acts in self-defence is a fair weapon in cases of economic international competition, and this whether the struggle is between Occidental and Occidental (United States and Europe) or between Occidental and Oriental, as in some British Dominions as well as in America. No international danger is ever likely to arise because only a certain number of would-be immigrants from Europe to America are allowed to enter. The danger in the Pacific is that the Japanese will never rest content to be labelled as belonging to an inferior race.

THE COMMERCIAL "COMPLEX"

From the north-west corner of Alaska to the southernmost point of South America is a distance of many hundreds of miles. Throughout the whole length of this vast line of coast the interest of the United States is never absent. The western shores of Canada and the entire coast of South America lie, diplomatically speaking, outside the ken of

American warships. But to commercially minded American business men of the new economically-imperial type the status of their northern and southern neighbours need not necessarily remain always as at present. The interpretation of the Monroe doctrine has expanded to a surprising extent since it was first heard of. It is a well-known fact that in the United States economic forces virtually take precedence over all others. A well-known American not long ago remarked upon this fact while deploring some of the evils connected with it. "From my view-point," he said, "much of what seems to some people imperialism seems to me merely gumption. I am afraid that I shall have to confess I come of a race of practical imperialists. They used to be called pioneers in other days." A well-informed American writer on foreign affairs has lately remarked that "peaceful economic penetration seems to be the technique of the new imperialism." To safeguard its trade interests abroad is the duty of any government, and accounts, naturally, for the intention of America to be, if not the dominating influence in Pacific waters, at least what it considers on a parity with any and every other power.

From the point of view of trade there are, it is hardly necessary to remark, two main entrances into the Pacific Ocean. If and when the Nicaraguan Canal becomes an accomplished fact there will then be three. The Panama Canal is one; the other skirts the southern end of the Malay Peninsula. It is a mere truism to say that the cutting of the Panama Canal revolutionized trade prospects in the Pacific, but it also changed entirely the balance of power from the point of view of naval strategy. Since the entrance of the American Pacific Fleet via the Panama Canal it is no longer Japan which holds the balance of power. On the western shores of the Pacific lies the other main gate at the southern end of the Malay Peninsula. At Singapore, when the new naval base has been completed, Great Britain can turn the key in the lock, and can control in the interests of world peace the most flourishing and important trade route in the East.

SINGAPORE

The completion of the long wanted naval base at Singapore was part of the policy of Empire defence set on foot by Mr. Baldwin's Government. The necessity for such a support to the British Fleet has for long past been more clearly understood by Englishmen with interests "east of Suez" than it has by those with a somewhat more

limited view of Empire responsibilities. With its paramount importance under the new conditions in China and the Far East few persons will disagree. In the Press there have been hints of a change of policy with regard to the Singapore base, but it is devoutly to be hoped that any such rumours are entirely unfounded. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald may have his own ideas upon the reduction of naval armaments, as the Anglo-American discussions on the subject obviously show; but he is unlikely to be the originator of a policy which would make the defence of the Empire merely a political card in the programme of any British Government. The settlement of the question of Anglo-American naval equality in the Pacific or elsewhere for even a generation would be a matter of very great credit to the foreign policy of any British Government. Mr. MacDonald has the full sympathy of all parties in this country, and of many in America, in his efforts to bring this about, but not at the cost of severely, if not fatally, handicapping the defence of the Empire. Nor could any such retrograde step be taken without its being fully endorsed by our great Dominions, and especially by Australia and New Zealand. Upon the shoulders of the latter must fall the chief burden of resisting any efforts to contravene their right to remain a "white man's country." Their comparative isolation compels them to rely more than other portions of the Empire upon defence by the King's Navy.

THE NEED FOR CO-OPERATION

Another aspect of Singapore as a naval base remains to be discussed. There are those even among residents in the Far East whose interests in the matter lie almost entirely in how it will affect British interests. But there is another and extremely important side to the question which should not be forgotten. In its Netherlands Indies, Holland possesses in one sense a jewel comparable to our own Indian Empire. Holland deprived of the Dutch East Indies would no longer count as a great colonial power. How rich they are and how vital their possession is to the Dutch is not always fully realized. To the British Empire, with all its powerful naval resources, the safeguarding of India is, in one sense, merely an added financial burden. To Holland the safety of the Netherlands Indies is the greatest problem connected with her foreign policy. Nor is this uneasiness by any means unnecessary. Her own naval resources are entirely inadequate for the

task, as even her own Government is aware. The Dutch Government is now adopting the attitude that its best defence lies in the maintenance of neutrality when other nations happen to be at war. At one time the hope of the Dutch Government was that the League of Nations would banish war. Both these are somewhat doubtful premises upon which to rely for national safety. In the nineteenth century England and France more than once gained a temporary footing in the Dutch East Indies when the Dutch had lost command of the sea. It is an open secret that the bait of the possession of these very rich islands strongly influenced certain circles in Germany during the Great War when the question arose whether Holland should or should not suffer the fate of Belgium. Anglo-Dutch relations have for long been on the footing of mutual co-operation for mutual benefits. The presence of a strong naval base at Singapore should still further cement these bonds and our mutual Imperial interests. At Singapore the Netherlands Indies practically touch our own Straits Settlements. No other nation is so likely to welcome a strong and peaceful neighbour in the Pacific as is Holland.

FRANCE IN THE PACIFIC.

French Indo-China is apt to be forgotten when considering international problems in the Pacific; but as one of China's closest neighbours on the mainland, and as a European Power claiming a special influence in that turbulent province of China, Yunnan, the position of this French colonial dominion cannot be ignored. Next to the British Empire France is still the greatest colonial Power today, though it is in Africa, the site of that world-famous Roman colony, not in Asia, that she is spending most of her resources; attempting also—as all great colonial Powers must—to find a solution of the burning problems which beset any Occidental nation accepting the white man's burden among Oriental races.

In her Indo-Chinese possessions France has no mean stake in the future of the Pacific. The day may always come—until a strong central Government rules in China—when France will be forced to interfere, not only on behalf of her own Nationals, but of that far larger and more permanent body, the Roman Catholic Church in China. As friendly Powers with the closest ties in Europe a further link binds England and France as colonial Powers having like interests in the Far East. In this dual co-operation

that of Holland is already assured. All three Powers are attempting to further the interests of civilization in the Far East. Profiting by their past experience, the present task of harmonizing civilizations age-old and entirely modern can best be met by mutual co-operation. This, as M. Pasquier, Governor-General of French Indo-China lately remarked, is the keynote of Dutch success in the administration of her Netherland Indies. On an official visit to Java in April last in the presence of H.E. Jonkeer de Graeff, the Viceroy of the Netherlands Indies, M. Pasquier emphasized the fact that "le progrès moderne n'exige ni destruction mortelle, ni modification radicale, et qu'il peut parfaitement se satisfaire de l'enrichissement methodique du vieux fonds Asiatiques par les apports successifs de l'Occident."

A lesson which the Nationalist Government in China, struggling hard for survival, might well take to heart. How difficult such work really is and how rapidly it can sink back temporarily submerged a glance at Palestine and Syria serves to indicate. France and Great Britain stand for the advance of what is best in modern civilization throughout the world—slow though it may be. The Anglo-French *entente* has for long been the corner-stone of European peace, though to some extent the Locarno Pact superseded the dual *entente*. It can and should be extended to influence more closely peace in the Pacific.

If peace is to be maintained in the Pacific there can be no surer base to it than Anglo-American co-operation in the true spirit, and a friendly understanding with France which should be kept apart from war weapons of European policy. The new policy which Mr. Hoover is attempting can do a great deal to cement this if he is allowed to substitute in America's foreign policy a positive for a negative attitude towards the peace of the world, far more than can any agreement upon a 5 : 5 : 3 or other ship-strength standard.

Speaking after that extraordinary example of international co-operation for peace, the Boy Scout Association's coming of age this summer, Lord Baden-Powell used these words :

" You cannot get world peace by mere leagues and disarmament and pious ideas. You have to get the new spirit."

Nowhere is this more necessary than in attempting to solve " the world's great hereafter " in the Pacific.

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CHINA AND THE SO-CALLED OPIUM WAR

BY SIR RICHARD DANE, K.C.I.E.

THE present attitude of the Chinese towards foreigners recalls memories of the time when all foreigners were regarded in China with dislike and contempt; and it is not out of place to remind readers, who have no special knowledge of Chinese history, that the Chinese only agreed to treat foreigners as their equals when their pride had been humbled by their defeats in wars with Great Britain and France. The so-called Opium War of 1839-1842 was the first of these wars. As regards the causes of this war much unjustifiable obloquy has been cast upon Great Britain. Speakers and writers both in England and America have alleged that opium was forced by war upon China in violation of her laws and in opposition to her wish. The following remarks in Lord Morley's

Life of Gladstone may be quoted as typical: "The Chinese question," as he wrote, "was of the simplest. British subjects insisted on smuggling opium into China in the teeth of Chinese law. The British agent on the spot began war against China for protecting herself against these malpractices. There was no pretence that China was in the wrong, for, in fact, the British Government had sent out orders that the opium-smugglers should not be shielded; but the orders arrived too late, and war having begun Great Britain felt bound to see it through, with the result that China was compelled to open four ports, to cede Hongkong, and to pay an indemnity of £600,000."

Lord Morley then quotes at length Mr. Gladstone's denunciation in the debate in Parliament of the war as unjust, but omits any reference to the important admission which he made in his speech that "there was a broad and marked distinction between the opium trade as carried on before September, 1836, and as carried on subsequent to that period," as it had not been proved until then that the Chinese were "in earnest in their desire to put it down."

No reference is made to previous disputes; the dismissal in disgrace in 1816 of a British Ambassador, because he would not kowtow before the Chinese Emperor, and the hostilities that followed when the *Alceste* frigate, which was sent to take the Ambassador away, was discourteously refused permission to enter the port: this incident, which precluded any further attempt on the part of the British Government to negotiate on any subject, was an important cause of the war: the difficulties in which the supercargoes of the East India Company were involved on more than one occasion, owing to the inequity of the Chinese law of homicide, which required a life for a life even when death was caused in an affray or in admitted self-defence: the serious friction that occurred in 1829-1832, when the Company's supercargoes attempted, without permission from the Chinese authorities, to improve the landing-place in front of the Company's factory, and the President brought his wife to Canton in defiance of the regulations: the blunder that was made in 1833-1834, when the East India Company's control of the China trade was withdrawn and free trade was introduced, at a time when an enormous expansion of the opium trade was inevitable, owing to the failure of the attempt which had been made by the Government of India to restrict the production and export of opium from the independent States of Central India: and, finally, the hostilities which occurred in 1834,

when Lord Napier, who was appointed the first Superintendent of Trade, attempted, in accordance with his instructions, to force himself upon the Chinese authorities as the official representative of a nation demanding equality of treatment.

Some of these incidents may appear to be unimportant, but they all helped to create in the Chinese mind the impression that the British were (as was stated in one of the Imperial edicts) "the most domineering and proud" of all the foreigners, and therefore conduced to the decision taken by the Government in 1839 to adopt punitive measures against the whole British community.

The accuracy or inaccuracy of Lord Morley's account will be evident from the following narrative of the events which immediately preceded the war. For many years, as Mr. Gladstone recognised, the opium trade was peaceably conducted with the open connivance of the local authorities; and except for two outbursts of sporadic activity in 1817-1818 and 1821-1822, no attempt was made by the Chinese Government to suppress it. In 1836 the question of legalising the trade and of levying a duty on import was seriously considered. The case was well argued on both sides from the Chinese standpoint; but eventually, in January, 1837 (not September, 1836, as said by Mr. Gladstone), it was decided to suppress the trade by violence.

Vigorous measures were first taken against Chinese smugglers; their boats were burnt, and the traffic between Canton and the store-ships at the mouth of the river was driven into the hands of the foreigners.

For three years after Lord Napier's death, his successors made no attempt to correspond with the authorities; but in 1837 Capt. Elliot, who was then Superintendent of Trade, by departing from Lord Palmerston's instructions and submitting petitions, succeeded in reopening communication and was permitted to visit Canton under the regulations applicable to Chief supercargoes. After his arrival at Canton in April, 1837, several edicts were issued requiring him to send the opium ships away. For some time he clung to the idea that the trade would be legalised; but in the autumn orders, communicated to him direct by two subordinate officials, convinced him that the Chinese were in earnest. On November 19 and December 7 he wrote to Lord Palmerston recommending that the official communication made to him should be acknowledged, and that a Special Commissioner should be despatched with a

strong naval escort to Chusan, or some other place on the coast of China, to discuss, among other things, the subject of opium with officers of the Chinese Government and to endeavour to obtain recognition of the trade. Lord Palmerston replied to these letters on June 15, 1838, and his reply is referred to by Lord Morley. "With respect to the smuggling trade in opium, which forms the subject of your despatches, I have to state that H.M.'s Government cannot interfere for the purpose of enabling British subjects to violate the laws of the country in which they trade. Any loss, therefore, which such persons may suffer in consequence of the more effectual execution of the Chinese laws on this subject must be borne by the parties, who have brought that loss on themselves by their own acts. With respect to the plan, proposed in your despatch of November 19, for sending a Special Commissioner to Chusan to endeavour to effect some arrangement with the Chinese Government about the opium trade, H.M.'s Government do not see their way in such a measure with sufficient clearness to justify them in adopting it at the present moment."

To understand the significance of the measures taken at Canton in 1838-1839, it is necessary to refer to a remarkable memorial which was submitted in 1836 by Hsü Kiü, a censor, when the question of legalising the opium trade was under consideration. Legalisation, he urged, would be incompatible with the "uninjured dignity" of the Empire, and prohibition would be practicable under an energetic administration by a talented and determined officer. The foreigners were presumptuous and violent, but they had never "failed to succumb" when they had been met with a firm front, as on the occasions of Lord Napier's arrival and the destruction of the landing-place at the East India Company's factory at Canton. He recommended, therefore, that the Chinese should first be "awed and purified" by the punishment of all concerned in the trade, and that then nine foreigners, whom he named as notorious smugglers, should be arrested, and be compelled under a threat of execution to cause the opium store-ships to leave and to write to the King of their country to stop the trade.

This, in substance, was the policy actually adopted. In April, 1838, a Chinese was strangled outside the walls of Macao "for traitorous intercourse with the foreigners and for smuggling opium and sycee silver." In December, 1838, two coolies, who had landed opium belonging to

Mr. Innes, a British subject, were executed; and on the 12th of that month an attempt was made to strangle a Chinese, who had been convicted of selling opium, in front of the factories at Canton. The execution was successfully resisted and the man was eventually strangled at another place, but the resistance of the foreigners provoked a serious riot.

Capt. Elliot, exceeding his authority, suppressed the river smuggling in European boats, but this had no effect upon the crisis which was approaching. Smuggling continued along the coast, and extended further to the northward; the export of silver, which in Chinese eyes was undoubtedly one of the principal objections to the traffic, continued to increase; and at the end of 1838 the Chinese decided to depart from the policy of extra-territoriality, which, except in cases of homicide, they had up to that time adopted, and to take action against the foreign smugglers.

In January, 1839, a proclamation was issued by the Viceroy to the foreigners of all nations informing them that the Emperor had decided to suppress the importation and use of opium, and had deputed an officer of high rank to take all the measures that might be necessary for the purpose. The proclamation was followed by the execution of a Chinese in front of the factories. The foreigners were overawed by the presence of troops and the execution was not resisted.

In March, 1839, the Imperial Commissioner Lin Tse-hsü arrived at Canton. On the 18th edicts were issued; one to the Hong Merchants informing them that the utter annihilation of the opium trade was his "first" object, and threatening one or two of them with death if they failed to arrange matters satisfactorily; and another to the foreigners of all nations, ordering them to deliver up all opium in the store-ships and other places and to execute bonds in Chinese and in their own language, binding themselves not to trade again in opium and to submit themselves to penalties of death and confiscation of cargo in the event of any subsequent importation. On March 19 trade was stopped, and on the 21st boats were prohibited from leaving Canton. On the 22nd and 23rd attempts were made to induce Mr. Dent, the third of the smugglers named by Hsü Kiü, to enter the city. Mr. Jardine, the first named, had left China, and Mr. Innes, the second, was at Macao.

A military force was at the same time assembled in the

vicinity of Macao, and war junks and old junks for use as fire-ships were collected at the mouth of the river. On March 22 Capt. Elliot, who was then at Macao, on hearing of the measures taken at Canton, issued notices to British subjects, informing them that he had no confidence in the intentions of the Government, and requiring all British ships to place themselves under the orders of Capt. Blake of H.M.S. *Larne* at Hongkong and prepare to resist any act of aggression. On the 23rd he started for Canton, ran the blockade in the river, and reached the factories in the afternoon of the 24th.

Mr. Dent had evaded compliance with the demand that he should enter the city, and when Capt. Elliot had arrived the Commissioner turned his attention to him. Supplies of food and water were cut off on the evening of the 24th; native servants were compelled to leave; and a rigorous blockade was enforced by an arc of boats in front of the factories, and by troops stationed in the rear. The number of persons confined was about 230. Most of them were engaged in the opium trade, but there were exceptions. Americans and Portuguese were also active participators.

On March 25 Capt. Elliot applied for passports permitting British subjects to leave Canton with their property. The reply was an order to deliver up all the opium in the store-ships. With this demand Capt. Elliot, after some further correspondence, decided to comply; and on the 27th he issued a notice requiring British subjects to deliver to him for the service of H.M.'s Government all opium in their possession or under their control on the coast of China. The notice was complied with by the British and Indians and also by Americans, who had control of Indian opium; and on March 28 Capt. Elliot informed the Commissioner that he held himself responsible for the delivery of 20,283 chests of opium.

The delivery of the opium took time and involved much correspondence: but, when arrangements for delivery had been made, the rigour of the confinement was relaxed, and after March 30 supplies of food and water were obtainable. Up to that time food and water had been smuggled in; and, although the confined persons suffered serious inconvenience, it does not appear that there was any actual privation.

On April 2 the question of bonds was brought up by the Hong merchants and, on April 6, by the Special Commissioner in a direct communication to Capt. Elliot. He

and the merchants of the British Nation and its Dependencies were required to bind themselves to "plainly address" H.M. the Queen, so that orders might be issued prohibiting the manufacture and exportation of opium, and to agree to the penalties of death and confiscation of cargo in the event of any importation into China. This demand Capt. Elliot firmly refused, and the matter was dropped for a time.

The demand, however, convinced Capt. Elliot that there was no hope of the re-establishment of British commerce on a satisfactory footing at Canton; and on April 13 he wrote to the Portuguese Governor of Macao, placing British subjects under his protection and offering to co-operate in the defence of the Settlement. On the 16th also he applied to the Governor-General of India for the despatch of as many armed vessels as could be spared, for the protection of the life and property of British subjects in China.

By May 4 the greater part of the 20,283 chests of opium had been delivered, and Capt. Elliot and other British subjects were permitted to leave Canton. Mr. Dent and fifteen other persons were, however, proscribed as being notorious smugglers, and their expulsion from China was subsequently ordered.

On May 10 the law of the Chinese Empire making the importation of opium a capital offence was formally announced to Capt. Elliot and to the American and Dutch Consuls, and measures were taken to bring foreign traders for the future under very stringent supervision.

On May 18 the delivery of the opium was completed, and Commissioner Lin was then anxious that trade should be reopened under the onerous conditions which had been imposed. Capt. Elliot, however, issued a notice to the captains of British ships admonishing them not to enter the port, advised his countrymen to withdraw to Macao, and went there himself on May 24. All British subjects, who had not already left, followed his advice and withdrew in a body to Macao.

The failure of the British to succumb infuriated the Commissioner; and his indignation was increased by the facts that the store-ships, from which opium had been delivered, were not removed, and that the proscribed merchants remained at Macao. Proclamations to British merchants and captains inviting them to enter the port were countered by a manifesto to the Chinese people from Capt. Elliot explaining the reason why British merchants would not

return to Canton; and a period of strained, though quiescent, relations followed. British ships remained outside the port, but trade was conducted through the Americans, who had signed the bonds and had remained at Canton, and who acted as carriers. Opium smuggling also continued along the coast in spite of the violent measures taken by the Commissioner.

On July 4 an affray occurred between British and American sailors and the natives, and a Chinese, named Lin Wei-hi, was killed. The sailors appear to have been responsible for the affray, and Capt. Elliot, disregarding the question of jurisdiction, put six men on trial. A charge of murder against one man was thrown out by a Grand Jury, but five others were sentenced to imprisonment and fine.* The result of the trial was communicated to the District Magistrate of Macao on August 16; but the Magistrate was informed at the same time that the surrender for trial of any British subject was out of the question.

Capt. Elliot's proceedings were ignored; the Commissioner moved with 2,000 men to a place forty miles from Macao, stopped the supply of provisions to the British, compelled their Chinese servants to leave, and threatened to cut off supplies from the Portuguese if they continued to assist the British. Capt. Elliot therefore left Macao on August 24, but the Commissioner was not satisfied. Edicts were posted on the walls of the town on the 25th announcing once more the law on the subject of opium, insisting on the surrender of the murderer (*sic*) of Lin Wei-hi and on the departure from China of all ships, which were not prepared to enter the port of Canton. Ships bringing opium to China within six months were to be permitted to trade if they surrendered their opium, but any person concerned in the importation of opium after that period was to be punished with death, if a principal by decapitation and if an accomplice by strangulation. The Portuguese Governor was also ordered to expel the British, and a threat was made that their houses would be surrounded. The Governor was so intimidated that he professed his inability to afford protection any longer. British merchants and their families accordingly left Macao on the 26th, and took refuge at Hongkong. H.M.S. *Larne* had left China, so Capt. Elliot took command of the merchant ships. On August 31 the villagers on the coast were warned by proclamation to arm themselves and fire at the British, if

* The proceedings were illegal, and the men were released on their arrival in England.

they should attempt to land to obtain food or water or create a disturbance. On September 2 a notice was found on the shore at Hongkong: "Poison has been put into this water."

H.M.S. *Volage*, with Capt. Smith in command, arrived about this time with despatches from the Naval Commander-in-Chief, authorising Capt. Elliot to offer to the Portuguese Governor any assistance he might require for the defence of Macao. Capt. Elliot accordingly wrote to the Governor suggesting that the British should return, and offering to place at his disposal a force of 800 or 1,000 men for the defence of the place, but the Governor, not unnaturally, insisted on maintaining strict neutrality and would not allow the British to return.

On September 4 Capts. Elliot and Smith went with the pinnacle of the *Volage*, a small armed vessel named the *Pearl*, and Capt. Elliot's cutter to Kowloon, where four junks were posted to prevent the British from obtaining provisions. The Rev. C. Gutzlaff was sent to explain that several thousand British subjects were in want of food, and that "frequent conflicts" must ensue if they were not allowed to obtain it. Argument was unavailing; and when the removal of some provisions, which had been purchased in a distant part of the bay, was prevented, Capt. Elliot lost patience and opened fire on the junks. An indecisive engagement followed, without any fatal casualties on either side. Capt. Smith then fetched the *Volage*; but, when she arrived, Capt. Elliot repented of his rashness, his action, as he said himself, having been difficult of vindication under any less aggravating circumstances; and Capt. Smith was persuaded to refrain from any further hostilities.

After this affair a blockade of the port of Canton was contemplated by Capts. Elliot and Smith; and another attempt was made to induce the Portuguese Governor to give an asylum to British merchants and their families at Macao, and to allow British trade to be carried on from there, but the proposal was rejected with some indignation.

The blockade was not enforced; and on September 14 Capt. Elliot reopened negotiations with the Chinese, through the District Magistrate of Macao, in the hope of an understanding which would permit of trade being carried on in a legitimate manner pending the receipt of instructions from England. Commissioner Lin was not unwilling to treat, and on September 20 he communicated his terms through the District Magistrate: (1) That all

opium in the ships at Hongkong should be surrendered; (2) that the murderer of Lin Wei-hi should be given up, or that the seamen engaged in the riot should be sent for trial on the understanding that one only should be made answerable; and (3) that the store-ships should be sent away, and that all of the proscribed persons who had not left China should depart immediately.

The negotiations dragged on for five weeks. The District Magistrate and the Hong merchants were in favour of a settlement; and an unsuccessful attempt was made by the merchants to induce Capt. Elliot to agree to a subterfuge to satisfy the Chinese forms of justice.* The Commissioner was evidently anxious for an adjustment of the dispute, and an arrangement for the search outside the port of British ships, for which bonds had not been given, was actually agreed to by the Hong merchants. It is doubtful, however, if the arrangement would have been workable; and any chance the negotiations may have had of success was destroyed by the action of the captain and consignee of a British ship, who signed a bond in the prescribed form and took their ship to Canton, and by the occurrence, as alleged, of another affray on the coast at Kwanghai, in which another Chinese was killed.

On October 27 the Commissioner and the Viceroy communicated an ultimatum, declaring the arrangement agreed to by the merchants to be unworkable, insisting on the execution of bonds, referring to the affair at Kwanghai, and concluding: "We, the Commissioner and the Viceroy, have no course left but to send out war vessels to proceed to Hongkong to surround and apprehend all the offenders, those connected with murders and those connected with opium, as well as the traitorous Chinese concealed on board the foreign vessels. We take occasion distinctly to make this known to enable you to be prepared."

This was practically a declaration of war; and, at Capt. Elliot's suggestion, Capt. Smith with the *Volage* and the *Hyacinth*, which had also arrived on the coast, moved up the river to the Chuenpee anchorage on November 2 to submit propositions from there to the Imperial Commissioner. A force of war junks was there assembled, and Capt. Smith sent Mr. Morrison, the Chinese Secretary, to request that the orders issued for the destruction of British ships might be withdrawn, and that British merchants and their families should be allowed to remain

* In the time of the East India Company stoppage of the trade on account of a homicide case had been prevented on at least two occasions by the adoption of discreditable subterfuges.

China and the So-called Opium War

on shore until the receipt of orders from England. The Chinese Admiral replied civilly and promised to communicate the orders of the Commissioner and Viceroy on the following day, and asked Capt. Smith to move the ships further down the river.

Verbal requests were made after this by a linguist that Mr. Morrison should again be sent to the Admiral's ship, but these were refused by Capt. Smith. The Chinese squadron consisting of twenty-nine junks then stood out towards the British ships, which advanced to meet them. The Chinese, seeing this, anchored, and Capt. Smith sent by the linguist a peremptory request that they should withdraw to their former anchorage. To this request the Chinese Admiral sent the following reply: "All that I, the Tetuh, want is the murderous foreigner who killed Lin Wei-hi, a single individual. If Elliot will name a period in which he will deliver up the murderer, I, the Tetuh, will be in no way apprehensive in my requirements. As soon as a time is given in which the murderer shall be delivered up, the force can be immediately drawn back to the Bogue. Otherwise, by no means whatever will I accede. This in reply."

With Capt. Elliot's concurrence Capt. Smith then opened fire, and after a short engagement, in which four of the junks were sunk, the Admiral withdrew to his former anchorage. All trade was stopped after this, and the transhipment of cargoes in American vessels was prohibited.

Responsibility for the payment of compensation for the opium surrendered was at first repudiated by the British Government; but, when reports were received of the proceedings up to the time of the naval engagement at Chuenpee, an Order in Council was issued authorising the Commanders of H.M.'s ships to seize Chinese vessels and cargoes so as to compel the Chinese Government to grant satisfaction and reparation. The result of the war which followed is correctly stated by Lord Morley.

When he says that the British Agent began war against China, he refers presumably to the Kowloon affair on September 4. The Chinese threatened war at Chuenpee and the British responded, but to say that Capt. Elliot made war on that occasion would be a gross exaggeration. At Kowloon, in his attempt to secure food for British subjects, he certainly was aggressive, but as no Chinese were killed, though some were wounded, the incident was not regarded by the Chinese as important. It was not referred to in the negotiations which followed; and in a

proclamation issued after the occurrence, inviting British merchants and seamen to ignore Capt. Elliot and trade upon the conditions approved by the Chinese Government, the whole of the blame for the affair was placed upon Capt. Elliot personally. It is safe to say that the incident was no more the cause of the war than were the hostilities at the time of Lord Napier's arrival. As Commissioner Lin said to the Macao Magistrate on October 27, 1839: "Let it be asked, Are the bonds given? Is the murderer delivered up? Of other matters I say nothing."

The question was assuredly not of the simplest. It is doubtful if a more complicated question was ever presented to a civilised Government. Lord Morley would hardly have agreed to the summary execution of every British subject who persisted in continuing a contraband trade, at which Chinese officials had connived for years, but which the Chinese Government had suddenly determined to suppress.

Even if H.M.'s Government and the Government of India had wished to do so, they could not at this time have stopped the export to China of Malwa opium produced in the Native States of Central India. Sind was independent territory, and Karachi and the Portuguese ports of Diu and Daman were open to the trade.

The exports of Malwa opium to China in the three years from 1836-1837 to 1838-1839 (48,608 chests) exceeded the Bengal exports (41,104 chests). To prevent the free traders from smuggling, at any place they wished, on the long and undefended coast of China, would have been impossible. Some of the free traders were lawless and unprincipled men, and the circumstances in which the war occurred were certainly not creditable to Great Britain; but to suggest, as Lord Morley did, that the Chinese were entirely in the right and that the British were entirely in the wrong is a perversion of the facts. If Capt. Elliot's recommendation had been accepted, and a Special Commissioner had been sent to China in the summer of 1839 to discuss the subject of opium, the responsibility of each of the two countries for the conflict which produced the war would have been made more clear, but no practical result would have been obtained. The Chinese persistently refused to negotiate on any subject, as they regarded the British merely as contumacious vassals. When the monopoly of the East India Company was withdrawn and free trade with China was introduced in 1833-1834, war sooner or later became inevitable. Even at the present time it is not possible to indicate any practicable measures

by which, in the circumstances which then existed, war could have been prevented.

On the question of the extent to which the Indian opium trade was responsible for the use and abuse of opium in China, there has been even more misrepresentation and exaggeration than there has been in regard to the causes of the war in 1839. Opium was produced in China long before it was imported into that country from India. The principal opium-producing provinces in China are Yunnan, Kweichow and Szechuan in the west, and Kansu, Shensi and Shansi in the north-west : and in these provinces the use and abuse of opium have been most prevalent. With the exception of an insignificant quantity, which was taken to Szechuan by the Yangtse, no Indian opium was ever imported into these provinces. The enormous increase in the consumption of opium in China, which took place in the nineteenth century, followed the invention by a Chinese of the habit of smoking a pure extract of the drug unmixed with other ingredients (Chandu). It is possible that the inventor may have used Indian opium, and that the habit spread from the east to the west of China, but there is no proof of this, and the smoking of Chandu is a Chinese and is not an Indian habit. Indian opium was exported to the seaboard of China partly because it was superior to the native drug, but mainly because transportation by sea from India was easier and cheaper than transportation by land from the west and north of China.

It is, however, the case that the importation of opium into Canton was formally prohibited in 1799, and that the Indian opium trade was continued in spite of this prohibition, and was continued and increased after the attempt which was made to suppress it forcibly in 1837. The first war left the opium question unsettled. After the second war, when British and French troops had reached Peking and the Emperor's summer palace had been burnt, the Chinese Government agreed with some reluctance to recognize the increasing opium trade, and an import duty was imposed. For many years a large revenue was derived by the Chinese Government from the taxation of Indian and Chinese opium, but the antipathy to Indian opium was not extinguished. It reminded the Chinese of their defeats, and it was felt to be a grievance that foreigners should be making large profits by the importation and sale of an article which was, as they thought, weakening the Chinese and rendering them less able to resist foreign aggression. Many Chinese also are sincerely opposed to the use of opium upon moral grounds.

In 1906, therefore, in the time of the Dowager Empress, when the Chinese Government had reason to believe that the Government of India and H.M.'s Government would not be unsympathetic, it was decided to revert to the policy of prohibition. H.M.'s Government, when approached, agreed to stop gradually the export of opium from India to China if the Chinese Government would at the same time suppress gradually the cultivation of the poppy and the production of opium in China. The campaign of prohibition which followed was an amazing episode. Drastic measures were taken against opium-smokers; and in some provinces, notably in the west, where the drug owing to its portability has a high commercial value, numbers of farmers were shot for cultivating the poppy in contravention of the prohibition. By 1913 the suppression of poppy cultivation in China had made such progress that the authorized export of Indian opium to China was discontinued. The Government of India sacrificed an annual net revenue of £3,000,000; and the peasant in Central India was constrained to forego the cultivation of his most profitable crop; but the sacrifices made have not hitherto received the recognition they deserved.

For some years after 1913 the poor in China were unable to obtain opium, and the comparative facility with which thousands of Chinese temporarily gave up smoking shows that the opium-smoker is not such a slave of his habit as is commonly supposed.

With the disappearance from the scene of Indian opium and the weakening of the authority of the central government in Peking, which followed the death of Yuan Shih-kai in 1916, the zeal for prohibition gradually slackened. War lords with large armies to support found that opium was a profitable source of revenue; and farmers, instead of being shot for growing poppies, were constrained in some places to grow them. At present the poppy is grown in practically every province of China in which opium can be profitably produced, and China is said to be producing more opium than any other country in the world.

The National Government which has been established in Nanking has declared its intention of enforcing prohibition, but except where a local District Officer is himself a prohibitionist no measures have been taken to give effect to the policy. As already said, many Chinese are sincerely opposed to the use of opium, but the craving for the drug among Chinese generally is very strong, and it remains to be seen whether a policy of prohibition can ever be successful.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE SIXTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

IN submitting the sixty-second Annual Report for the year ended April 30, 1929, the Council congratulates the members upon twelve months of well-sustained progress in discharge of the special task of the Association to promote the welfare of India by the dissemination of information and opinion on her affairs, and the provision of an impartial forum for their discussion. The importance of the papers read and the attention paid to them in the newspaper press have been a reflection of the quickening of the public interest in the affairs of India under the stimulus of current enquiries. It may be said with confidence that at no period in its long history has the Association contributed more fully than it does today to the understanding and knowledge of India on which the maintenance of good-will between the Indian Empire and the people of this country must in large measure be based.

The number of new members elected, eighty-four, was larger than for many years past. As will be seen from reference to Appendix B, the list includes the names of many who have played or are playing an important part as administrators, reformers, and publicists in the developing life of India. It includes, for instance, no less than seven past or present heads of Indian provinces. The Council announces with special satisfaction the election of the Marquess of Reading and the addition of his name to the list of Vice-Presidents, which thereby includes all the surviving ex-Viceroyalties of India. Vice-Presidentships have also been accepted by their Highnesses the Maharaja of Patiala and the Nawab of Bhopal. The Council has been

strengthened by the co-option of the Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson on his return from the Governorship of Bombay. Mr. P. K. Dutt has taken the place on the Council filled for so many years by Mr. N. C. Sen, Adviser for Indian Students, his official predecessor, who is now resident in India. These appointments will require confirmation at the Annual Meeting.

The Council records with sorrow the death of three of its members. The Right Hon. Ameer Ali had served for many years, and though his duties on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council restricted his opportunities for attendance at meetings, he gave great and constant assistance as a member of the Literary Committee and in advising on matters on which his judgment was of special value. Mr. Ameer Ali's place as Vice-Chairman of the Council has been filled by the election of Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee. The late Sir Muhammad Rafique joined the Council last summer as a co-opted member, and his death, whilst on a visit to India, has deprived the Council of the co-operation from him to which it looked forward. In Mr. W. Coldstream the Council has lost one of its most senior members, who over a long series of years was regular in attendance and active in supporting the work of the Association. Mention should also be made of the inclusion in the list of deceased members of three Ruling Princes—the highly cultured Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar, the young Maharaja of Bharatpur, and the Raja of Pudukkotai. The new members elected include two Ruling Princes—H.H. the Maharao of Bundi and H.H. the Maharaja of Porbandar. It should be noted that by death and resignation the Association lost thirty members, leaving a net increase of fifty-four members, as compared with twenty-six in 1927-28.

The close attention paid in the last year or two by the public to the great problems of the constitution of India and the relations of the Crown to the Indian States has been well reflected in the lecture programme. The consideration of the latter subject by means of a very notable paper read in July at a crowded meeting in the Caxton Hall by H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala, Chancellor of the Chamber

of Princes, was the outstanding feature of the programme. This was the first occasion of a Ruling Prince of India addressing a public meeting in this country on the problem of the future of the States. The importance of the event was recognized by the British Broadcasting Corporation in arranging for the lecture to be broadcast, and by the Press in its full report and comments thereon.

In this connection it may be noted that at the annual *conversazione* held in January invitations were issued to meet the members of the Indian States Inquiry Committee. Unfortunately, the Chairman of the Committee, Sir Harcourt Butler, was prevented from attending by an attack of influenza, but his colleague, Colonel the Hon. Sidney Peel, spoke briefly on behalf of the Committee.

In three papers much light was thrown on issues which are engaging the attention of the Statutory Commission on Indian reforms. In May the Maharaja of Burdwan's vigorous paper generally surveying these problems elicited an animated discussion. In November Mr. J. A. Richey gave us the benefit of his wide practical knowledge in a consideration of the educational aspects of the statutory inquiry. In March Sir Walter Willson similarly placed at the disposal of the Association his experience, as the representative of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in the Legislative Assembly for six years, on the position of Europeans in India in relation to reforms.

To social progress and uplift no less attention was paid. In October the Rev. Father T. van der Schueren, S.J., described the great work of the Belgian Jesuit Mission in uplifting the aboriginals of Chota Nagpur. In December Mr. F. L. Brayne, I.C.S., gave an account of the remarkable improvements effected in the Gurgaon district of the Punjab by intensive propaganda, and suggested methods by which similar progress might be made throughout rural India. In April Sir T. Carey Evans, M.C., F.R.C.S., gave a comprehensive survey of health work in India. In July the great life-work of Sir George Grierson, O.M., in completing the Indian Linguistic Survey was outlined in a masterly manner by Sir Edward Gait, and the meeting had the pleasure of hearing

some observations from the veteran philologist himself. Important economic problems were handled by Sir Stanley Reed in June in his paper on "Bombay Today and Tomorrow"; and in February by Mr. Frank Birdwood in a closely reasoned criticism of the Indian Coastal Traffic Bill.

A satisfactory feature of the meetings has been a well-sustained improvement in the attendance. Your Council regards this fact both as a testimony to the quality of the lectures and to the wisdom of the new arrangement under which the hour of meeting has been changed from 3.30 to 4.30.

The promotion of social contact between the members is an aim the Council has in view. The informal dinners of members held in May and November were enjoyed by those present, and it is hoped that more members will take advantage of such opportunities for friendly contact. It should be added that the Association was represented at the International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford in August by Sir Louis Dane (Chairman of the Council) and Mr. Richter, and they presented an Address on behalf of the Council. The opportunity was taken to make the work of the Association known to visiting Orientalists.

It has been, and will continue to be, the policy of the Council to give members the maximum return that is possible for their subscription, which is purposely kept at a low figure. Consequently the Association has no margin when the general and administrative expenses have been met, and indeed is in part dependent upon invested funds. It is therefore with special satisfaction that the Council announces generous recognition of the work of the Association on the part of H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala and H.H. the Nawab of Bhopal in contributions of 100 guineas and £100 respectively. The former gift, which came near the end of the year, has been allocated to the redecoration of the rooms and other urgent office requirements, in order to give members better facilities for reading and meeting. The latter gift has been added to the invested funds. Your Council trusts that these welcome examples of practical

encouragement of the work the Association seeks to do for India, will be followed by other men of great position and influence in sympathy with its objects and who recognize the importance of informing and educating public opinion on the facts of Indian life and the many-sided perplexities of Indian problems.

The following members of Council, retiring by rotation, are eligible for re-election :

General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

Mr. F. J. P. Richter.

It is open to any member of the Association to propose a candidate for election to the Council on fifteen days' notice being given to the Hon. Secretary.

The Accounts show a balance at the bank of £246 11s. 11d., as compared with £214 11s. 9d. last year.

With the cordial approval of the Council the President desires that it should be noted that the highly satisfactory nature of the proceedings of the Association is greatly due to the close attention and untiring energy that the Hon. Secretary has given to its affairs.

L. DANE,

Chairman of Council.

F. H. BROWN,

Hon. Secretary.

May 13, 1929.

APPENDIX A

The following Papers were read during the year :

May 14, 1928.—"Indian Reform and the Simon Commission," by the Maharaja-Dhiraja of Bardwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

June 18, 1928.—"Bombay Today and Tomorrow," by Sir Stanley Reed, K.B.E., I.L.D. Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes, G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G., in the chair.

July 16, 1928.—"The Indian Linguistic Survey and the Vernaculars," by Sir Edward A. Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. Sir Denison E. Ross, C.I.E., in the chair.

July 24, 1928.—"The Indian States and the Crown," by Major-General H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala, G.G.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E. (Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes). Sir Walter R. Lawrence, Bart., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., C.B., in the chair.

October 15, 1928.—"Uplift of the Aborigines of Chota Nagpur," by Rev. Father T. van der Schueren, S.J., K.I.H. The Right Hon. the Earl of Lytton, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

November 12, 1928.—"Indian Education and the Reforms," by J. A. Richey, C.I.E. The Right Hon. the Earl Winterton, M.P., in the chair.

December 10, 1928.—"Village Uplift in India," by F. L. Brayne, M.C., I.C.S. The Most Hon. the Marquess of Linlithgow, K.T., in the chair.

February 11, 1929.—"The Indian Coastal Traffic Bill," by Frank Birdwood. Sir Stephen Demetriadi, K.B.E., in the chair.

March 11, 1929.—"Europeans in India and the Reforms," by Sir Walter Willson. Sir Clement Hindley in the chair.

April 16, 1929.—"Health Progress in India," by Sir T. Carey Evans, M.C., F.R.C.S. Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

APPENDIX B

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year :

Mrs. Ameer-Ali.

Ahmed Aziz, I.C.S.

A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E.

M. Farzand Ali.

Alikadar, Kazi Ali Haider Abbasi.

The Hon. Mr. Justice C. P. Blackwell.

John Ernest Bagram.

John Godfrey Beaxley, C.I.E., I.C.S.

Frank Lugard Brayne, M.C., I.C.S.

Francis Travers Birdwood.

Sir Basil Phillott Blackett, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.

Baba Tarlochan Das Bedi, I.C.S.

H.H. the Maharao Raja Shri Ishwari Singhji Sahib Bahadur of Bandi (Life Member).

General Sir George de S. Barrow, G.C.B., K.C.M.G.

Miss E. L. Curteis.

Mrs. E. D. Chaplin.

Sir Edward M. Cook, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (retd.).

Khan Bahadur Muhammad Din Chaudhri.

Navroji Hormusji Contractor.

Mrs. Coatsman.

Charles B. Chartres.

Pandit Jagadish Chandra Chatterji.

Bernard Christopher Allen Cook, I.C.S.

C. V. Chandrasekharan, M.A., F.R.H.S.

Abraham Jacob David.

His Excellency Sir Geoffrey Fitzhervey De Montmorency, K.C.V.O., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E.

J. R. Dhurandhar, I.L.B.

G. A. Dempster.

Guru Saday Dutt, I.C.S.

Pavitra Kumar Dutt.

Alwyn Ezra.

Vincent J. Esch, M.V.O.

Miss Eckstein.

Sir Edward Albert Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Sir Abdel Kerim Ghaznavi.

Rustom N. Vatcha Ghandy.

Geoffrey Theodore Garratt, I.C.S. (retd.).
 His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
 Sir Clement Daniel Hindley, K.C.I.E., M.A.
 Edward Francis Harris, I.E.S. (retd.).
 Rustom P. Jehangir.
 Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I.
 Sir John Henry Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
 The Hon. Miss Gertrude Mary Kinnaird.
 Khan Sahib Merwanji Hirjibhai Kothawala.
 The Hon. Walakadar Salamaddin Khan, B.A., I.L.E.
 Sir Walter R. Lawrence, Bart., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., C.B.
 Alma Latifi, O.B.E., I.C.S.
 Sir Harrington Verney Lovett, K.C.S.I.
 Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., I.C.S. (retd.).
 Sir William S. Marris, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S. (retd.).
 The Hon. Sir Amberson Marten, I.L.D., M.A.
 Herbert Aubrey Francis Metcalfe, C.I.E., M.V.O., I.C.S.
 Sir Edward Douglas MacLagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S. (retd.).
 Sir Alexander Robertson Murray, C.B.E.
 David Burnett Meek.
 G. K. Nariman.
 G. P. Nair.
 Lieut.-Colonel Aubrey John O'Brien, C.I.E., C.B.E.
 Lady Procter, C.B.E.
 Henry Solomon Leon Polak.
 H.H. Maharaja Shri Natvarsinhji Bhavsinhji, Maharaja of Porbandar.
 W. Rajwade.
 Sir K. Venkata Reddi.
 Sir Ganen Roy.
 The Most Hon. the Marquess of Reading, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O.
 Lord Sinha.
 Shantidas Askuran Shah (Life Member).
 His Excellency the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Hugh Sykes, P.C., G.C.I.E.,
 G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G.
 Sir George Schuster, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., M.C.
 Kunwar P. B. Shah, I.C.S.
 Sir Malcolm C. Seton, K.C.B.
 Claude Francis Strickland, I.C.S.
 Francis William Head Smith, C.I.E.
 Professor P. Seshadri.
 M. L. Shrivastava.
 Harold George Dalway Turnbull.
 Frank Charles Turner.
 Hari Lall Varma (Student Member).
 Sir Rustom Jehangir Vakil.
 Reginald Bramley Van Wart, O.B.E.
 The Right Hon. the Earl Winterton, M.P.
 Sir Walter Stuart James Willson.
 Alfred Henry Watson.

APPENDIX C

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members :

The Right Hon. Syed Ameer-Ali, C.I.E.
 H.H. Maharaja Saheb Bahadur Jung, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of Bharatpur.
 Francis William Brownrigg.
 William Coldstream, K.J.H.
 Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart.
 Owen Lloyd Evans.
 The Right Hon. Sir Lawrence Hugh Jenkins, K.C.I.E.
 H.H. Maharaja Rana Sir Ranbir Bhawani Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Maharaja
 of Jhalawat.
 Edward Lawrence.
 William Alexander Marr, C.I.E.
 Rev. John Newcomb, D.D., K.J.H.
 H.H. Raja Sir Martanda Bhairava Tondiman Bahadur, G.C.I.E., Raja of
 Pudukkotai.
 Sir Henry Edward Eccleston Procter.
 Rev. Frank Penny.
 Sir Muhammad Rafique.
 James Nicholson Stuart.

APPENDIX D

The following have resigned membership during the year

James P. Bedford.
Sir Shankar Madho Chitnavis, I.S.O.
Thomas Emerson, C.I.E.
Sir Louis James Kershaw, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
Oscar Farquhar Lumsden.
John Monteath.
Leonard F. Morshead, C.S.I.
Edwin S. Murray, C.I.E.
Stewart Durand Pears.
Aiyiam S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, I.C.S.
Colonel L. C. Swifte.
Hari Lall Varma.
Sir Cecil Walsh, K.C.
Yeshwant Narayan Sukthankar.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE sixty-second Annual Meeting of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, June 24, 1929.

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., was in the Chair, and the following members, among others, were present: The Maharaja Dhiraja of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., the Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., Sir Charles Armstrong, Lady Procter, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Robert W. Carlyle, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Williams Ovens Clark, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Colonel J. B. Crawford, D.S.O., M.C., M.L.A., Mr. C. P. Gaspersz, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. A. Sabondière, Mr. J. Sladen, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mr. C. A. Silberrad, Mr. H. N. Hutchinson, O.B.E., Mr. Charles B. Chartres, Mr. Lanka Sundaram, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have to apologize for the absence of Lord Lamington. I dare say you have seen in the newspapers that he had unexpectedly to go into a nursing home for an operation, so he is unable to come today, as he proposed to do. I am very glad to be able to say that he is going on as well as can be expected. You will all join with me in wishing him a speedy return to his usual good health. (Hear, hear.) I am not at all sure that it would not be a better arrangement if we selected from the ranks of our Vice-Presidents, among whom we have fortunately some very eminent and well-known gentlemen in public life, one to take the place of the President on an occasion of this kind, so that you may not be thrown back upon the Chairman, whose voice you probably hear a great deal too much in the course of the usual meetings. It has not been the practice in the past, but it is a matter we may very well consider for the future, though I hope sincerely that no such occasion will arise, and that our President will be able to preside, as he likes to do and as we all like him to do. I know the functions of a vice-president are vice-presidential, as those of an archdeacon are archidiaconal; but this seems to be a case in which the Vice-President might discharge not only ornamental functions, but a very useful purpose, and I commend it to your consideration. It would relieve the Chairman of the duty and the painful necessity of having to make another series of remarks in addition to those which by his position he is compelled to do. Fortunately on the present occasion my duties are very light.

You have all no doubt received the Annual Report, and I think you will all agree with the remarks at the end of the Report, which even those hardened critics and readers, the Members of the Council and the Presi-

dent, were driven to make, that it was an extraordinarily good report, and reflects the greatest credit upon the energy, ability, and tact of our present Hon. Secretary. (Hear, hear.) To make any attempt to summarize the Report would be absolutely to spoil it. I would only point out that during the season we have had ten excellent papers, all dealing with the most vital present problems of India: social uplift, public health, administrative and political reorganization, education, languages, trade and commerce. If you look over the list of lecturers and people who took part in the discussions I think you will agree with me that they were pre-eminent, and had full knowledge of the subjects upon which they undertook to speak. This applies to them all—from His Highness the Maharaja of Patalia, the Chairman of the Council of Princes, to the present glory of the Civil Service, Dr. Sir George Grierson. It is not surprising, therefore, that the history of the Association during the year was one of continuous growth and exuberant vitality, and it was easy for the Hon. Secretary to weave his web into the very interesting and pleasant form in which we have received it. This year we have lived up to our primary object of promoting by all legitimate means the public interest and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally; and the widening of the scope of our lectures during the past two years so as to include present pressing Indian questions has been, I think, wholly good. Indeed, if anyone wishes a clear and dispassionate conspectus of these questions he cannot do better than read our Report. My name appears upon the Report *pro forma*, so I cannot very well move its adoption. Lady Procter has kindly consented so undertake the duty; but before I ask her I ought to mention a few matters which are not in the Report. Firstly, we hope to be able to maintain the very high standard which our lectures have attained during the present year. The following lectures have already been promised: on July 6, a lecture by Professor Karve, founder of the Indian Women's University, on "Secondary and Higher Education of Indian Women." Lady Simon will preside, and that in itself is a pleasant, and I hope will be a frequent feature of our meetings, to have a lady presiding. (Hear, hear.) Professor Karve—I will not try to steal his thunder—is reviving a very interesting subject, which was very strongly debated when I first went out to India, and I am still old-fashioned enough to believe that he is quite right—that is to say, the question of instruction through the vernaculars. You have all heard about it, and the part Macaulay took in the controversy. I believe a great deal of our present troubles in India are due to what might be described as the brilliant deductions of a too impetuous historian.

The Maharaja of Burdwan has insisted (I may say it is very good of him) upon giving a *conversazione* on July 23, when you are to be invited to meet the President, Chairman, and Members of Council of the Association. That, no doubt, will be a great privilege, and it will still be pleasant for you to meet the Maharajah of Burdwan himself. On July 31 we end the summer season with an extra lecture to be given by a member of the Indian Central Committee, Mr. Kikabbai Premchand, the head of a great

financial firm in Bombay, who will speak on the present economic condition in India. Mr. Premchand's father was a distinguished citizen of Bombay and gave the University the beautiful Rajabhai Tower in memory of his wife. He also has a great claim for consideration on the members of this Association in that he was an upholder of the rs. 6d. rupee. No doubt we shall hear his remarks with great satisfaction.

Plans for the autumn are under consideration, but two more interesting lectures can be announced. Mr. Waris Ameer Ali, the bearer of a name honoured in this Association and a member of the United Provinces Civil Service, is to lecture on the important question of the preservation from reckless destruction of the wild fauna of the Indian Empire. I understand that in some parts of India we have introduced lions, so it will be interesting to hear what he has to say. At the December meeting a lecture on America and India will be given by Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, the well-known publicist, formerly editor of the *Calcutta Statesman*, and who visits the United States every winter to fulfil a lecturing tour attracting large audiences. The United States have a particular passion for lectures. I do not expect we can compete with them here, but no doubt he will get a good audience when he comes here.

The headquarters are in 3, Westminster Chambers, Victoria Street, and you still, if you wish to go there to see the Hon. Secretary or his assistant, or the editor of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, have to plod your weary way up an unending staircase almost as bad as those which lead to some of the Indian shrines. (Laughter.) Possibly the result when you get there may be equally beneficial as those which accrue to pilgrims who attend the shrine. At any rate, it is an exceedingly painful process. I hope something will be done to accelerate the construction of the lift which has been promised to us for so long by the owners, and that the Hon. Secretary will bring the matter to their notice. At any rate, we have to thank the Hon. Secretary and to thank the editor of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, and at this meeting I will specially mention Mr. King, the Assistant Secretary, for the very excellent work he does for us, not only for the work they do for us, but the courage they display in ascending the staircase. (Laughter and cheers.)

Lady PROCTER: I have pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report. The Chairman has taken two or three remarks out of my mouth already. I think that we have real cause for satisfaction when we read the Report. The members are increasing. The lectures which have been given have covered a wide and varied field, and in many ways the Association seems to be really going forward in a satisfactory way. I do think that we should realize the importance of an Association such as this. Anything that tends to draw people together and to face together some of the tremendously big problems that have to be faced in connection with India is all to the good. It brings a closer and clearer understanding, and more sympathy one with another. I have been struck (we often hear it spoken of) by the apathy of people with regard to the problems of India. Only yesterday in one of the Sunday papers there was a long

article on India, a very interesting one. Reference was made to the apathy that is shown towards the tremendous problems of India. In a measure that is true, but I think there is another side to that. There are a great many people—I know, because I talk India wherever I go—who are not apathetic with regard to India. They do realize really how tremendous are the problems that are facing the Government, facing the people of India, and facing the people of the British Empire, and it really is very often a spirit of fear which makes people seem apathetic; they really are afraid to go down deeper into the problems and try to understand them. That is just one of the things that meetings such as we have here will help to overcome. The more we get people to come, and not necessarily people who have been connected with India, but people who do care for the whole outlook of the world and the British Empire at the present time, the more they hear the papers that are read from time to time, the more we shall help to remove some of the ignorance and the apathy and the spirit of fear and anxiety.

There is just one other thing I want to say. When I was asked to move the adoption of the Report, the remark was made by our most wonderfully energetic Hon. Secretary that the voice of members of my sex was too rarely heard in the gatherings of this Association. I do not know whether I was asked to counterbalance that because he considered that I was bold and did not much mind lifting up my voice. There is one point I would like to be bold about, and that is just to suggest: Would it not be possible to put a few Indian ladies and English ladies on the Committee eventually? (Hear, hear.) A lecture on women's education is coming; but is it not possible to have fairly soon one or two papers on other matters relating to the women's movements in India? I do think that it is perfectly marvellous what has happened in India during the last two years, almost less than two years, with regard to the women's movements in India; I mean the spirit of co-operation that has come, one does not know where from. Different bodies of people representing women of different nationalities, creeds, and castes have drawn together within the last few months in a most remarkable way. It has been quite extraordinary. I think that we ought to hear something more along that line, if it is possible, in one or two of the meetings of this Association, because it is a matter of tremendous and vital importance to the future of India. Having said that, may I move the adoption of this very excellent Report?

Mr. SABONADIÈRE: I beg to second; and may I say that I agree with everything that Lady Procter has said.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

The MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN: I beg to propose that Lord Lamington be re-elected President for the ensuing year.

Sir CHARLES ARMSTRONG: I beg to second that. I am very sorry Lord Lamington is not present this afternoon, and I hope he will soon be about again.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: On your behalf we will convey an expression of regret

to Lord Lamington for his absence, and hope that he will speedily be restored to health. Then there is the election and re-election of Members of the Council. There is the Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson and Mr. Pavitra Kumar Dutt. They have been co-opted to the Council, but their co-option requires the sanction of this meeting. Then there are two retiring Members, General Sir Edmund Barrow and Mr. F. J. P. Richter, who are willing to serve again.

Sir JAMES MACKENNA: I propose the election of the Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson and Mr. Pavitra Kumar Dutt as new Members, and the re-election of the two retiring Members, General Sir Edmund Barrow and Mr. F. J. P. Richter.

Mr. CHARTRES: I have much pleasure in seconding that.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

Sir MANCHERJEE BROWNAGGREE: I beg to propose the election of the Right Hon. Sir Binod C. Mitter, Colonel Sir Lionel Berkeley Holt Hadoworth, K.C.S.I., Sir Hubert W. Carr, Mr. T. B. W. Ramsay, M.P., Sardar Sahabzada Sultan Ahmad Khan, C.I.E. (Senior Member, Council of Regency, Gwalior State), Colonel J. B. Crawford, M.C., D.S.O., Mr. Kikabhai Premchand, Mr. Fazl Ibrahim Rahimtoola, M.L.A., Mr. Waris Ameer Ali, I.C.S., Dr. Robert Cochrane, Mrs. Donald, and Miss Dowden. I commend these ladies and gentlemen for your acceptance.

Sir ALFRED CHATTERTON: I have much pleasure in seconding the list of twelve members which has been proposed by Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee.

The CHAIRMAN: I am glad to see we have two ladies proposed as Members, and I have no doubt as more and more ladies take an interest in what used to be rather dry-as-dust proceedings they will take very good care that they will assert their claims, and I may say their right, to take part in the administration of the Association for what it is worth, and we shall be only too glad to welcome them. Our difficulty in the past, Lady Procter, has not arisen from the exclusion of ladies, or anybody (rather we welcome them), but we have not always succeeded in getting them. I quite agree things are more interesting as regards India than they were, and people are taking far more interest. If we can get some ladies to join the Committee, I am sure they will be exceedingly useful and they will be able to bring forward questions with regard to India on the most important side—that is to say, on the women's side—in the way that we poor men cannot hope to do.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

INDIAN RAILWAY DEVELOPMENTS

BY SIR CLEMENT HINDLEY, K.C.I.E., M.INST.C.E.
M.I.T., M.I.E.(IND.)

SEVENTY-SIX years ago the first Indian railway was opened, a length of twenty-one miles from Bombay to Kalyan constructed by the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, and in August of the following year, 1854, the East Indian Railway commenced its adventurous career with twenty-three miles of track from Howrah to Hooghly. The history of railways in India covers a period not greater than the lifetime of many persons now living, and it is no exaggeration to say that the present railway system, comprising over 41,000 miles and representing capital value of some £687,000,000, serving every district of India, carrying more than 620,000,000 of passengers, and nearly 90,000,000 tons of goods yearly, is one of the greatest monuments to the British connection with India. It has been accompanied by a record of which we can be proud, for, from the first, railway policy has been guided by statesmen and administrators primarily for the benefit of India and the good of the Indian people. In contrast to many other countries there has never been exploitation of the people for the benefit of shareholders, political intrigue in railway management, bankruptcy and liquidation of railway property or the evils of watered capital.

Just as English history, in our schooldays, was parcelled out into periods corresponding with the reigns of successive monarchs, so is it customary to consider Indian history with reference to the names of Viceroys in power from time to time. And thus the initiation of Indian railways is generally mentioned as having been due to Lord Dalhousie. It may, in fact, be said that the three Viceroys to whom Indian railways owe most are Lord Dalhousie,

under whom the first railways were started; Lord Curzon, who first recognised the responsibility of Government for the commercial development of railways and established the Railway Board; and Lord Reading, to whose energy and financial genius the recent resurrection of the railways was primarily due. It would be fitting to couple with Lord Reading's name in this connection that of Sir Basil Blackett, his great Finance Minister.

THE TRUNK LINES

The construction of the first railways was, however, the outcome of the efforts of certain private promoters, who from the time when they put their proposals before the Honourable East India Company in May, 1845, never ceased knocking on the doors of that august and dilatory body until they obtained their concession in August, 1849. Lord Dalhousie comes largely into the historical picture at this stage. He laid down in a minute written in April, 1853, the broad outlines of the future trunk railways of India. His scheme was based on railways from Calcutta to Lahore, from Bombay to some point in Hindustan, a line connecting Bombay and Madras and a line from Madras to the Malabar coast.

On that framework of trunk lines the whole system of Indian railways has been built up. The figures of periodical increase are interesting. In the first twenty years only 5,000 miles were built. After a further twenty years in 1893 the mileage was over 18,000, and by 1913 the 35,000 mark had been reached. The period of greatest construction was from 1896 to 1900, when no less than 5,000 miles were opened in four years, and the period of greatest stagnation was the ten years following 1913 when barely 3,000 miles were added, construction during the war period being limited to lines already in progress and certain railways needed specifically for coal traffic. Since 1923 an active programme has again been taken up, and

by the end of March, 1929, the mileage was 41,000, while some 2,400 miles were under construction.

POST-WAR PROGRESS

It will be appropriate perhaps if I give a brief review of what to me and many here must always be one of the most interesting periods of Indian railway history, the period between 1922 and 1928. This period has shown a remarkable recovery from a condition of insolvency and inefficiency amounting almost to a breakdown, to undoubted financial prosperity and a state of efficiency as measured by public service which will bear comparison with the standard of any railway system in the world.

In 1921, in common with the railways of most countries, as the result of the war period, Indian railways were in a parlous state. The Report of Sir William Acworth's Committee in 1920 had referred to hundreds of locomotives, thousands of waggons and many miles of track which had long since passed their due time for renewal. Services were disorganised and restrictions on goods loading were continuous on many railways for much of the year. Declining traffic and increased expenditure ended in the railways as a whole failing in 1921-22 to meet the interest on capital invested by a sum of nearly £7,000,000.

The Acworth Committee had recommended a complete reorganisation of the Government system of control, liberal financial provision for rehabilitation and the separation of railway finances from the general finances of the country, and by a majority condemned the form of company management of State property which had grown up out of the old Guaranteed Companies. Most of these recommendations were accepted by Government, the Assembly was persuaded to agree to a capital provision of thirty crores annually for five years, and steps were taken to reorganise Government control.

By this time, however, the railway deficit had become an important factor in the annual deficits of the Government's

general finances, and so the whole railway problem came under review again by Lord Inchcape's Retrenchment Committee in the winter of 1922-23. The enforced balancing of the railway budget, which was a *sine qua non* of balancing the national budget, was in many ways the salvation of the railways. It involved a concerted effort on the part of all railway managements to economise in the last detail, to cut out all unremunerative expenditure and to ensure that no new work was undertaken which would not show a fair return on expenditure.

In this effort the Railway Board had the invaluable services of Mr. G. Sim, the first Financial Commissioner, whose energetic activities and keen financial sense were such an important factor in their work. In the year in question, 1922-23, it was already too late to effect any serious reduction in expenditure, but the tide of prosperity had begun to flow and the year showed a small net profit instead of a deficit. During the first complete year, however, the economy campaign produced fruit and the surplus of about £4,000,000 exceeded the estimate laid down by the Inchcape Committee. The complete reorganisation of the Railway Board's staff was carried out in 1924, and with the division of the current work between branches of the office, each under a technical director, it became possible to tackle the many financial and technical problems which faced the Board.

SEPARATION OF RAILWAY FINANCE

Probably the most important change made during this period was the separation of railway finances from the general finances of the country, which was effected by a convention with the Legislative Assembly embodied in a Resolution passed unanimously on September 24, 1924. Under this convention the railway budget is presented separately, reserve funds and depreciation funds have been established and the share of general revenues in the surplus railway revenues is fixed by a simple formula.

The railways are responsible for paying all interest due on capital, and from the surplus the State receives an additional 1 per cent. on the capital together with one-fifth of the remaining surplus, while the balance goes to the Railway Reserve Fund.

The Convention is of primary value in enabling railway financial problems to be dealt with apart from considerations of general policy, such as taxation and political questions; and, by fixing the annual contribution to general revenues, preventing raids on railway grants for relief of general taxation. It is not by any means a complete separation. That could only be achieved if the Railway Administration were made responsible for its own borrowings and the investment of its own reserves.

A further step in obtaining independence has recently been taken in the complete separation of Accounts from Audit which is now being carried out on all the State-managed railways, based on recommendations made by Sir Arthur Dickinson. The Railway Board is now responsible for its own accounts as well as its own budget, the functions of the Auditor-General and his staff being limited to Audit only. This great change has been accompanied by the setting up of a Clearing House for accounts between railways and the introduction of machine accounting on a large scale.

In regard to statistics, the way had been prepared by the deputation of an officer to America and Europe, and in 1924 a complete system of statistics was introduced accurately compiled from basic figures prepared on a common basis for all railways. This system, probably the most complete of any of its kind in the world, has proved its value by enabling executive and administrative officers as well as the Railway Board to locate causes of inefficiency and unnecessary expense.

THE WORKS PROGRAMME

The vital necessity of limiting new expenditure to remunerative works involved a complete remodelling of the programme of works prepared by all railways, in the course of which was evolved the principle of technical co-ordination between all the various branches of works such as rolling stock and locomotives, track, bridges, station facilities, marshalling yards, etc., making the programme of each railway a connected whole, having as its sole object improved efficiency in carrying traffic and reduction in operating costs. As a development of this idea the policy of progressive standardisation as a continuous process was adopted and permanent standardisation committees were set up for locomotives, carriages, and waggons, permanent way and bridges, signalling and interlocking, recently supplemented by a stores standardisation committee. These committees have had their work closely co-ordinated, and on their advice the Railway Board has introduced a complete series of standard locomotives, more powerful and more efficient than any preceding type, standard waggons and standard carriage underframes and bodies, standard permanent way and interlocking details and standard rules for bridge design.

In spending the capital allotted by the Assembly, the first consideration was naturally the long-deferred works of improvement to the open lines, but it was soon found possible to commence new construction, and authority was accordingly obtained in 1925 from the Legislature to commence work on 40 new branches of 2,550 miles. In 1926 the Railway Board was able to present a programme for the addition of some 6,000 miles of productive railway, in the following five years, supplemented by a further programme awaiting the results of survey and estimates amounting to another 5,000 or 6,000, which would bring the total railway mileage up to 50,000. The programme required a great effort, and it is satisfactory to be able to

say that the mileage added in 1925-26 was 264, in 1926-27 421, in 1927-28 699, and in 1928-29 the figure of 1,300 was reached. The amount of further construction that can be undertaken on this programme depends only on the provision of the necessary capital funds, but it is worthy of note that every rupee of the £ 110,000,000, spent on new works and new construction since 1923, has earned considerably more than the interest paid to the public for the loans raised for the purpose.

Following the recommendations of the Acworth Committee, the management of the East Indian Railway and the Great Indian Peninsular Railway was taken over by the Railway Board from the companies in 1925, which added 6,000 miles to the State-managed railway system together with about 200,000 railway employées who thus became Government servants.

WORKSHOP REORGANISATION

The centralisation of the administration of four large railway systems with a mileage of over 15,000, in the hands of the Railway Board gave an opportunity for examining and overhauling the organisation and equipment of workshops, and as the result of an expert inquiry conducted with the assistance of Sir Vincent Raven great changes have been effected. The problem was to utilise to the best mutual advantage of the four systems the workshop facilities which each had provided and at the same time to bring equipment into line with the most modern practice evolved as the result of intensive production of munitions during the war.

Great economies were effected in existing workshops, but greater economies still in carrying out schemes of reconstruction which, but for this pooling of resources, would have resulted in excessive accommodation for maintenance and repair. The adaptation of the principle of mass production to repairs of locomotives and rolling stock effected savings not only in money but in the time taken while

under repair. For instance, the time taken to overhaul and repair a steel waggon was reduced from thirty days to five or six, and the time for a locomotive from one hundred and ten days to fifty or sixty, while the total saving in costs in respect of this class of expenditure will amount to nearly a million pounds per annum.

In two directions these economies have resulted in unfavourable public criticisms, although the results have been of the greatest possible benefit to railway efficiency. In the first place, the saving of time effected by workshop reorganisation synchronised with the fruition of other plans for time saving in the use of rolling stock, which had begun with the pooling of waggon stock on all broad gauge railways some years earlier. An intensive effort had been made to bring the vacuum brake into use throughout the waggons on the broad gauge railways, and by adopting it universally large economies in repair expenditure were made which in two or three years more than paid for the cost of equipment. This was an important factor in producing an improvement of more than 10 per cent. in the average speed of goods trains, a result mainly obtained by reorganising marshalling yards and the introduction of telephone traffic control on the trunk lines.

This general improvement in waggon user, while entirely removing the complaints about waggon shortage, led to the danger of having redundant waggon stock, and two years ago it was found necessary to suspend purchase of new waggons for a period. Public criticism fell on us because this action was to the detriment of the waggon-building industry in India, an industry that had been fostered by the protection policy of Government and was beginning to stand on its own feet. But the position had to be faced, for nothing could have been worse for the railways than an increasing number of redundant waggons. Incidentally, the pause in waggon purchase gave time for the introduction of the new standard types of waggons, which are, on the average, of higher carrying capacity than those in use previously.

The second direction in which we incurred public criticism as the result of workshop reorganisation was the necessity for reduction of workshop labour. For the new methods and new equipment fewer men were needed to get the same out-turn, and while in many cases reductions have been effected by slower recruiting, there have been several occasions when enforced reduction has been accompanied by strikes and bitter disputes with labour organisations. Such phases are part of the price that must be paid for reorganisation and take their place amongst the disadvantages and deterrents to vigorous action. They were faced by the management in a spirit of sympathy and generosity, and no man whose work came to an end was left uncompensated. The result has been greater efficiency and economy, and in the main a cheaper transportation system for the people of India.

Amongst the many technical achievements of this period I may mention the completion of the Khyber railway, a work which, from the engineering point of view, has no superior in the world, and which may in the future play an important rôle in history, apart from the fact that for five years the work it provided for tribesmen kept the peace on the North-West Frontier. The electrification of the suburban railways in Bombay has already had a vital effect on the expansion of that city, and the more recent electrification of the two main arms of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, when completed, will provide an electrically operated service of greater speed and comfort than anything known in the East. The programme of bridge strengthening and renewal, built up on a scientific examination, which anticipated by several years some of the results recently reported by Sir Alfred Ewing's Bridge Stress Committee in this country, has provided work for the development of an industry in India which is now able to compete on equal terms with the most competent bridge-building firms in this country and in Europe for the largest steel bridges.

THE RAILWAY STAFF

Perhaps the most interesting side of any study of a great administration is the human side and the problems of staff. The railways now employ over 800,000 men, of whom 469,000 are Government employés. Europeans number just over 5,000 and Anglo-Indians about 14,000. In 1921-22 the figures were 769,000, of whom 6,800 were Europeans and 11,800 Anglo-Indians. Out of 2,178 gazetted officers, 693 are Indians, in which term is included all statutory Indians. The percentage of recruitment in India under the present policy of Government is 75 per cent. of the total vacancies. The percentage of Indian officers to the whole is now 32 on all railways and 38 on State-managed railways.

The increased rate of recruitment in India has necessitated the establishment of schemes for training in all branches, and on the State-managed railways these schemes have become part of the main scheme of staff training which was instituted by the Railway Board. Evolved from one or two small training classes in special branches of work, with reference particularly to interlocking and signalling, training schools for the subordinate staff in their current duties have now been established on all State-managed railways and some of the company-managed railways. These schools fulfil the double function of training probationers and giving refresher courses to all serving staff. They are based on a central school at Chandausi, but the headquarters of this organisation will shortly be removed to Dehra Dun, where the new Railway Staff College will be opened in a few months' time. To this Staff College all probationary officers will be drafted from time to time, as well as all junior officers, to undergo courses of practical training in transportation and commercial work, as well as in accounts and office routine. Senior officers' courses have been established, and it is intended that the College will eventually fulfil towards

the railways the same kind of service as is given to the army by the Military Staff Colleges.

Almost simultaneously with the transfer of the East Indian and the Great Indian Peninsular Railway to State management in 1925, a scheme of reorganisation of the staff of the State railways was undertaken in the introduction of the divisional system in place of the old departmental system which had grown up following the English practice. There is now on each railway one combined organisation to deal with traffic movement in all its aspects, including the running of trains, the supply of power, running repairs to stock, and the maintenance of track and bridges, and each railway is divided for this purpose into areas with a divisional superintendent in independent charge under the orders of the Agent. The old heads of departments have become the Agent's principal staff officers, and, generally speaking, the principle underlying the change is decentralisation of control of all executive action, accompanied by centralisation of control of policy and administration.

PUBLICITY BUREAU

The establishment of publicity work on a proper basis was undertaken by the Railway Board in 1926, and a central Publicity Bureau was established in Bombay, with publicity officers at the headquarters of each railway. In 1927 this central office was moved to Delhi and works under the Railway Board. In the same year a branch office was opened in London, and during last month an office was opened in New York. The work of this organisation is directed towards publicity in India for fostering internal traffic, and in Europe, Canada, and the United States to encourage tourist traffic to India.

In India the work has centred largely round the use of the cinema. Each State-managed railway has its own travelling cinema (and some of them have two), which travel from place to place and give free shows in the open.

Films made by the railway publicity department deal with travel subjects, such as pilgrimages and religious festivals, *safety first* propaganda, as well as films of an educational character showing agricultural subjects, such as cotton growing, sugar planting, cattle breeding, and poultry keeping. These films are mixed with suitable films of all descriptions and draw huge crowds of spectators. During a few months in the first year of this activity over 800,000 spectators saw these films, the class being mostly agriculturalists living in the small towns and large villages of the Mofussil. Demonstration trains have been established, with the co-operation of various Government departments, giving exhibits relating to public health and hygiene, agriculture, the co-operative movement, irrigation, and village industries. The system of cheap excursion trains has been introduced recently, and these have become particularly popular amongst students and others who are taken round the country in large personally conducted parties in special trains. A family coach for third-class passengers, on which a large family or other party can take prolonged journeys for pilgrimage or sight-seeing, living and sleeping and cooking on the coach, has recently been experimented with, and is likely to prove both popular and remunerative.

THE "IMPERIAL INDIAN MAIL"

For upper-class travel, which specially appeals to tourists from Europe and America, there has been a great advance recently in the standard of travelling on the main lines of India. During recent years three special through fast trains of an up-to-date luxurious type have been put on by the railways serving Bombay. The first of these is a joint train of the Great Indian Peninsular and the East India Railways known as the "Imperial Indian Mail," which runs from the Ballard Pier at Bombay on arrival of the P. & O. Company's English mail steamer, to Calcutta, a total distance of 1,349 miles, which is covered in forty

hours. The second train is known as the "Punjab Limited," and runs on mail days from the Ballard Pier in Bombay to Peshawar, via the Great Indian Peninsular route to Delhi and the North-Western route onward via Ambala, Jullundur and Lahore to Peshawar. The total distance is 1,545 miles, and is covered in about forty-seven hours.

The third special train is the "Frontier Mail," which runs from Bombay to Peshawar via the B.B. and C.I. route to Delhi, and onward from there by the North-Western route via Ferozepur and Lahore to Peshawar. The total distance by this route is 1,450 miles, and is covered in forty-four hours. These trains consist generally of corridor coaches, with first-class two-berth compartments. All berths are lower berths, and each coach is provided with lavatories and bathrooms. A restaurant car also runs on the train, and accommodation for passengers' servants and luggage is provided. The most recent addition to these through trains runs between Peshawar and Mangalore, a distance of more than 2,000 miles, without change of carriage.

A number of tourist saloons is held at the disposal of the Central Publicity Bureau in India for the use of parties travelling together. The saloons consist of a lounge or sitting and dining room, sleeping accommodation, bathrooms, baggage room, kitchen and servants' quarters, and accommodate parties up to six and eight passengers. The saloons can be engaged through the London and New York bureaux, and catering is arranged for by the railway contractors in India. The saloons are hauled from place to place on the mail or fast passenger trains, and are entirely at the disposal of the occupants at halting stations, a moderate hire charge being levied for such detentions. It is possible by the use of these saloons entirely to eliminate the use of hotels and rest houses at the smaller places.

During the past two years many important reductions

have been made in rates and fares, while the standard of comfort, particularly for the lower-class passengers, has been definitely raised. Overcrowding has very largely disappeared, and the great abuse of travelling without tickets has been materially checked. As the result of better conditions and lower fares, it is reported that the number of passengers travelling during the past year has shown an increase of 18,000,000.

So far as goods traffic is concerned, except for a few weeks early this year when exceptional conditions prevailed, the old difficulties of waggon shortage have disappeared, and there has been a very definite improvement in the time taken in transit.

THE PRESENT POSITION

In concluding this very imperfect review of railway developments in India, I should like to summarise some of the outstanding facts. The mileage of Indian railways is now 41,000. Some 29,500 are owned by the State and nearly 18,000 are managed directly by the Railway Board. Since 1922 the mileage has increased by 2,760 miles, while the mileage managed by the State has grown from 9,000 to 18,000. The capital invested is £643,000,000, of which £575,000,000 is State capital. Since 1922 the additional State capital invested has been £110,000,000, of which £28,000,000 has been spent on new construction. From March, 1922, to March, 1929, the total net gain on the State-owned railway property has been nearly £40,000,000, of which £15,000,000 are now in the Railway Reserve Fund, while a depreciation fund has been built up of nearly £10,000,000. It is interesting to remember that, compared with £110,000,000 additional capital spent in the period, the State-owned railways themselves have produced a clear profit of some £50,000,000 for the benefit of the national credit as a whole.

To complete the picture, it may be added that the number of passengers carried increased from 548,000,000

in 1921-22 to 623,000,000 in 1927-28; and that the average charge to a passenger is under $3\frac{1}{2}$ pies per mile, or rather more than a farthing. In goods traffic the increase has been from 63,000,000 tons in 1921-22 to 85,000,000 tons in 1927-28, and the average charge per mile works out to 6 pies or a halfpenny per ton, while for coal it is less than 3 pies or a farthing a mile. The 800,000 men employed by all railways are controlled by 2,178 gazetted officers, of whom less than 1,500 are Europeans.

THE FUTURE

What is going to happen to this great national asset of India? Amongst the countries of the world India occupies the third place in respect of railway mileage. Nearly 90 per cent. of it is State property and necessarily under Government financial control, while nearly half, both as regards mileage and personnel, is already under direct State management. The present Government is committed to a policy of transfer of management to India as the companies' contracts fall in, and present national sentiment, in so far as it is articulate, is in favour of complete nationalisation. The old controversy of State versus Company management in India is as dead as the Great Mughul, and the main argument of the opponents to State management—namely, that it spells inefficiency and insolvency—has been exploded by the obvious, visible, and tangible success of the experiment in India.

Let it be granted that the circumstances were exceptional, that a Government in a permanent minority in the elected Legislature has to have exceptional powers, such as are not found in other countries where nationalisation of railways has been tried. Admit, further, that the Railway Department of the Government of India has been protected against political intrigue and the pressure of vested interests. But give the Legislature its due and remember that its adherence was secured to each succeeding step of reorganisation of the railways and to the grants of funds

by which that reorganisation was effected, even if it chose, for the annual exigencies of party politics and as a demonstration against an alien form of government, to refuse the grant for the Railway Board itself.

How is the organisation to function in the future? In formulating the coming constitutional changes, will any consideration be paid to the difficulty that must inevitably arise from the growth of a department of Government to dimensions of financial and administrative importance rivalling those of the Central Government itself? There are parallels in other countries where solutions have been found to the problem of nationalisation which appear to be free from objection. In Canada, Germany, and Belgium, State railway administration has been commercialised and made a separate authority subordinated by statute to Parliament. But whether such a solution is likely to be found by the makers of India's future constitution remains to be seen. From all appearance neither the Statutory Commission nor the political parties in India have recognised the importance of the problem.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, June 24, 1929, at which Sir Clement Hindley, K.C.I.E., read a paper entitled "Indian Railway Developments."

The Most Hon. the Marquess of Reading, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., was in the Chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present :

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., the Maharaja Dhiraja of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M., the Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., Sir Basil Blackett, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Henry P. Burt, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir Alexander Murray, C.B.E., Sir Robert W. Carlyle, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir William Owens Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Colonel Sir Malik Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., General Sir Charles Monro, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir Campbell W. Rhodes, C.B.E., Sir Evan and Lady Cotton, Sir Henry Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Arthur Knapp, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.B.E., Sir Philip Sheridan, Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Khan Sahib M. H. and Mrs. Kothawala, Mr. A. M. Green, Colonel J. B. Crawford, D.S.O., M.C., M.L.A., Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. W. E. Bennett, Mr. J. Sladen, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. Charles B. Chartres, Miss Margaret Brown, Miss Corfield, Mr. Lanka Sundaram, Mr. C. A. Silberrad, Mr. H. N. Hutchinson, O.B.E., Mr. Ram Narayan Misra, Dr. A. Suhrawardy, M.L.A., Mr. M. C. Rajah, M.L.A., and Mrs. Rajah, Mr. V. H. Boalth, C.B.E., Mr. J. A. Farnoi, Mr. Syed A. Rafique, Mr. G. S. Prasad, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Miss L. Sorabji, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. E. P. Goldney, Mr. H. L. Leach, Mr. F. Grubb, Moulvi Farzand Ali, Mr. Edwin Haward, Mrs. N. B. Dewar, Mrs. Martley, Mr. C. L. Gulati, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : I am very glad to have the opportunity of presiding here today and taking part in a series of addresses delivered at this Association, especially the important one to be delivered to you by Sir Clement Hindley. He does not require introduction to anyone who has been in India during modern times, and so far as I can understand from his present occupation he is not likely to require introduction in England. The subject is one of exceeding interest to all of us, and to everyone who is attracted by India or has interests in India. I think one may say quite fairly and impartially that looking back at the record of the construc-

tion and administration of the railways in India, we have every reason to be proud of what has been achieved. I shall not trouble you with any details of the railways; you will probably hear much about them from Sir Clement, but I would like to refer to an important event during my period of office in India where, after the war, the railways were in a bad way, as they were elsewhere. There were difficulties, there were deficits, and contributions were required by the Government for the general Budget. Consequently the necessary funds were not forthcoming for repairs necessary to railways, for the keeping of the railways in proper conditions of efficiency, and also for the greater development and extension of the railways in India. I think I am right in saying, Sir Clement, that at the present moment there are over 40,000 miles of railway in India? In 1922 and 1923, when we as a Government were confronted with the difficult situation to which I have referred, an alteration was made in the administration and Commissioners were appointed. We were fortunate about that time to obtain the services of Sir Clement Hindley. (Applause.) He had already shown his capacity for great administrative work with the Commissioners of the Port of Calcutta, and we considered ourselves very happy in being able to induce him to take charge of the railways in India. He became Chief Commissioner under the new Board at that time set up, and he remained there for a number of years until apparently he thought it desirable to take charge of something of a different character here which will be run on different lines. During his time one very important matter was settled. The contribution exacted from the railways to the general Budget had been an obstacle to the proper maintenance and development of the railways of India. A committee (Sir William Acworth's Committee) had made very important recommendations, and as a result the plan was proposed in the financial administration of the railways of separating the railway finances from the general finances. Instead of the monies from the railways having to be voted in the general Budget, as hitherto had been the case, separate days were allotted for the railway finances discussion, and for all that appertained to the administration of the railways; although the separation was not complete (inasmuch as the railway finance had to form part of the general scheme) it became no longer possible for a Government which found itself, as sometimes happens, in deficit, to make raids upon the railway till. Raids are not altogether unknown in this country. (Laughter.) In India we put an end to them by a scheme devised to regulate the amount to be contributed by the railways to the general finances. The new system had this very important effect: it enabled the Railway Board to map out the programme of expenditure of future development and extension, without the uncertainty involved in having to submit it to the vote of the Legislative Assembly. In my opinion, great credit was due to the Legislative Assembly (where Government did not always manage to carry the proposals it introduced), for the wisdom it manifested in passing the scheme, with minor alterations, although we were living in times when a constitutional *démarche* of rejection of Government plans was not altogether unknown in the Legislative

Assembly. The members did accept it after it had been seriously debated, leading Indian speakers of a party not usually associated with Government contributed to the discussion, and in the result the Government scheme was approved. It has been effective ever since, and I am certain has proved for the benefit and in the interests of India. (Applause.)

I do not think it necessary to say more to you in introducing Sir Clement and his subject. I am sure his address will be of exceeding interest, and then, following the usual course, a discussion will be invited.

Sir CLEMENT HINDLEY then read his paper entitled, "Indian Railway Developments."

THE MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN said the survey of the progress of railway development in India by Sir Clement Hindley was, to say the least, romantic. It was only possible in the soil of India to produce such a romantic development of railways. Sir Clement Hindley had given in complete detail the development of the railways in India; but while he had mentioned the comfort of travelling to the leisurely classes and high officials, he had not forgotten to mention two interesting sides of the development of the Indian railways. He had touched upon the strategic importance of Indian railways by mentioning the Khyber railway, and those interested in the political future of India could not emphasize too much the importance of a railway like the Khyber railway with a disturbed frontier. The lecturer had also mentioned in one place the experiment that was being made of introducing family coaches for third-class passengers, in which a large family or other party could take prolonged journeys for pilgrimage or sight-seeing. It was hardly necessary for him to point out that one of the wonders of the British administration in India was the wonder that under the ægis of the British Government facilities were given to the devout Muhammadan and the devout Hindu to visit with ease and comfort the different places of pilgrimage in India. He would like to conclude by referring to the fact that any comfort shown to third-class passengers was a real step forward for the comfort of the pilgrims who went to the different parts of India to pay their much-desired visits. He took exception to one word in Sir Clement's lecture: he said that the controversy of the State versus company management in India was as dead as the Great Mughul. The Great Mughul was still very much alive, both in the architecture of India and in the principles of administration. It had produced a Sir Harcourt Butler in the United Provinces. The chairman when in India was steeped in that spirit himself. He wished Sir Clement Hindley all success in his new enterprise.

Sir CAMPBELL RHODES, as one who strongly opposed in the old days the nationalization of the Indian railways and who now loyally supported the decision of the Legislature and the Government of India as a member of the Indian Council, said that so far the fears that were entertained on the introduction of State management, or rather the extension of it, had not been fulfilled; but he was not prepared to go quite so far as the lecturer had gone in saying that the matter was a *fait accompli* and settled for ever. The success so far had been dependent on the wise appointment

of administrative heads to the railway systems of India, three of whom had come from company-managed railways. The convert always made the most zealous leader : but how were we going to get converts if there were to be no heathens? He was very glad to hear Sir Clement Hindley's testimony to the Legislative Assembly, and to hear it endorsed, if he could use a word familiar to many of them there, by His Excellency, for he was one of the members of the committee which sat with Sir Clement Hindley on that question of the separation of the railway budget, and he would like to bear testimony to the splendid work done on that committee by his Indian colleagues. As Sir Clement Hindley had pointed out, that separation was not complete. The lecturer spoke about reserves, but those reserves would not be real reserves until they were separately invested, preferably outside India, and were not merely items in the State ledgers. Then there was the question which was never tackled by the Government of India and the Assembly ; when they voted for State management they made no provision to provide the necessary funds. He was breaking no confidences when he said that that was a matter which caused anxious thought at the India Office and in India itself. They could not buy railways, when the contracts fell in, unless they were provided with funds. The lecturer had suggested that perhaps they would be able to attract capital in another direction—namely, by the creation of railway bonds. He wished the lecturer had extended that suggestion a little further, and thought it would be well worth while to explore that avenue to see if they could attract fresh capital along the lines of the branch-line terms, which were familiar to many of them there, where the Government guarantee a comparatively small rate of interest, and where there was a prospect of sharing, in a gambling way, a little of the prosperities of the railways in general. As regards the whole question of State management, there was another point which made it premature in his opinion to declare that it was an inevitable success. They had their railways, but they had not a static Government. What was Sir John Simon and his colleagues going to give them, and were they going to safeguard the Railway Board under any system which might in future be set up? Until that question was answered, he certainly could not go so far as Sir Clement Hindley in saying he had confidence in the future of State management. Closely allied to that was the question of the personnel of the railways. It was excellent at the moment. He was glad the lecturer had pointed out the rapid rate of Indianization, for he did not think it was generally recognized how rapidly that movement was proceeding ; but in employment on the railways, what was to be the criterion—race or efficiency? He asked that question because so much was said about it. For instance, were the Anglo-Indians, who had shown such remarkable capacity for railway management, equal to the capacity of the Sikhs and Pathans in military affairs, to be handicapped by reason of their birth? Every week he received letters, chiefly from Indians, but sometimes from Anglo-Indians, suggesting that his influence at the India Office would far outweigh their own merits in getting employment on the Indian railways. Turning to

matters of general policy, he said there were many waterways in the north-east of India and in Burma where ample facilities had been provided by steamers, and the policy of the railways hitherto had been—and he used the word advisedly—to rob the steamer companies of traffic they had created rather than to go outside and create traffic elsewhere, which would not immediately give the same return, but he believed would be much more to the benefit of India. He would like also to know Sir Clement Hindley's views on a question which was rapidly coming to the fore—namely, whether it was better to have narrow-gauge branch lines running off the main lines thirty or forty miles into the interior, or to build good roads, which were much more elastic and cheaper? They were more elastic because they in turn could spread out in all directions, and the rolling stock (which was not of the type of the luxurious motor coaches to be seen travelling to the ends of England from London every day, but something much more humble) could rapidly be transferred from where it was not wanted to where it was. In conclusion, he would like to bear testimony to what Sir Clement Hindley did for India, and what the Marquess of Reading did in putting the railway administration in India on a far higher level. Whether those efforts would be permanent or not depended upon the personnel of the future, and also on the lap of the Simon Commission.

SIR BASIL BLACKETT did not propose to follow Sir Campbell Rhodes into the vexed question of the superiority or otherwise of State management over company management. He had a feeling that the controversy was very often an unreal one and that in India it was a particularly unreal one. When nine-tenths of the money invested in a railway belonged to the State it was difficult to believe that the company was really a company managed on behalf of shareholders who held at most one-tenth, acting from a distance through an agent, not entirely without directions from the Government of India. The difference between State management and company management was intended to be taken as the difference between management in the interests of the consumer and management for the sake of profit; but nowadays we were getting away from any clear distinction between these two. The ideal of service in a public utility company could be very much the same as the ideal of service in a Government department. The important thing was not so much whether the ownership should ultimately belong to the Government or to shareholders, but that the spirit in which the thing was run was in the interest of good service with as little control as possible from red tape. With a large Government and with a large railway company, he did not think you would get more red tape in the Government than in the railway company. He would like to see more publicity given to the growth of the prosperity of the Indian railways. He was very glad that Sir Clement Hindley had chosen a topic which for once enabled them to look with an optimistic eye at what was going on in India. India owed a great deal to Sir Clement Hindley. It was a very great story, £110,000,000 spent on railway capital in six years, and every penny giving a return to pay the whole interest, and some profit over and above. In addition, towards raising

that £110,000,000—not an easy thing to do—somehow or other the railways managed to contribute no less than £50,000,000. It still belonged to the railways in the form of a reserve depreciation fund, except in so far as it had been paid over to the Government as a contribution from the railways, but nevertheless it had been of enormous benefit in bringing India forward on the road towards prosperity.

Colonel CRAWFORD, as a member of the Legislative Assembly, said he could pay tribute to the magnificent service Sir Clement Hindley and those officers working under him had given to India and her railway services. He was on the Committee which was today considering the question of the convention established in 1924. Whilst he was sure the Indian members of the Assembly were agreeable that the Convention should be continued, there were difficulties looming ahead. He thought political questions might outweigh the consideration of what were mainly commercial problems, and he trusted we should be able to find means whereby political considerations would not seriously handicap the future management of the railways under a centralized Railway Board. He wished to touch on one other sphere of railway activity. He was recently a member of a Committee set up to examine the cinema in India, and one of the great things that struck him was the great opportunity provided by the cinema for educating the masses. He found the Provincial Governments far from taking an interest in this matter, but it was very different with the Railway Board. The Railway Board had established travelling cinemas and were doing a great deal of educational work amongst the masses to improve not only their methods of agriculture, but to lead them forward in questions of health, sanitation, and so on. It was work that they could increase to any extent, but he considered the films were not good enough, and that the officers who had to make the films should have the very best expert advice.

Sir ALEXANDER MURRAY said he had listened to the lecturer's opening remarks that in the olden days the policy of India was guided by statesmen and administrators primarily for the benefit of India and the good of the Indian people, and in contrast to many other countries there had never been exploitation of the people for the benefit of shareholders, political intrigue in railway management, bankruptcy, and liquidation of railway property, or the evil of watered capital; and he wondered whether the lecturer would go on to express a feeling of regret that those good old days had passed, because all through the paper it was a tribute to the work done by himself and other officers of the companies. The pioneers of the railway system, about which Sir Clement had told them so much, might not have been the owners of the railways, as Sir Basil Blackett had pointed out, but the men who had run the railways in those days did so most successfully, not under the Government of India but under their own companies.

Sir PHILIP SHERIDAN said he had worked with Sir Clement Hindley for the last thirty years, and had no greater friend and no nicer chief. It was difficult for him to say all that one could, but Sir Clement Hindley had most ably and fully pointed out what had been done. The big question in regard to the Indian railways was: Were they going to maintain that state

of efficiency which had been the glory of the past? He hoped they were, and thought one of the best ways of maintaining that efficiency was the Dehra Dun College, which owed its inception to Sir Clement Hindley. In the days gone by, the hardest work that was put in was to try and teach the young idea, and the young idea was allowed more or less to run wild, especially in traffic matters. By means of the College the young Indian railwayman would at least be grounded in theory. A very important point which no speaker had touched on was the introduction of the rupee tender system in India. The Indian railways were amongst the largest buyers of the iron and steel trades of England. These trades were, as everyone knows, in a very depressed state. If the English manufacturer did not keep abreast of the times and alter his methods to meet the new conditions about to prevail in India, he would lose what is one of the finest and most reliable markets in the world, for his place would be taken by the foreigners.

Sir UMAR HAYAT KHAN said there had been all praise for the railways, but he thought it would be a good thing if he said something different, because there were always both sides of the shield to be shown. The nice carriages that they had heard about had hitherto not been given to the third-class passengers; at any rate, he had not seen one. You could go and see people travelling like sardines in one carriage, and it was not possible to say that anything very much had been done in that direction. He said that people who had motor cars ran them, and obtained a good deal of revenue which the railways lost, and that was increasing, because ordinarily the public got into those cars at their homes and were taken exactly to where they wanted to go. The Maharajah of Burdwan had said that it was a very useful thing to have the railways towards the frontier. He, the speaker, was sorry that they had not gone further, because if there was a line from one side of the frontier to the other, connecting Dera Ismael Khan and further, Dera Ghazi Khan, then they would have a line which would be really useful. He wanted to make a few remarks, pointing out how things are seen, and how everybody who had been listening would think that there was nothing wrong with India, but they would see that things were not exactly like that at the spot.

Mr. C. B. CHARTRES said he was in India throughout the period which the lecturer had mentioned as that of the greatest development in Indian railways, and was connected with a business which brought him in very close touch with the railways. He had the opportunity of seeing the reorganization that had brought about the great improvement mentioned in the paper, and he would like to add his humble testimony to the impetus which was given to that improvement by the energetic and resourceful personality at the head of the Railway Board during that time. Some of the previous speakers had not been entirely convinced that State management was going to prove an undoubted success. There was already a very grave feeling of nervousness among the Anglo-Indian staff of the railways that the development of political institutions in India would mean political intrigue in the obtaining of posts on the State rail-

ways, and the Anglo-Indians feared very much that they would be ousted from a sphere of work which they had made peculiarly their own. The railways themselves owed a great deal to that community. The Anglo-Indian community was in a very difficult position in India, and their only chance was for some special steps to be taken to ensure that they got the education which would fit them to continue to hold their own in the railway services. The speaker was glad to see the mention of the successful start of a Staff College, and hoped that provision for special education would not end there, but that Anglo-Indians would have special facilities of obtaining education such as would enable them to continue to hold their own in work on the railways.

Sir EVAN COTTON thought most people would agree that the great advantage of company management was that no suspicion of political interference could come into the management of the railways. He felt that the more great enterprises were enveloped in India in what he would for the want of a better name call "State Socialism," the more the danger was incurred of the politician pushing himself into places where he had no business to be. They had already seen, in the case of the Central Bank, a determined attempt to introduce politics; and however excellent the management of the Railway Board had been, he would like to feel more confident that in the future politics would be rigidly kept out of the State management of railways. The good work done by the Railway Board should not obscure the admirable administration of such companies as the Bombay, Baroda, and Central Railway, the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway, and the Bengal Nagpur Railway, in which the personal element counted for so much.

Sir WALTER WILSON said that practically every speaker had refused to accept from Sir Clement Hindley that company management was as dead as the Great Mughul, but to his mind two proper reasons for their view had not been given. Some who agreed with the Acworth Committee's report were guided by the fact that they were against company management governed by directors in England, and wished for Company management in India with the directors there. The other material reason was that it was not only a question of efficiency and dividends, but of the merchants who pay the freights and who do not like to have to deal with a bureaucratic but prefer a commercial administration.

Sir CLEMENT HINDLEY: I realize that the time is very late, and it will not be possible for me to reply in detail to the very interesting speeches that have been made, but I wish to acknowledge very gratefully the complimentary things that have been said about myself and my colleagues on the Railway Board during the recent period. It is a very great gratification to me to find that so many people have been able to agree with me that the period to which I have been referring was a prosperous one for Indian railways. I was somewhat astonished by the ingenuity of the various speakers who have referred to my remarks about State and company management, because every one of them has twisted the words I have used in my paper into something different. I have not claimed that State management is the panacea for all the ills of Indian railways in the future.

I have not claimed that State management has proved itself, and knocked out all its rivals. If anyone reads my paper he will find I have said: "The old controversy of State versus company management in India is as dead as the Great Mughul, and the main argument of the opponents to State management—namely, that it spells inefficiency and insolvency—has been exploded." I adhere to that, which is really a statement of fact and not of opinion, because the old controversy which we had is dead; there is no controversy now about the State versus company management in India, and the argument upon which people relied mostly, that State management would bring inefficiency and insolvency, has been proved to be untrue by what has been done recently. I do not wish to labour that argument any further, but I would like to controvert the statement made by one or two speakers that I have become a convert to the principle of State management. I do not think that anyone could read that into my paper, and it is not true.

I would like to mention one subject which Sir Campbell Rhodes brought forward, and a very important one, I think. It will be obvious that the success of the period we went through in India during the last six or seven years was very largely due to the adequate provision of capital funds. Now, the difficulty has arisen in the last few months (it had been appearing on the horizon before I left and it has arrived now) the difficulty and danger of the inability of the Government of India to provide sufficient funds for the development that is necessary for the railways, so that the programme that we have started may be carried on. I am not sufficiently a financier to understand why the money cannot be obtained. I believe that there has been, and will be, a serious curtailment in the capital expenditure on railways. I think, therefore, it is advisable and necessary that the question whether money can be raised in some such way as Sir Campbell Rhodes suggested—namely, by railway bonds, or some other method of that kind—should be explored. I feel that when railways can be shown capable of earning 6 per cent. on any capital you like to put into them, that there ought to be no difficulty in raising the required capital to carry on development.

I am particularly grateful to Sir Umar Hayat Khan for the remarks he made this evening, because I would not like anybody to think that I wanted to paint a roseate picture of Indian railways without having in mind the difficulties and discomforts of Indian railway travelling which are recognized so very fully in India itself. The question of overcrowding, and the discomforts of passengers when they are moving in large numbers, is one which I think the Railway Board gave more consideration to than any other subject, and if the efforts that were made have not yet borne fruit, then I think a little patience is still required. I am very glad that that point should have been brought up, because there are other people here who might think we were all congratulating ourselves on an entirely satisfactory state of affairs when there is more work still to be carried out. I thank you for your patience in listening to my lecture, and for the very complimentary remarks you have made.

Sir HARCOURT BUTLER proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and to the Chairman, which was carried with acclamation.

Sir MONTAGU WEBB writes:

Had time permitted I should certainly have added my voice to the protests made by Sir Alexander Murray and others against Sir Clement Hindley's inference that the events of the last five years in India prove that the policy of State railway management (as compared with management by private enterprise) is completely successful and holds promise of continued and perhaps still greater success in the future.

As might be expected, the Socialists in this country have seized upon Sir Clement's words with the greatest jubilation. *Forward* of Glasgow—the leading Socialist-Labour weekly—devoted half the front page of one issue to the matter under such headings as "Lord Reading and Nationalization," "Success of State Management," "£50,000,000 Profit," etc., as though India already afforded the world an example of Socialism at work, guided by Indian democracy!

The fact is that private enterprise originally built and managed most of the railways in India; and Government has subsequently been taking over well-built and soundly managed concerns (though Company management from London had and has certain drawbacks). Hitherto, the Railway Board of the Government of India has been largely sheltered from political interference by the local and central parliaments; and, so long as Government can autocratically fix rates and fares, an annual railway surplus is now certain provided India experiences no serious failure of the rains. (Just as Government can always make a postal surplus in England by charging too much for postage.)

But what of the future? We are now in sight of the time when every detail of the Indian railway service, including new capital, rates, fares, and staff, will become subjects of wire-pulling by Indian politicians. Not until another ten years have elapsed can sound conclusions be drawn as to the effects of the change over from private to State management of railways in India.

Another point. Sir Clement made no reference to Feeder Railways in India, brought into existence by private enterprise. These, I submit, have been quite successful, in that they have attracted capital from sources that might not have been tapped by Government, given to Indians and Europeans a permanent, material interest in the development of the localities which have been served, and so formed for the ship of State valuable ballast that tends to steady public opinion, and work on the side of peace, law, and order, and sound, practical government.

Under Sir Clement's presidentship of the Railway Board, this policy has been abandoned. The State no longer encourages private enterprise, but aims to purchase existing, and construct all new Feeder Railways itself! This policy, I submit, is unsound, and has already received a not altogether unexpected check in the difficulty now being experienced in finding all the capital required for the further State development of railways in India.

EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN INDIA

BY PROFESSOR D. K. KARVE

If the leaders of opinion in Bengal are ready to recognize the supreme importance of a *rapid development* of women's education and of an *adaptation* of the system to Indian needs and conditions, and if they are willing to spend time and thought and money in bringing it about, the question will gradually solve itself. Otherwise there must lie before this country a tragic and painful period of social dislocation and misunderstanding, and a prolongation of the existing disregard for those manifold ills in a progressive society which only an educated womanhood can heal.

THIS was the note of warning sounded by the Sadler Commission at the end of their remarks on women's education. What the Commission said of Bengal is equally true of the other provinces; everyone who studies the question of women's education in India is faced with this problem. Women's education must be developed not in leisurely fashion, but rapidly, in order to bridge the great gulf now existing between men and women in this respect. How wide and how deep the gulf is may be gauged from the following figures taken from the Indian Census Report of 1921 and the educational statistics for 1925 :

1. Among 1,000 persons of an age above five years 139 males can read and write. In case of females there are only 21 per thousand.
2. Among Hindu and Muhammadan women, this ratio is only 1 in every 63 and 1 in every 116 respectively.
3. As regards English literacy, of every 10,000 inhabitants there are 160 men and 18 women who can read and write the language.
4. A comparative ratio of the number of boys to the number of girls receiving education at the various stages is given :

(a) Beginning of the primary stage ...	...	6 : 1
(b) End of the primary stage ...	...	11 : 1
(c) Beginning of the lower secondary stage ...	...	20 : 1
(d) End of lower secondary stage ...	...	33 : 1
(e) High-school stage ...	...	83 : 1

This last figure was humorously commented upon by the Governor of Punjab at a speech made in an educational institution. "Out of 83 young men who are taking their high-school education," remarked His Excellency, "only

one can get an educated wife with whom exchange of thought and feeling would be possible: the other 82 will have to pass their lives either with uneducated or half-educated wives." How to remove this formidable disparity and to find the shortest and quickest way to the goal is the most vital question about women's education in India.

A DEFECTIVE SYSTEM

Primary education or the education of the three so-called R's, though absolutely necessary, gives no culture; for this secondary and higher education are required. The present system of imparting such education in India was not naturally evolved, but was artificially created to supply a particular demand. It is defective and, even in the case of men, it has outgrown its utility. Instead of aiming at knowledge and culture, it aims at qualifying for a few employments, the field for which is now so full that the question of the unemployment of graduates is growing more and more acute. The system, if forced upon women, is bound to produce the same results. Again, the social and economic conditions do not permit of spending the amount of time and money required by this system of education even in the case of boys—much less in the case of girls. This is one of the reasons why secondary and higher education of women has not kept pace with that of boys. An adaptation of the system, therefore, to Indian needs and conditions is necessary if the education of women is to develop at a rapid pace.

The present social and economic stage in India is not altogether exceptional. Other countries have been through it and have found the way out. For instance, Japan was under similar social conditions thirty-five years ago. Men's education had sufficiently advanced, while that of women lagged behind, and a gulf was distinctly visible between the two sexes. Some leaders of Japanese society, holding this gulf to be ruinous to their nation, devised a scheme of women's education, adapting their courses of study to the

needs of the majority of their women and thus brought higher education within their reach. They started a separate university for women in 1900, and within twelve years marvellous progress was made. The number of girls' high schools, which was only 12 in 1900, went up to 182, and not less than 1,300 ladies graduated within this short period. But these results were only made possible by the changes introduced in the system of education of women.

A FOREIGN MEDIUM

The greatest defect in the present system in India is that secondary as well as higher education is mostly given through the medium of English—a completely foreign tongue. Nowhere else in the world is to be found this unnatural process of educating people through a foreign language. Let Englishmen conceive of having to be educated through another language—say French or German—and then they will be able to realise the difficulties in the way of Indian progress. To learn the language for the sake of reading and understanding its literature or for conversational purposes is quite different from having to learn every subject and to be examined in that subject through such a medium. Grammatical rules and subtleties of English idioms thus occupy a prominent part in every subject until the subject itself seems to become secondary. Examiners look less to the facts written by the candidate than to the correctness of the language in which they are presented.

This deification of English—even at the expense of knowledge—has been eating away the opportunities of culture of our young men and women under the present educational system. And still what is the result? Thousands of graduates have come from the chartered universities; but how small a proportion of them have been of use to the country. After spending much time and money at school and college, they are neither well-versed in English nor able to work for the country by spreading

among the masses what they have learnt in English. It is hopeless to expect that this unnatural system will spread real education far and wide in the country. Whatever might have been the reasons which led to the introduction of the system, the time is more than ripe for it to be changed.

To make modern Indian languages the media of instruction and examination is the first adaptation needed in the present system of education. Heavy social and economic obstacles in the way of women's education must be taken into consideration. The system must be adapted to the needs of womanhood, and must be within its reach from the standpoints both of time and money. Under the present system girls have to study all subjects prescribed for the boys, and in addition some others because they are girls. The strain proves too much and the majority succumb under it.

DIFFERENTIATION OF CURRICULA

It is often said that education knows no sex. I accept this principle so far as general culture is concerned. But if education is to make one more fitted for practical life, it must make provision to this end. If in the case of boys differentiation as regards scientific, manual, literary and other subjects is deemed necessary, I see no reason why the same method of differentiation should not be adopted in the course to be framed for women in general. I do not propose to debar women from following the courses of study for men. Those who have the means to do so may be left to follow those courses and to compete with men on their own grounds. They will be an ornament to society. But the number of such women will always be small. The majority will follow their own natural course of life, and it is necessary to devise a system for them. It must not be inferior to, but must differ from, the ordinary men's system.

It is admitted that women are by nature averse to hard and dry subjects like grammar or mathematics, but are

inclined towards the fine arts. I see no reason why they should be compelled to give up their natural inclinations and forced to follow subjects for which they have no liking. Under the present system in India such subjects are compulsory, with the result that many a woman finds her path barred by stumbling-blocks and gives up the effort. Cases of persons unable to get through the rigid examination system in India, but who have taken degrees in foreign countries under a different system, are not rare. Why such subjects should not be made optional in Indian Universities, and why fine arts should not find a place in their stead, is a riddle to me. I have tried to solve it in my own humble way, and I am going to tell you how I did it.

THE INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY

For the past thirty-two years I have been a worker in this field. I started near Poona a small widows' home with only two students in 1896. Poor, promising child widows were maintained and educated there. Sometimes unmarried girls related to these widows were also admitted. But the pressing applications of married and unmarried girls for admission necessitated the establishment in 1907 of a separate school for them. Some scholarships were provided in this school for those girls who promised to prosecute their studies by remaining unmarried till the age of twenty. A separate and practical course of studies was also devised for those girls who could not remain unmarried so long. For eight years these institutions worked separately, but in 1915 they were amalgamated into one boarding high school for girls and women. The school still flourishes where it started, four miles from Poona. It has become a self-sufficient colony of about 300 souls, with their own motor-bus, waterworks, grinding-mill, electrical plant, and other necessities of modern life.

At the end of 1915 I was asked to preside over the National Social Conference to be held in Bombay. I was

thinking over the ideas to be put forward in my presidential address when I read an account of the Japan Women's University. The booklet describing the work of this University gave shape to my ideas on the subject, and I formulated my scheme for a separate women's university, giving instruction through Indian languages with courses of studies suited to the needs and requirements of the majority of Indian women. The scheme was placed before the public on December 13, 1915, when I announced that the University would be started within a short time.

It was a very daring assertion. We had no funds to back us. But we were strong in workers. A few M.A.'s of chartered Indian universities—some of them having experience of teaching in Government and recognized colleges—were willing to work with me in a spirit of self-sacrifice. Then we had our combined high school which would supply us with a few students every year. With firm faith in the cause we started our work. Important towns in different parts of India were visited to enrol sympathizers. Electorates were formed, sixty persons were elected to form the Senate, and its first meeting was called on June 3, 1916, just five months and four days after the scheme was placed before the public. Forty-three Fellows attended the meeting, some of them coming from Lahore, Madras, and Mysore, and the University was formally inaugurated by that great Orientalist, the late Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, as the Chancellor. The Syndicate was appointed, courses of study were framed, the first entrance examination was held; six students from our school appeared, four passed, and with these four we opened the first year college class on July 5, 1916.

SIR V. THACKERSEY'S ENDOWMENT

For four years we had very hard and tiring work to do, lacking both sufficient funds and sufficient students. But our patience bore its first fruit in 1920. Here also the inspiration came from Japan. The late Sir Vithaldas

Thackersey had returned from his tour round the world with one of our lady students as companion to Lady Vithaldas, and had been much impressed by what he saw of Japan Women's University and by what he heard about our work from the lady student. He sent for me and put forward his scheme of laying apart for our University a sum of about £100,000 in $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Government paper. After some negotiations the terms were settled and the Senate formally accepted the gift in June, 1920, naming the University after the donor's mother, Shreemati Nathibai Damodher Thackersey, and making some changes in the constitution.

The gift is conditional. The annual interest of about £3,500 is to be annually received by the University for current expenses, but the corpus of the gift is to be handed over to the University when either the University is recognised by the Government as a chartered University or it raises a fund equal to the gift. This annual income enabled the University to expand its work. The University is at present in a position to spend £4,600 in conducting a college, a full high school in Poona and another in Bombay, and in giving grants-in-aid to one college at Ahmedabad, eight high schools and six middle schools in Maharashtra and Gujarat affiliated to and recognised by the University. In Baroda there is a high school and a college affiliated to, but not aided by the University. A normal school is also affiliated to the University, which holds examinations and grants certificates to the teachers for primary schools. Nearly fifty women have thus gone out. Fifty-seven ladies have graduated and about fifty are receiving their higher education in colleges. The number of students in high and middle schools comes to about 1,400. Though at present regular teaching institutions are in existence only for the Marathi and Gujarati languages, arrangements are made to examine in other Indian languages, *e.g.* Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, and Sindhi, such candidates being examined where they study by

means of question papers and having an examination conducted under the supervision of some educational officers. The extension of the work depends on increasing our income, and the support we have had for so long from the Indian public gives us hope for the future.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

I should add that the University is not exclusively devoted to higher education and research work. Its objects include the spread of secondary education far and wide. Not that the proper object of research is ignored : some of our students have worked and will work in that field. A few are also in foreign countries to prosecute post-graduate studies. But for the present, at least till secondary education is far more advanced, our main exertions will be in that direction. That is why our graduates are also working chiefly in the cause of secondary education. They have been instrumental in establishing and conducting high schools at various places. Some of them are working on responsible posts in other high schools. As many as thirty-five out of fifty-seven are engaged in educational fields, while the others have settled down to married life. If the value of the movement is to be judged by its products, it may safely be said that the University has been a fair success. The goal which the University seeks to reach is that of spreading a network of high schools on these lines throughout the length and breadth of India and of having at least one full college, if not a separate University, for each linguistic province. Our work is not narrow in its scope. It is for all castes, creeds and religions, and to all these in some way or the other it has been of service.

I have already said that one of two conditions laid down by the late Sir Vithaldas for making his gift final and permanent is that of Government recognition. But the departures we have made from the established routine renders the support of Government a doubtful quantity.

A question of principle is involved in changing the medium of instruction and examination. Further, the desirability of founding a separate chartered University for women may be considered debatable. There may be not a few differences of opinion as regards the courses of studies. It was therefore thought far better, as expressed in a letter by the great poet of India, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, "to win the Government recognition in the end rather than pray for it in the beginning." The wheels of Government, laden as they are with innumerable burdensome responsibilities, are very slow to move in such matters, and as there had already been long years of neglect to establish such an institution, we decided to make a beginning and gradually to work our way to recognition.

WIDESPREAD SUPPORT

We may now be said to be fairly on our way. The Education Department of the Bombay Presidency has recognised the equivalence of our normal school certificates to their own. The College of Physicians and Surgeons of the Bombay Presidency which controls the admission and examinations in medical schools has also recognised our Entrance examination as equivalent to other matriculation examinations of chartered Universities for admission to their schools. The Education Department of the Central Provinces also gave the status of a graduate of chartered Universities to one of our graduates. Government have been keenly watching our progress. Officials from the Governor to the educational inspectors have often paid visits to our institutions and given their personal contributions. A number of high schools recognised by our University receive grants-in-aid from the Education Department and local bodies, even when they gave instruction in accordance with our syllabus and not that of the Government. All these facts indicate how the wind is blowing. But how much time it will take before this

ship safely reaches the destined haven is a thing that time will reveal.

Meanwhile we have not been idle. We have been trying to fulfil the condition of collecting an amount equal to Sir Vithaldas's gift. Nearly one-third of it has been raised, and as there is no time limit we hope one day or the other to secure the whole. Our policy has always been to approach thousands of people, poor as well as rich, and accept their tokens of sympathy in any amount even to the smallest farthing, which they can spare without feeling it a burden. I hope you will pardon me for having harped on my own lute. My only excuse is that I have submerged myself in this cause to which I hope to devote not only the little which I may have left of this life, but also other lives (if there be any) destined for me.

One final remark : Mother India is starving educationally, and therefore like a famine-stricken person any food in the form of education which is not distinctly unwholesome must be welcome to her. The present system of education will never be able, of itself, to provide for the whole of our vast country. Different experiments must, therefore, be tried for a sufficient length of time until policy is shaped to a particular form. The work of spreading education far and wide can better be achieved by private agencies than by Government. Private agencies are less costly and appeal more to the people. Girls' schools can never flourish in India unless they are sufficiently backed by Government sympathy and support. Government must, therefore, be prepared to give a greater proportion of grants-in-aid to the girls' schools in comparison with those for boys than in the past. Private efforts must be encouraged. I would suggest that Government should go out of their way to offer help even when unsolicited if they find any real work done in the right direction. Let me hope that this may be done, so that the women of India, the mothers of the future generation, may be educated throughout the country from the Himalayas to Ceylon and from the Arabian Sea to Burma.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, July 8, 1929, at which a paper was read by Professor D. K. Karve, entitled "Secondary and Higher Education of Women in India." Lady Simon was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present :

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., and Lady Barrow, Colonel Sir Malik Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., and Lady MacKenna, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Sir Hari Singh, Lady Gour and Miss D. Gour, Lady Hirtzel, Lady Tata, Lady Bose, Lady Scott Moncrieff, Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., Lady Procter, Lady Hartog, the Hon. Mrs. Grant Duff, the Hon. Miss Gertrude Kinnaird, Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Mr. Edwin Haward, Mrs. Bickford Smith, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. Malik Ghulam Mohd. Khan, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Mrs. Coatman, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Miss Margaret Brown, Khan Sahib M. H. and Mrs. Kothawala, the Misses Kothawala, Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Gray, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mrs. Latifi, Mrs. J. J. Nolan, Miss L. Sorabji, Mr. S. K. Dutt, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Dr. C. L. Katial, Mr. A. N. Mitter, Mr. Q. Srinivasan, Miss Beadon, Mrs. Martley, Miss Court, Mrs. Luzack, the Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. A. M. Bose, Mr. E. Cripps, Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Harris, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Mr. and Mrs. Kotval, Miss Harcourt, Mr. A. T. Penman, Mr. K. P. Ramsami, Dr. Khalid Sheldrake, Mr. J. S. Andrews, Miss Kerr, Mrs. Henry Morley, Miss Alphonso, Mrs. Vakil, Mr. Bhumgara, Mrs. Hartshorn, Mr. V. H. Boalth, O.B.E., Mrs. Davidson, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—We are met here this afternoon to hear a lecture on a subject of the most burning interest at the present day to those who are interested in the great problems of India. Professor Karve is probably better able to speak on this subject than most people, because he has devoted his life to advancing the education of women in India. He has decided that it should be done on certain lines, and I feel sure that in the discussion which will follow the lecture we shall have many opinions, whether people agree with those lines or not. I am the last person to think that because I spent one cold winter from October to April in India I am qualified to speak on any Indian subject, still less to speak on so important a subject as is being discussed this afternoon ; but I do claim that I am one of the most interested members of the audience in what Professor Karve has to tell us about his work, for during the tour of the Statutory Commission, of which my husband is the chairman, through every province of India, I felt the most sincere sympathy with the efforts which are being made for the advance of education among the women in India. In the course of the tour I took every

opportunity I had to visit all the institutions I could at Poona, Lahore, Lucknow, Calcutta, in Burma, and elsewhere—institutions which are springing up all over the country to help women and girls to fit themselves by education to be useful citizens of their motherland. There is an enormous amount of work to be done. The great mass of Indian women today have enjoyed little or no education, and do not realize the need for it. The system of purdah and the prevalence of child marriage are grave obstacles, but no one who sees, as I have seen, the work that is being done in so many quarters for the promotion of women's education in India will fail to be touched by the devotion shown and encouraged by the progress that has been made. Professor Karve will tell us many things today, and he will tell us no doubt of the progress that his particular form of helping education is making. I have great sympathy with the aspirations of so many of India's sons for their fatherland, and they will always find me sympathetic in all their desires to advance the good purpose for which they stand; but, above all, I want them to recognize one thing—I have said it many times and I will say it many times again—that until the daughters of India take their place as educated and enlightened citizens to help in the work of their country, India's greatness will not be shown. A man may carry on his work, but he cannot do it alone. In the first place, if he has not an educated wife she cannot share his desires or aspirations in his work. If he has not an educated wife to bring up his children, his children will suffer because of it, and so all of us desire more intensely than anything that in India this educational movement should penetrate not only to the highest but down to the lowest, for primary education is necessary to help the masses to rise. (Hear, hear.) To attain this the work will be hard, and the necessity for the devotion of which I have spoken will be very great. It is an immense task and will take time, but we honour all who devote their lives to it. Now I think it is time I called on Professor Karve to tell us of the progress of his work and the hopes he has for the future. I have great hopes for India's future. (Applause.)

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We shall hear many points of view and possibly criticisms on the lecture. I hope the lecturer will not mind that. As an Irishwoman I am quite used to being criticized; I do not mind it a bit, and I am sure the lecturer will not mind a variety of opinions being expressed about his work. The sum total of the work, to my mind, is that any effort of any description towards the educating of the women of India must meet with our commendation. (Hear, hear.) I ended my preliminary remarks by saying that I had great faith in India's future. I qualify that in this way. I think India's sons and daughters are the people who are going to make India's future, and we must help the daughters to make the future of their own country. You will remember, I am sure, that there is an old saying, and it is perfectly true, that redemption comes from within, and if the people of India want enlightenment and if they want education they will get it. We want them to realize that

they need it for the development of their country, and not to depend entirely on outside people to give it to them. You will always get what you want if you want it badly enough. I have always found that in my life. We have an old saying that the brain of a woman is neither better nor worse than that of a man, but it is different. A man often, with his wider vision, misses a thing that lies right under his nose, and that is what a woman sees. (Hear, hear.)

There is only one little criticism I have to make of the lecture. I do not feel competent to criticize a person whose life work has been this wonderful subject of education, but the question of language struck me very forcibly. When Professor Karve was speaking he condemned the system of educating the Indian women in the English language. I should like to point out that in England at the universities the men learn their classics in Latin and Greek, and that is not their mother tongue, and we learn also in the study of history in German and French, so that our education is not entirely in our own language. Also, will you find examiners able to examine in all the different languages that you possess in India? Will you find as many as you will find competent to examine in English? Though Irish is our language and we have a university, we teach in English. English is almost a world language. If you go to Russia, France, or Germany you will find they are all learning things in English, so I do not think that ought to be a handicap in the education of the women of India. Primary education must be carried out in the vernacular, I quite agree, but I think when you get to secondary or higher education for the better classes you must carry it on in the language where everyone is on common ground. I am not saying that I have any right to speak of things in India, but I did go round, I think, with a little intelligence and took a special interest in the education of the people as well as many other points. I noticed that when the women met one another they could converse if they knew English, and most of them could not talk to one another at all if they did not know English.

Mrs. COATMAN said that, although there were many people who knew more about the subject than she did herself, there was no one more interested in it. She wanted to elicit a little further information, not only from Professor Karve but also from members of the audience. One thing on which she wanted information was the question of the use of the vernacular in the university. Another matter was the question of whether it was wise to have a women's university with a separate syllabus. She was inclined to agree with Professor Karve that it was wise and that it was the best thing to do in the circumstances, because it seemed to her that what had to be done was to open the gates of knowledge to the women of India, which should be done in the best, quickest, and easiest way. To have a university intended especially for them and with a syllabus specially suited to them seemed to her to be the best and quickest way of achieving the desired results. There were women who would go on to the universities where they would have the same syllabus as the men and would go into various professions, but there would be a great many who would

only go to the women's university in order to have the path made plain for them. Although she was of opinion that a university with a special syllabus was probably the best way of doing the work in India, one had to remember that that plan had not worked in other countries. It was only when fifty years ago women insisted on obtaining education at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge that women's education really started in England.

Another point was with reference to the relative importance of higher education and primary education. Everybody who knew anything about education for women in India knew that the most crying need was for primary education. Professor Karve might seem to have started at the top instead of the bottom, but she entirely agreed with him in approaching the subject in that way. They could not have primary education until they had people who were fit to dispense it, and for that reason it was necessary to begin at the top and allow the knowledge to work downwards gradually, as had happened in other countries. With regard to the syllabus, the women of India were the people who knew what they wanted, and she thought their views ought to be taken into consideration, and so far as she knew they all desired a special syllabus for women. (Applause.)

Mr. H. S. L. POLAK said his only qualification for speaking on the subject was that he had been familiar with Professor Karve's work for over twenty years and had had many opportunities of being in close contact with it. Those who had had the privilege of reading the life of Professor Karve would understand very readily that he was regarded with very great reverence wherever he went in India on account of his remarkable services to Indian women's education. Two points had been clearly brought out in the paper. One was that Professor Karve had instituted a very special syllabus for women's education. It seemed to be quite clear that, whilst there were a number of women who would in the ordinary way go to the usual type of university, there must be a large number who would not. Professor Karve had discovered from his very wide experience the particular type of syllabus and curriculum that was best suited to a large number of Indian women who would otherwise have to go without higher education, which seemed to be a good reason why the system should be very strongly encouraged. Nothing which Professor Karve had done prevented those women who wished to do so from going to the ordinary type of university. In fact, he was told there were more Indian women at the Ferguson College, Poona, which was affiliated to the Bombay University, than those who attended Professor Karve's own institution; but it was quite evident that the women who went to Professor Karve's university were not likely, for the reasons which had been given, to go to any of the regular universities, and that seemed to be the justification for Professor Karve's system of instruction.

When a student in Switzerland, he himself had studied even foreign languages through the medium of a foreign language, and he had found it much more difficult than if the instruction had been in his own English

mother tongue. He thought it would be desirable in India to have English as a second language, but to make it a primary language appeared to him to be not only unnecessary but ridiculous. If the 45 million people of Bengal, for instance, could not use their own mother tongue more easily than they could use another language, then it appeared to him there was something wrong with them, and he thought that remark applied to other parts of India as well.

With regard to the alleged difficulty of finding people to teach in the vernacular, it had been successfully accomplished in the case of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, where no difficulty had been experienced in making use of Hebrew as a living language for all purposes.

Sir HARI SINGH GOUR said he entirely agreed with Professor Karve that women's education must have regard to their special aptitude, and that the curriculum of men should not be made applicable to women. With regard to the question of language, he had always been strongly in favour of the view that the English language was the *lingua franca* of the country which had given India its modern institutions. For instance, what would a Bengali know of the great movements going on in England, other European countries, and America, and indeed through the civilized world, without a knowledge of the English language? If he knew only his native language it would cramp his intellect and his vision and atrophy his soul. He was strongly in favour of the use of English, certainly for secondary or higher education. Professor Karve had referred to the non-recognition of his university by the Government. That, in his opinion, was due to the fact that the syllabus was not the Government syllabus.

Sir UMAR HAYAT KHAN said he entirely agreed with most of the views expressed by the lecturer. With regard to the purdah question, he might mention that, as regards Muhammadan women, it merely consisted in covering their hair and hands and the wrists and legs up to the ankles; and it was not, as people here considered, that women were locked up, and thus such purdah could not interfere with their education. As regards the question of child marriages, in the Punjab at the present time most of the girls were not married until they had attained the age of twenty. Education was absolutely necessary in the case of Muhammadans, because for reasons of religion they must know how to read and write their religious books; and religious instruction was absolutely necessary in education, as those who did not understand God could not respect their elders and their King. The present curriculum of education was defective as it effeminized the boys, and no wonder if they turned agitators when they did not get employment and could not do their forefathers' work.

Mr. RICHEY said he did not agree with all the remarks of Professor Karve, who had commenced by making certain criticisms of the educational system which were applicable as much to the education of boys as to the education of girls. He wished to point out, in justice to the Education Department, that while Government were responsible for the organization and administration, the content of education was what was demanded

by the parents. It would be impossible to carry on the schools on a voluntary system if the people were not provided with the sort of education which they asked for. Moreover, education since the reforms had been under Ministers who would have responded to any popular demand for a change of system. One such development there had been. There was a tendency at the present time towards a wider introduction of the vernacular. Everybody must feel that a person should be taught in his own vernacular if possible. The difficulty was that in India there were about two hundred vernaculars, in many of which it was impossible to express modern ideas. To take the case of Bihar and Orissa, there were six recognized vernaculars spoken in that province. It was essential for higher education to use a language which was capable of expressing modern scientific ideas. To turn to questions peculiar to education of girls, he agreed with the lecturer that there should be a distinction between the curriculum for girls and that which was used for boys, but there was nowhere any general consensus of opinion as to what that difference should be. There had been a Commission in England on the subject comparatively recently, though its findings could not be regarded as final. It was for India to work the matter out for herself. Herein lay the great value of experiments such as that of Professor Karve. And they had a second great importance. For he agreed wholeheartedly with the concluding paragraph of Professor Karve's paper that for the wide diffusion of female education in India they must rely very largely on private enterprise. It was most encouraging that recent reports from India showed that increasing interest was being shown by Indian men and, what was of even greater value, by enlightened Indian women in the education of Indian girls.

Sardar BAHADUR B. S. UBEROI said he was strongly in favour of improving the education of women in India. It is not due only to the social customs, but the responsibility lies at some other quarters—*i.e.*, the supply of institutions has not been enough. In his province ten years ago there was not one high school for girls, whereas at the present time there were about seven hundred girl students in one high school. One cause of the backwardness of the girls as regards education had been the scarcity of female teachers capable of taking charge of a girls' school. He thought the medium of instruction should be the vernacular of the province. Mr. Richey had referred to the difficulty in regard to the number of dialects. In the Punjab there were several dialects spoken, but the words in many cases were common; and he thought one Punjabi language could be found which would suit all the girls' and boys' schools in all the districts of the Punjab. Religious education should be the foundation of all the other educations.

Mr. G. S. DUTT, I.C.S., strongly supported Professor Karve's plan of having special institutions for the education of Indian women, with a specialized curriculum suited to the needs of women, and of having the vernacular of each province as the medium of instruction in the primary and secondary stages. From his experience of adult education work

among rural women in Bengal, he was in a position to say that Indian parents objected to the education of their girls, not because they were opposed to education as such, but because they had found that the present system of education unfitted their girls for the homely duties of domestic life, and made them despise the best traditions of Indian culture and of Indian womanhood. In order to induce Indian parents to educate their girls, they must evolve a system of education based on Indian ideals linked with the past history of the country, while making full provision for the teaching of domestic economy on the one hand and of the arts and sciences on the other. As regards the medium of instruction, Mr. Dutt emphasized the importance of not making the same mistake in regard to women's education which had been made in regard to men's education in India. They must have English of course, but only as a second language, till the end of the secondary stage. The medium of instruction must, however, be the vernacular, otherwise not only was the pupils' mental growth seriously stunted, but they were unable to think and converse freely in their own language, and became out of touch with the masses of the people, who could only speak and understand the vernaculars.

Lady TATA said she was strongly of opinion that the medium of instruction should be English, which was the *lingua franca* of the country. It was impossible for ladies from the south of India to converse with ladies from the north, or to exchange ideas, for the reason that each did not know the other's language, whereas a knowledge of English enabled them to do so. The greatest difficulty would be experienced in publishing all the textbooks in so many different vernacular languages as would be necessary in India. A knowledge of English was absolutely necessary for the women in India in order that they might realize what was happening in other countries, and to enable them to take their own individual place with the women of other civilized nations of the world.

Mrs. H. M. GRAY said that she had visited almost every high school and college for the higher education of girls in India, and she had an immense admiration for Professor Karve's school, because he was doing pioneer work which would be most valuable in connection with education in India.

THE LECTURER, replying to the criticisms on his paper, said that so far from neglecting English, they were paying more attention to the study of the English language than was usually paid to the study of a second language in universities. In his opinion the study of the English language was exceedingly important, and it was essential that the women of India who want to go in for higher education should have a good working knowledge of English. It was the English language which had given them a united India. With regard to the question of the recognition of the university by the Government, he wished to point out that they had not approached the Government. They were watching for an opportunity of approaching the Government, and he was sure they would obtain recognition in the future. In his opinion, in twenty-five years' time in most of the universities of India general education up to the ordinary degree would

be given through the medium of the mother tongue of the student. With regard to the question of the syllabus, various subjects were compulsory in the case of women, one being domestic science, and another the study of the literature of the mother tongue which contains works of our poet saints, so that students may be kept in touch with our tradition and culture. With regard to the question of many languages, there were only about twelve important languages in India, which are not too many for the continent-like country of India, not smaller in population and area than Europe without Russia, and most of the textbooks were written in those languages, but wherever there was any difficulty about a textbook an English text was always recommended. The instruction and the examinations, however, had to be carried on in the language of the province.

SIR LOUIS DANE, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Lecturer, said he had the greatest sympathy with Professor Karve's lecture, which he was sure had inspired great interest in them all. Professor Karve had devoted his whole life to the work. There was nothing new in instruction in all subjects in the vernacular. The Punjab University had been started with a vernacular faculty, which was the senior faculty still. The idea was to teach in the vernacular up to the degree standard, and even up to the doctor's standard. No Englishman would ever really know the heart of India unless he devoted himself to learning one at least of the vernacular languages of India. When he left India the *Pioneer* had been good enough to say that he seemed more Indian than the Indians themselves, in that he was perhaps more easily understood by them than by others. That was the position which Englishmen going to India in the Government service should try to achieve. But with all his sympathy with the vernaculars, in his opinion it was useless, as experience showed, to try to force education in the vernacular beyond the primary stage or the lower secondary stage, because the language the people wanted and would pray for was English, and they would insist on having it. Another point was, as Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan had said, that in his opinion, in girls' schools, at any rate, it was essential to teach religion in order to achieve success: When Queen Mary visited the Punjab she took a great interest in women's education, and the money given to her as an oblation she proposed to devote to the furtherance of women's education, especially among the higher classes. In that case it was necessary to begin at the top and work downwards in the matter of education, as Professor Karve was doing. A school had been opened which was called Queen Mary's College, and several devoted Englishwomen gave their services gratuitously for the purpose of teaching there, and it had been a most triumphant success, and had in the Punjab solved the difficulty of providing educated wives for the men educated at the Chief's College and other colleges.

THE CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting on behalf of the lecturer and herself for the vote of thanks, the proceedings terminated.

THE ECONOMIC POSITION IN INDIA

BY KIKABHAI PREMCHAND, M.L.A.

I WELCOME the opportunity afforded by my visit to England in connection with the Statutory Inquiry into the Indian Constitution to join your Association, founded two generations ago to promote the welfare of India. I gladly accepted the invitation which your honorary secretary, Mr. Brown, my friend and the friend of my honoured father, was kind enough to give me to speak to you today on the subject of present economic conditions in India and their bearing on the welfare of the British Empire.

The relations between the British Isles and India, as you are aware, were at first and for a long period entirely those of trade and commerce; but they developed with the passing of time. The interests of the two countries have been closely intertwined for generations, and India today is one of the most important partners in the British Empire. When the East India Company first went to India to trade and after the decay of the Mogul Power, the country went through a welter of political confusion from which she emerged only when the rivalry between competing European nations for the overlordship of India was settled in favour of the British. The rule then established and steadily consolidated has been of inestimable advantage to India, as it has brought peace and prosperity and the great blessing of complete religious liberty and freedom.

It would be a mistake, however, to regard the benefit as merely one-sided. The interests of the two countries have become so closely interwoven with the lapse of years that it would be not merely painful but highly injurious to both if the partnership were dissolved. They are like two trees which have become intertwined and grown together for years, so that their separation would bring severe injury to

both, if it did not actually destroy them. Every right-minded Indian recognizes that if the Motherland went out of the Empire, she would fall into a state of chaos perhaps even worse than has been witnessed in Russia or China in our own day. It is also certain that England without India would be shorn of much of the authority which she wields to beneficent ends amongst the nations of the earth, as also of her glory and prosperity.

KNOWLEDGE AND SYMPATHY

On these grounds the interests of England and India should always be regarded not as distinct and separate but as mutual and intermingled. Unfortunately the idea that these interests conflict has been entertained by some observers when faced with the perplexing problems to which the connection between this Western country and my Motherland inevitably gives rise. It is by mutual knowledge, understanding, and sympathy that such perverted views can best be removed. It is therefore a matter for profound regret that the interest in, and knowledge of, India possessed by the average citizen of this country is most limited and inadequate. It is good to have the East India Association existing to spread correct information and to provide a platform for the discussion of Indian problems. But unfortunately the man in the street or on the omnibus pays little attention to these matters.

I have no criticism to offer at the decision of the leaders of the three political parties in England that so far as they could control matters, India should be left out of the controversies of the recent general election. I earnestly hope that she will never be made a pawn in British party politics. But that is no reason why her affairs should not be followed in this country with steady and intelligent interest. It is on the basis of acquaintance with them that India can best profit by a sound and sympathetic British statesmanship which takes into due account the vital consideration that in political and economic life Indian standards are steadily

advancing and approximating more and more to those of Western countries. On this ground it is highly desirable that moderate and sober-minded Indian opinion should be given more weight in the settlement of Indian questions than has been the case not infrequently in the past.

ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

You are all aware that after the post-armistice boom there came a period of world-wide trade depression. So far from escaping this setback, India in some ways has been more seriously affected than almost any other country. While world prices of manufactured commodities she imports rose rapidly during and after the war, the prices of the exportable surplus of her produce have not risen in anything like the same proportion, and the difference—still very considerable—has stood in the way of the economic betterment of her cultivating classes. The unsettled conditions have contributed to much labour unrest, which has been felt not only by the relatively new industries, such as the iron and steel trades, but also by the older cotton and jute mills.

The telegrams from India published in this country seem to me to be extremely meagre ; yet they have been sufficient for the public to be aware that in the last year or two the Bombay cotton mill industry has been suffering from a succession of obstinate strikes, one of which in 1928 kept it at a complete standstill for over six months. It is clear that Communistic activities and subversive agitations have been largely responsible for this state of affairs. It is to be earnestly hoped that the Royal Commission, which is to go out to India in the autumn under the chairmanship of Mr. Whitley, will be able to make recommendations which will assist in meeting what is a grave menace to the future of Indian industry. The terms of reference are rightly comprehensive, for the Royal Commission is to enquire into and report on the existing conditions of labour in industrial undertakings and planta-

tions, on the health, efficiency, and standard of living of the workers, and on the relations between the employers and employed. It is in a fair adjustment of these relations that the best hope of future prosperity and progress lies. Remarkable strides have been made in the last few years in the improvement of the condition of the workers, and the legislation to this end has been carried with the hearty support of the representatives of commerce and industry, both British and Indian, in the Central Legislature.

FOREIGN COMPETITION

Labour troubles are not the only factors in the depression from which the Bombay mill industry has suffered for the past six or seven years. Foreign competitors for our home markets have profited greatly by the fact that at the earliest possible time after the Reforms took effect India ratified the Washington Labour Conventions of 1919. The Conventions were signed by the representatives of Japan, but ratification by that country has been so long delayed that not until a month ago was the employment of women and children in the mills at night forbidden—some forty years after the practice had disappeared in India. During the years of preparation for the new labour conditions Japanese spinners have been able to flood the Indian market, and their competition has been the more severely felt since it is chiefly directed to the coarser piece-goods which constitute the main output of the Indian mills. The depression in the Bombay mill industry affects all classes. The mills provide the popular form of investment for the small man as well as for more affluent citizens, and the fall in values as well as the absence of dividends year after year is severely felt by these investors. Moreover, the distributing trades in Bombay suffer from the lack of purchasing power on the part of the mill hands. If the depression continues, it is bound to have very serious consequences on the future of the town and island which we claim to be the second city of the Empire.

I have dealt more particularly with the cotton textile industry not only as a Bombay man, but also because it provides a striking illustration of a question of economic policy which I wish to bring to your notice. The Manchester contribution to the cotton textile requirements of India is to a very large extent in the higher counts of yarns, with which the competition of the Bombay mills is far less strong than with coarser goods. This is one of the factors to be considered when we regard the undoubted need for India, since she has not yet fully developed her industrial life, to have some protection against foreign competition. When I use the word "foreign" I mean the countries outside the Empire. Britain and India are partners in a great union of nations, and I feel that every Britisher in India should be regarded as within the comity of India and England, and as in no sense an outsider.

FISCAL POLICY

You are aware that the enlargement of political rights India received after the war included the convention, at least on paper, that in fiscal matters in which the Government of India and the Legislature were agreed, the Secretary of State would not ordinarily interfere; that his intervention would be limited to the matters affecting the wider imperial interests. India has used the opportunity to adopt a policy of discriminating protection by means of a permanent Tariff Board, to which the Government refer applications from industries claiming protection within the well-defined limits laid down by the Fiscal Commission.

In 1924 the first and most important step in this direction was taken by the protection of the iron and steel industry, which had been built up at Jamshedpur, and which was established in time to render service of immense value to the allied cause in the Great War by providing the rails and other materials so urgently required in various Eastern theatres of conflict. These vital necessities could not have been obtained from England and other countries except

at the cost of serious curtailment of the no less urgently needed supplies of munitions and food. When the protective tariff on steel, at first laid down for three years, was renewed in 1927, provision was made for a basic duty to be paid by all imports, with an additional duty levied on foreign steels not coming up to the British specifications.

Have we not here a striking example of a method of fiscal adjustment which may be applied to other industries under certain conditions agreed to by India? For example, could not the cotton-mill industry of India be protected from crippling foreign competition on these lines? I feel confident that the more such questions are fairly faced in an unprejudiced spirit and with understanding of mutual needs, the more ready will the Legislature be to protect Indian industries by such methods. It is to be remembered that this policy would not be inconsistent with the Most Favoured Nation Treaties which exist between Great Britain and a number of foreign Powers. The treaty with Japan in this respect was expressly applied to India by a later instrument in 1904 without any consultation of Indian public opinion. As is well known, such provisions do not affect the grant of preferential treatment within the British Empire.

I doubt whether this facility for adjustment has been adequately recognized by the Foreign Office, to say nothing of other departments in Whitehall. It is the failure to make provision of this kind which has given rise to the idea largely entertained by my countrymen that although India enjoys fiscal autonomy on paper, she is not actually free to protect her industries in the way that she might desire. Many of these industries are in the early stages which require the temporary assistance a policy of discriminating protection is designed to afford. Whatever may have been the case in the past, it is imperative under the altered conditions of today that in the negotiation of future commercial treaties with foreign Powers Indian commercial opinion should be fully consulted, and her

interests must not be sacrificed at least without her full consent.

INDIA AND BRITISH UNEMPLOYMENT

This brings me back to a proposition made, by inference at least, when I began my remarks, that in the wide sense of the term there is no real conflict of interest as between the two countries. A prosperous India is of enormously greater advantage to the British manufacturer and working man than an India drifting to restlessness. With force and cogency Mr. Snowden, who is now again Chancellor of the Exchequer, pointed out a few weeks ago that the raising of the purchasing power of the average Indian to a very limited extent would be of enormous benefit to British trade. He suggested in the House of Commons on July 9 that the doubling of the purchasing power of the Indian people would increase the export trade of this country by £87,000,000.

It is perfectly true that India would purchase more merchandise, and this economic factor is one to which the closest attention should be given. But I think we must go beyond generalities and ask to whom, under the present fiscal arrangements, this trade is most likely to go. I must remind you that foreign countries have a keen eye on the Indian market, and, as I have pointed out, in the case of textiles, have made very serious inroads into it. Unless, therefore, we pursue a policy of preference which, whilst leaving India free to develop her own industries to the maximum of her capacity, will facilitate British trade in those articles which she does not produce herself, Great Britain may find that even after the most strenuous efforts have been made to develop the Indian trade, the commercial benefits have gone to foreign competitors. In this connection I have been much impressed by the article by Lord Melchett in the *Sunday Express* of July 14. That great industrialist wrote :

"What is vital, and what all men and women who are for the Empire, and who think of the future, must join in and concentrate upon, is the fundamental conception of our Empire as an economic unit, bound together firmly and securely for all time."

You will share with me the earnest hope that the economic position of the Indian cultivator will be advanced in right earnest and in many ways by the effect being given to some main recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India presided over by Lord Linlithgow, including the establishment of a Council of Agricultural Research. Our great and sympathetic Viceroy, Lord Irwin, who is loved by the Indian people for his genuine regard for India and her advancement in right directions, is himself a practical agriculturist, and we may be certain that he will give the utmost support to a policy designed to increase the fertility of the soil and better the conditions of life and outlook of the Indian villager.

BANKING FACILITIES

Economic progress may also be anticipated as a result of the inquiry set up by the present Finance Member, Sir George Schuster, with a view to the development of banking facilities in India. In the short time Sir George Schuster has been in India he has won the hearts of the commercial community, for he has been investigating the requirements of Indian commerce and finance with a sympathetic and unbiased mind.

It is to be regretted that in the political excitement over the appointment of the Statutory Commission, the much-needed Reserve Bank for India which was so carefully and ably planned by our late Finance Member, Sir Basil Blackett, failed by a narrow majority to receive legislative sanction. It is to be hoped that the present inquiry will result in a great extension of banking and credit facilities in the country, and thus lay the foundations for a central banking institution as independent of political interference and control as the Bank of England. I believe that before many years are over we shall have a central bank independent of political pressure and conducted on that strictly business and economic basis which can alone ensure success.

One great advantage of the development of banking facilities will be the stimulation given to the investment of Indian capital. There has already been striking progress. I am amazed when I compare the amount of Indian capital available for investment today with the relatively small amount of money that could be obtained when I first entered my father's business in the year 1900.

The figures, so far as they are available, are so remarkable that it is surprising to find that they have aroused so little attention and comment, but to those of you who would care to pursue this study further, I would invite attention to the illuminating speech made by the former Finance Member, Sir Basil Blackett, at Delhi, shortly before his retirement, when he gave an impressive record of the growth of the financial strength of India. I can look back on the time when the Government of India, after having raised a loan of Rs. 5½ crores in a year, thought it had achieved something wonderful. Contrast that with what we see today, when a subscription of between Rs. 30 crores and Rs. 40 crores, raised in the current year without any special advertising or propaganda, passes almost without notice, as though it were an ordinary event.

Provided that the work of the Banking Inquiry Committee leads to the complete mobilization of the capital resources of India—even now largely inert despite the progress which has been made—I look forward with confidence to the day when India will not only supply all the capital required for her state and other industrial enterprises from her own resources, but will gradually become a considerable investor in overseas concerns. We already see the process at work in the increasing tendency of India to buy back her foreign debt. Unfortunately exact figures are not available, but if they were the extent to which India has purchased her sterling securities would surprise many of you and would furnish an impressive testimony to her increasing financial strength.

DISCRIMINATION

Your Association has had its attention drawn to recent legislative proposals implying some discrimination between Indian-owned enterprises and those which are based mainly or wholly on British capital. If these ideas are unfortunate it must be remembered that they have come to birth in a time of severe depression of Indian industries, and in the keen anxiety to help them. Rightly or wrongly, they are due to a belief that in the past some British conductors of large enterprises have not always been so ready as they should to help Indian interests. It is not unnatural that the Indian business man should have some misgiving as to the growth of large and monopolistic interests not based on Indian capital. I may be permitted to observe that if there is to be forbearance it must be forbearance on both sides, and that the British and Indian conductors of industry and commerce should work together as partners with a single eye to the advancement of India's economic prosperity.

In this connection I would correct an impression which I find to exist in some quarters in this country that what may be termed vocal Indian opinion desires severance from the British Empire. With all the force at my command I would impress upon you the fact that the overwhelming majority of the people, and not least the Indian commercial community in general, have not the slightest desire to see the Imperial partnership brought to an end. What they really want is to promote by every legitimate means the economic advancement of India, and they urge that to this end she should control her own fiscal policy without any interference.

THE STATUTORY INQUIRY

It is appropriate in this connection to say one word on a subject which is liable to greatly affect Indian thinking on such matters. Going to and fro in your great city and meeting many Indians here, I see no sign of any colour

prejudice. This is what I should expect, coming, as I do, from the great capital of Western India, where such prejudice is conspicuously absent. But it is not invariably absent in other parts of India, and I would ask my British fellow-subjects there whether the example of Bombay and London cannot be followed all over the country. Colour prejudice does immense harm, and now as in the past is a source of much political ill-feeling. If Indians are to feel that they really belong to the comity of nations under the British flag every vestige of colour prejudice throughout the Empire must go.

I would like in closing to pay a tribute to the quality and work of the Indian Civil Servants who have done so much to raise the standard of administration in India until it has become in many respects the admiration of the world. The British members of the Indian Civil Service have shown their powers of adaptation by the loyal and sympathetic spirit in which they have helped to work the Constitution established in 1921, and I am confident that they will show a like adaptability in their contribution to the success of any revision that Constitution may undergo as a result of the present joint inquiry. It is to the honour and pride of both England and India that their connection has been maintained through so many generations. It is to their interest that they should remain in the ties of the closest friendship, and to this end it is for all concerned to recognize the fundamental principle of the equality of the civilized people of the greatest empire the world has known.

GENERAL TENDENCIES

May I tender to you my sincere thanks for the courtesy with which you have listened to these general remarks on the economic position in India. I have preferred to indicate tendencies rather than weary you with a multitude of statistics. These tendencies, may I repeat, seem to me to indicate the rapid growth in the financial and economic strength of India, despite certain weaknesses which must

exist in any country of such magnitude and diversity. But, at the same time, they show that, provided the whole of our capital resources are brought into productive use by the creation of an effective means of liquefying our inert capital and by the steady development of our industries through a discriminating fiscal policy, we are assured of rapid and sustained progress.

Those of us who are engaged in the work of the Statutory Commission have only one object in view: it is to suggest a political organization which, whilst satisfying the wholly reasonable demand of the Indian people for the ultimate control of their own affairs within the Commonwealth, shall maintain, unimpaired, the majestic fabric of law and order, peace and security, which is indispensable to our national prosperity. We are convinced that if we, or others, succeed in this aim we shall be building up a fabric which will induce the greater strength not only of India herself, but of Great Britain and of all the partners in the Commonwealth.

Finally, may I say that I hope earnestly to see our Imperial fiscal policy so planned and developed that the increased purchasing power of India, arising from her economic growth, shall be expressed in terms of wider Imperial trade rather than trade outside the orbit of the Commonwealth. To these questions I have ventured to invite your attention, and I would only say, in conclusion, that their careful and unbiased prosecution must be the means of adding not only to the prosperity of India, but to that of the British Commonwealth and the world.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Wednesday, July 31, 1929, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., when a paper was read by Mr. Kikabhai Premchand, M.L.A., on "The Economic Position in India."

The Right Hon. The Earl Peel, G.B.E., presided, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Ness Wadia, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Stanley Reed, K.B.E., and Lady Reed, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Mr. G. T. Boag, C.I.E., Mr. Vincent J. Esch, C.V.O., Lieut.-Colonel J. O'Brien, C.I.E., C.B.E., Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Khan Sahib M. H. Kothawala and Mrs. Kothawala, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. Lanka Sundaram, Mr. A. L. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., and Mrs. Rushbrook Williams, Mr. G. Scott Bremner, Mr. J. Bloom, Mr. B. Mukerji, Dr. A. Nell, Miss Grace R. Raymond, Miss May B. Story, Mrs. C. Holloway, Mr. K. Srinivasan, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Mr. J. S. Andrews, Mr. J. E. Woolacott, Mr. C. F. Strickland, Miss Beadon, Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Jones, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. J. F. Sale, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Mr. H. E. Prescott, Mr. A. M. Green, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Miss Collins, Miss Halsall, Mr. J. A. Jones, Colonel Sadler, Mr. G. Pilcher, Mrs. Tindall Denes, Miss Sorabji, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. B. C. Singh, Dr. A. Shah, Miss Gravatt, Mr. A. N. Mitter, Mr. F. P. Antia, Mr. W. E. Bennett, Mr. F. A. V. Sausman, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

EARL PEEL: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have very much pleasure in introducing the reader of this paper, Mr. Kikabhai Premchand, to the members of the East India Association. I do not think that Mr. Premchand needs very much introduction, because, as we all know, he has come over here as a member of the Indian Central Committee, which is sharing the labours of the Simon Commission in discussing, and possibly settling by their advice, any developments that they may recommend in the constitution of India. It is in itself a great distinction to be selected from all India as one of the members of the Indian Central Committee. I need hardly say that Mr. Premchand has many other distinctions. He is, first of all, very well qualified to speak to us on the economic position of India, because he is the head, as so many of you know, of a great business house in Bombay. That house issues, I understand, an annual market review which is one of the best, if not the best, document of the kind issued by any firm in India. We may, perhaps, recall that Mr. Premchand's father was a distinguished citizen of Bombay, and gave the University the very fine Rajabhai tower, with which everybody is familiar who has visited that magnificent city.

While our lecturer takes a very prominent part in the business and financial life of Bombay, he does not confine himself to that. He has

been for some years a member of the Legislative Assembly, representing the commercial interests of Bombay, and it is common knowledge, I think, or anyhow an open secret, that successive Finance Members for India, Sir Basil Blackett and Sir George Schuster, have been most grateful for the valuable advice on financial matters which has been tendered to them by our lecturer. We therefore look forward with great pleasure to the lecture on "The Economic Position in India" which he is about to deliver.

(Mr. Kikabhai Premchand read the paper on "The Economic Position in India.")

The Hon. Secretary read the following letter from Lord Melchett :

I have been asked to write a few words in comment on the speech of Mr. Kikabhai Premchand, who is a leading financier of the city of Bombay and a member of the Indian Central Committee.

Mr. Premchand's speech raises many issues of vital importance not only to India and her economic future, but to the whole conception of the great Imperial complex of which she is so powerful a component. Anyone who has studied Imperial affairs and world conditions will find in his speech food for further thought, and anyone who has the real interests of India, of the Empire, and of Britain at heart cannot fail to agree with the general outline of the picture he has drawn.

I note specially his reference to the future adjustment of industrial relations in India and the work of the Royal Commission next autumn in that direction. I myself have taken some part in the problem of industrial relations in this country, and I hope that the inquiries to be conducted in India will prove as fruitful in creating better understanding and harmony as have ours in Britain.

I am specially interested also in Mr. Premchand's reference to the future of Indian agriculture and the valuable work of the Linlithgow Commission. The great company with which I am connected is actively co-operating in the great task of increasing the fertility of Indian soils, and bringing prosperity to her husbandmen through the use of modern science and research. The securing of a just balance between agriculture and industry is one of the great questions in the development of the Empire on a unified economic basis.

On the general question of the creation of a single economic unit for the whole Empire, in which India will inevitably play a leading part, I shall merely say that this is one of the great ideals, a practical and attainable ideal, to which I have devoted very much thought and very much time. Only by the creation of such a single economic unit can we hope to place the Empire in its rightful place in international trade and industry, and only so can we combat and defeat those disruptive and communistic tendencies of which Mr. Premchand so feelingly speaks. For the ideal of the British Empire as an economic unit is not a political cry, and should not be allowed to become so. It is fundamentally a great conception of a very serious business proposition which essentially should be thrashed out by representative business men in various parts of the Empire with us at home.

Sir STANLEY REED said he was placed at a certain disability, which arose from the fact that he and Mr. Kikabhai were both citizens of the second city in the British Empire; it might have been useful if representatives from the lesser cities in the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea had first ventilated their opinion (laughter). He and Mr. Kikabhai had been associated so long in so many ways that their thoughts on economic questions ran on parallel lines. Although mathematicians said that parallel lines never meet, these views did touch at so many points that all he could do was to say "ditto" to the penetrating remarks Mr. Premchand had put before the Society. He rejoiced that strong emphasis had been given to a representative meeting in London on the tremendous financial and economic revolution which had gone on almost unnoticed in India in the last thirty years. He saw two notable lines of advance. One was that, despite the great strides in the mobilization of her capital resources, they had only touched the fringe of the financial possibilities of India. Banking facilities were in the most lamentable state of neglect, and he could not dissociate those who had control of the Imperial Bank from a very great share of the responsibility of leaving the resources of India undeveloped. If the increased financial strength of India was to be developed and expressed in the growth of Indian industry, they not only wanted to pursue that growth with a discriminating Protection accompanied by Imperial preference, but also those two great fundamentals in economic growth—the direction of capital and the treatment of labour. They would have to reconsider seriously the development of the peculiar managing agency system which had grown up out of former conditions. There was nothing wrong in the managing agency *per se*, but there was a steady drain on the resources of industry which ought to go to augment their financial strength against bad times. Another point was the treatment of labour. He did think, in the interests of India, until primary education and experience were much more widely developed, they had to protect the Indian artisan from the wiles of Moscow Communists, even to the extent of taking measures which seemed to be somewhat inconsistent with their own academic ideals of freedom. They had to go further and consider even more seriously than they were today the payment of Indian labour for work under semi-tropical conditions. His own belief was that of Mr. Kikabhai: if they were to make the vastly and rapidly developing financial and industrial strength of India a strength by which the whole Empire was to benefit, they could only do that by pursuing the line of thought and policy which the lecturer had put before them, and which had been powerfully endorsed by Lord Melchett.

At the outset Sir NESS WADIA thought that it would have been better if a gentleman from another province had opened the discussion after Sir Stanley Reed had given them his views on the economic policy of India. He was sure he echoed the sentiments of all present when he said that Mr. Kikabhai Premchand had placed before them a very able and interesting paper. British and Indian directors of industry and commerce should work together as partners with a single aim—namely, India's

prosperity. In 1925 he was Chairman of the Bombay Millowners' Association, and had to conduct the agitation for the repeal of the Indian excise duty in India as well as in England. He had the utmost support from Lancashire at that time, and when Lord Birkenhead and Lord Reading declared the policy of doing away with the Indian excise duty, Lancashire was the first to congratulate Lord Birkenhead on the policy then adopted. Mr. Kikabhai Premchand had referred to the Japanese Labour Convention, and had said that the resulting changes had been so long delayed that they had not come into force until a month since. As a matter of fact, Japan had not ratified, and never would ratify, the Washington Convention; all she had done was to pass a law by which women, and children under sixteen, were not to be allowed, after July 1, 1929, to work between 11 p.m. and 5 a.m.; and that was not ratifying the Washington Convention, which made the prohibited hours between 7 p.m. and 6 a.m. It will still be possible for Japanese mills to work two shifts of eight and a half hours each and work women and children between 7 p.m. and 11 p.m. He considered the position of Lancashire as well as Indian industry was affected by the exchange policy of the British Government in fixing the exchange with America on a pre-war basis, and the exchange policy of the Government of India in fixing it at 1s. 6d. Lancashire used to export 7,000,000,000 yards a year to foreign countries; now her export had gone down to 3,800,000,000 yards—about half what it was—and she had lost to Japan a great portion of her trade in East Africa, and Indian mills had also lost export trade both in Persia and Africa, as was proved by the Indian Trade Mission Report. He wished, therefore, that Mr. Kikabhai had given his views how, in his opinion, the exchange policy had affected the Indian economic position. He congratulated the Government of India on the steps they had taken in connection with the Geneva Labour Conventions, but he considered the question was: Were not they in India going much faster than they had done in England in reference to labour legislation? Western notions in Western countries were all right, but he would only suggest they should not hurry in putting too many Western notions suddenly into an Eastern country which was not prepared for them. He endorsed every word Mr. Kikabhai Premchand had said with regard to Imperial economic policy, but he coupled one condition with that policy—namely, that revenue duties should not be accounted as part of any policy regarding Empire Free Trade, and each dominion should have an absolutely free hand in levying revenue duties.

Professor RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS felt a little delicacy in intervening at that stage, because, unlike all the previous speakers, he had no connection with Bombay. But despite this initial disadvantage, he ventured to think that the particular part of India whose claims for consideration he wanted to put before them—namely, the Indian States—represented an interest of an importance not lightly to be overlooked. He paid tribute to the tone and temper of the paper which had been read that afternoon, and considered that Mr. Kikabhai had given a most carefully balanced and most admirable survey of the possibilities of applying to British India a new

policy—inter-Imperial preference—concerning which most of them were now thinking hard. In connection with the general economic development of India, he wanted to express a few thoughts upon that part of India which was not British. Economically speaking, the States did not compare with British India in respect of industrial development; they were to a large extent still agricultural. This was undoubtedly a strength as well as a weakness in light of some of the features of present-day industrialism in British India. But industrial development was coming: the economic possibilities of the States were enormous. If anyone compared a large-scale map of India's mineral deposits with a large-scale map of her political divisions, he would be struck by the large proportion of valuable mineral deposits which were inside the States as opposed to British Indian territories. Broadly speaking, he thought it might be said that the hitherto untouched natural resources of the Indian States represented some of the most valuable assets for the future economic development of all India. There was one promise he must make. The population of the States being 99 per cent agricultural, at the present moment there was a slight—he hoped momentary—difference of interests between the States and British India so far as tariff policy was concerned. But he suggested that the way to solve the conflict of interests, admittedly temporary, was by consultation between the two parties concerned, and reconciling the competing interests. He mentioned the importance of the part played even today in certain directions by the Indian States in the economic life of British India. He would like people to consider what would happen if the almost illimitable resources of the State of Hyderabad were placed at the disposal of the general development of Indian trade and commerce. People from a number of the States had already won for themselves a place in the economic development of British India. The Marwaris were perhaps the boldest and the most daring "dealers in future values" in all India. The Sikhs had a highly developed mechanical sense, and were running electrical plants, internal combustion engines, and the like, throughout the East. In thanking Mr. Kikabhai Premchand once more for his excellent paper, he trusted that in the consideration of such important questions as the economic present and future of India, adequate reference would always be made to that very important side of India—the Indian States side—which from the economic as well as the political point of view possessed significance hardly to be overestimated.

Mr. YUSUF ALI considered that the discussion of economic questions for India at the present day was a healthy sign that their minds were beginning to comprehend the true nature of politics which must embrace all the interests of the community. While other countries were putting more and more their politics on an economic basis, they in India had been rather apt to run their economics on political lines. If they could get out of that vicious circle and make their economics contribute their rightful share to their politics, there was nothing but gain. When they came to the very delicate subject of tariffs and Imperial preference, he felt diffidently and reluctantly compelled to express his dissent from some of the opinions

that had been stated. He would like to remind his audience that the question of Imperial preference had already been considered in India three times. The first time was before Lord Curzon; the second time in the time of Lord Curzon, when a very important dispatch was sent by him to Great Britain. Whether they agreed or did not agree with all that Lord Curzon said and did, it was clear that Lord Curzon was not likely to put aside Imperial considerations in his consideration of Indian politics; but his Government decisively rejected Imperial preference as not practical politics for India. Since then the question had been considered at least once more on similar lines, and with similar results. He did not want to argue that a question once decided became in politics a *res judicata*; there was no such thing as *res judicata* in politics or in policy, but he strongly urged that a question of such profound importance could only be reopened on very strong grounds. If they raised a high tariff wall against foreign nations as was suggested in the paper, he was not sure they would be able to treat the most favoured nation clause in the somewhat airy way in which it was treated in the paper. The Foreign Office and probably the Finance Department of India, might not support Mr. Kikabhai Premchand's contention. In the League of Nations, where he had the honour to represent India last year, in discussing the tariff questions they had to consider the bearing of the most favoured nation clause on any tariffs that were imposed, and in spite of a long study of the question, and a very careful study, he was not at all clear in his mind that, after all, the Foreign Office and the Finance Department might not be right. There were three interests to be considered and balanced. There were the manufacturing interest in India and the manufacturing interest in England. There was also the Indian consumer's interest: this meant mainly the interest of the agricultural population—that is, the large mass of the population of India. That interest may also be called the producer's interest. India's exports were mainly raw produce. Every country competed in the race for raw produce. To restrict the market for the Indian producer would mean that he would get lower prices than if all countries competed for his produce. India's imports were mainly manufactured articles. If India were artificially restricted from buying these in the cheapest market, she would have to pay artificially high prices. The Indian Government were quite right in subordinating other considerations to the interest of the mass of the population of India. The protection of that interest was their primary charge.

Sir ALFRED CHATTERTON congratulated the gentlemen from Bombay on the unexpected optimism of their remarks on the paper before them. He had only recently returned from India, and might be pardoned if he struck a slightly more pessimistic note. One of the most pressing features of the economic problem in India today was the lack of employment for the greatly increasing number of the educated classes in the country. Industrial development in India had made wonderful strides during the last twenty or thirty years, but education had made even greater strides, and there was not the least doubt that the industrial progress of the country was not sufficiently rapid to absorb the growing output of the

educational system. The question arose, what step could be taken to devise means for producing a still more rapid development of the industries of the country? The chief arguments this afternoon had been in connection with tariffs and the adoption of Imperial preference. He would advocate a certain amount of direct action. The Government of India represented the interests of the whole of the Indian Empire, and yet it had not a single official directly dealing with industries. As a first step, something ought to be done in regard to industries, on the lines, possibly, of the recommendation of the Royal Agricultural Commission, which had resulted in the appointment of an Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. It seemed to him that to attain the result at which they were all aiming, which was a large development of industry in India, to give lucrative employment to its educated population, it was necessary that there should be established in the Government of India itself some organization for dealing with the question. The industrial commission had made suggestions to this effect, but as industries had been made a provincial and transferred subject, all the recommendations for an Imperial Department had gone overboard. The experience of the last ten years clearly indicated that the question should be reopened. It would be extremely easy to furnish a list of industrial enterprises urgently needed in India and so as could be seen possible, but which were unlikely to be established without Government assistance if not initiative.

Mr. JOSEPH NISSIM heartily endorsed Sir Alfred Chatterton's remarks, that the Government of India must assist in the establishment of industries. One of the prime wants, so far as agriculture was concerned, was a more vigorous development of roads, as an adjunct to the railways. Roads stimulate motor transport, which needs petrol or power alcohol. In the backward tracts there is unlimited scope for the cultivation of the valuable *morera* tree, from which power alcohol can readily be extracted, not to mention the seed, which is used for margarine, etc. While the Government of India could indicate and give practical illustrations of beneficent organizations, the initiative and the development must come from the people. Referring to the depression in the cotton mills in Bombay, he said the time was coming when the industry would have gradually to migrate to the country. In Bombay they had to pay labour more, and there was the expense and difficulty of providing suitable accommodation for them. He would like to see the countryside of India planted with an industry which at present was on unsuitable soil in Bombay. The attitude of the employers should be more sympathetic to labour. The time had long gone past when labour could be merely remunerated and left to look after itself.

So far as banking was concerned, the exchange banks met all the requirements of foreign trade, but Indian banks were needed to develop banking in the country.

Earl PEEL: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The subject which we have before us this afternoon lends itself to almost infinite discussion. We are all economists now, and we have our different views on that subject, and

I assure you, in the very few words that I am going to say, I shall avoid as much controversy as possible. I thought at one moment the discussion was going to resolve itself into a ding-dong battle between Free Trade and Protection, but it did not get so far. I do not intend to consider as to whether the exchange should be fixed at 1s. 4d. or 1s. 6d., or discuss the restoration of the gold standard in this country. I only want to say a word of thanks to our lecturer and to tell him how much I liked the tone of his lecture, and that I agreed with most of his observations. I find myself so much in agreement with him that I do not wish to reiterate that agreement too much. I will just confine myself to a very short comment on two or three points that were raised. I should like to say I hope that the Whitley Commission on Labour will have a very useful effect indeed in India. Now I may be accused, and I think I was partly accused by Sir Ness Wadia, of trying to pour too many Western notions too rapidly into Eastern minds. In spite of that, I think we have had so much valuable experience of labour difficulties that a commission of this kind to examine into this question with knowledge may, nevertheless, make a useful contribution to India, which, though a considerable industrial country at present, has perhaps not marched so long or so far as other countries in industrial development.

The other point was the ratification of the Washington Convention, about which there seems to be some difference of opinion amongst some of our speakers. One said it had been ratified, and the other said it had not been ratified, but a portion of it (a very small portion of it indeed) had been put into practice. I only want to say, because I have myself a very strong view about these international conventions, that I think we ought to be a little careful about how we ratify them. I would like to have a simultaneous ratification, if that were possible, in all countries at the same time; and beyond that I should like to be quite certain that the interpretation which many countries think they have the right to place upon those conventions should have some sort of common denominator to which they might be reduced.

The lecturer told us about the Convention that in fiscal matters in which the Government of India and the Legislature were agreed the Secretary of State would not ordinarily interfere; he adds also "on paper." I certainly can recall no instance in which, when the Government of India and the Legislature have been in agreement on fiscal questions, there has been interference by the Secretary of State, and if that is so, surely he was wrong in suggesting that this was merely a paper convention, and had no practical effect.

As regards the question of preference for British goods, I have had that put to me sometimes in rather a remarkable way. Distinguished Indians have said to me: "If you would grant us responsible government, then we would give you preference." That seems to me a deplorable way of putting things. It seems to suggest that for a specific advantage to ourselves we should agree to a change in the constitution in India which otherwise would not have commanded our assent. Surely this was a very poor com-

pliment to a British Government. I am sure that if preference is to be established it will be on a solid economic ground, on sympathetic grounds if you like, but for the benefit of both countries.

I commend, if I may, the lecturer for such observations as he made about Mr. Snowden's remark with regard to increasing the export of British goods to India by £87,000,000. I do not think that that gentleman had carefully studied, when he made that remark, the public business of India. I thought the lecturer's reservation was a very wise one—that we ought to see how much of that business was not captured by other countries—and I certainly will pass on, if I may, the suggestion to Mr. Snowden that a preference in Imperial matters is really of very great value, and is supported by an important member of the Central Committee.

Very interesting references were made to the relation between the financial and economic conditions of the Indian States and of British India. That is, I think, too large a subject upon which to enter tonight. The lecturer has referred to a discriminating policy of tariff protection. I do not dissent from such a policy, but I trust that agriculture will have its full weight when these other interests are considered. We know in this country it is a common complaint that the towns have very largely sacrificed the interests of that most important industry, agriculture, and agriculture is still, of course, in India, by far the greatest industry. Let us call it an industry. I am an agriculturist, and I rather resent being pushed outside the industrial circle. Let us really remember that in India, where the majority of the population is still engaged in agriculture—fortunately, perhaps, in some ways—that the cultivators of the land will strongly assert themselves, and that there will have to be an arrangement between the interests of other industries and the supreme and dominating influence of agriculture itself.

I have now to thank the lecturer very much for his most admirable paper. He has been too suggestive, if I may say so, because he has opened to us so many lines of thought which have been followed by other speakers, and I have no doubt would have been developed further by innumerable other speakers if only they had had the chance of putting their views. Therefore I conclude by thanking him most warmly for his paper, and by saying how glad we are that a gentleman of his great experience should be one of the members who are discussing today with the Simon Commission the question of the revision of the Indian constitution.

Mr. KIKABHAI PREMCHAND writes :

"The arguments of Sir Ness Wadia that the cotton-mill industry has been badly affected by the fixing of exchange at rs. 6d. instead of rs. 4d. are familiar to those of us who know Bombay. But I would point out that when the rate was in course of stabilization the cotton-textile industry obtained protection in the form both of an increased revenue duty on all imported goods and of the removal of the long existing excise duty. There is the further consideration, to which the Indian Textile Tariff Board drew attention, that the up-country mills, including those of the Western Presidency at Ahmedabad and Sholapore, are thriving, while the

condition of the Bombay mills remains unsatisfactory. It is true that the up-country mills have a better market for raw supplies as well as for piece goods, but this advantage arising from situation is not so great as to account for the disparity. Sir Stanley Reed made reference to the drawbacks of the managing-agency system, and I cannot help thinking that there are stronger reasons of this kind to account for the present condition of affairs than the rate of exchange. The controversy as between the supporters of 1s. or 1s. 6d. is less important, certainly today, than the question of maintaining stability of exchange. It was not until after the market rate had been at 1s. 6d. or thereabouts for three years that the Government and the Legislative Assembly decided that it should be the permanent ratio.

"I cannot avoid the conclusion that the adverse condition of the mill industry of Bombay is more due to want of efficient management than to the rate of exchange.

"The remarks of Mr. Yusuf Ali seem based on a misconception. He will not find in my paper any suggestion that the import duty should be increased to an abnormal figure or should be prohibitive. The details of the incidence of protective duties may well be left to the judgment of the future Indian Legislature, which will consist for the most part of representatives of consuming interests. In respect to every protective duty the British manufacturer should be given 10 per cent. preference for reasons set out in my lecture.

"In noting with satisfaction the chairman's statement that the Secretary of State does not intervene in fiscal matters when the Government of India and the Indian Legislature are in agreement, I may be permitted to mention that the occasions I had in mind did not come during either the first or the second tenure of the high office of Secretary of State by Lord Peel."

HISTORICAL SECTION

SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD—III*

(1736—1791)

BY LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., F.R.ECON.S.(LOND.)

Satyalingam Scholar (London University); Author of "Cow Protection in India" and "Mughal Land Revenue System."

RUMBOLD immediately followed up the suspension of the Circuit Committee with a new settlement of the *jamabandi* at Madras. The orders conveying the suspension of the Circuit Committee were, in fact, dovetailed into detailed instructions to the subordinate settlements to direct the *zamindars*, renters, the Company's *dubashes* and other lesser revenue officials such as the *majumdars*, *deshmukhs*, and *deshpandyas*, to repair to Madras fully equipped with documents relating to their dealings with the Company in order to enter into a new agreement for the future *jamabandi*.

A new precedent was set up by this new situation. The Court of Directors, being suspicious of the measure, only tentatively acquiesced in its operation,† though they finally condemned it upon a review of the transactions that took place subsequently.‡ The matter was then taken up with particular vigour by the Committee of Secrecy in their "Second Report."

The ostensible reason of Rumbold in this measure was to obtain a complete control of the dealings of the *zamindars* with the Company. The Committee of Circuit recorded their appointment "being a measure of an extraordinary nature . . . may naturally be supposed to have created very great alarms among the Zemindars in general in the Circars."§ The abuses of the subordinate chiefs and councils were neither infrequent nor inconsiderable, and as Rumbold points out|| they "had been found to want either

* The first two papers on the present theme have been published in the January and April issues of the REVIEW for the present year.

† "Madras Despatches (Revenue)," June 16, 1779, para. 22, vol. viii., pp. 458-459. They wrote: "In the meantime we trust your prudence will prevent or obviate any inconveniences or objections to which the measure may be liable."

‡ *Ibid.*, January 10, 1781, in general, and paras. 63 and 64 in particular, vol. ix., pp. 394-396; see also Appendix 153 to "Second Report."

§ "Circuit Committee to Madras," August 16, 1777, vol. xix., pp. 529-530.

|| "Briefs," vol. i., f. 97.

ability or inclination to enforce payment of the arrears from whence arose the necessity of adopting a new mode." Most of the servants of the Company were so deeply concerned in the pecuniary affairs of the *zamindars* that any effective grasp of the affairs of the latter from the view-point of the Company was difficult to obtain from them. Several acts of rapacity on the part of the former chiefs of Masulipatam with specific amounts of probable bribes were brought to the notice of Sir Thomas Rumbold.* Describing the disputes between the former governors and chiefs, Anthony Sadleir, Chief of Masulipatam, stated †: "It was usual before Whitehill's time for the governor to share one-third. Whitehill succeeding after Wynch, whose acts had left no tie but honour, which with some (*sic*) has no force, for compliance with custom—Whitehill saved such tax; Carufurd, I believe, enjoyed all. Floyer, chief, Mr. Stratton, governor, brothers in iniquity, fit to deal with each other, induced Floyer to keep all. This conduct in chiefs brought on opposition to their measures in Council at Madras, which in effect weakened government here by reversing its acts, and has introduced distrust in the Zemindars." These allegations, though not capable of definite proof, are strongly supported by the common weakness of official virtue during the period under review, and by the subsequent action by the Court of Directors in suspending most of the servants of the Company concerned and instituting proceedings against them, as the dismissal of Charles Floyer clearly illustrates.‡

Apprehensions of the approaching war with the French§ were clearly demonstrated in the attitude of the cultivators, James Hodges, the Company's renter of the Nizampatam *haveli* lands, writing|| that "the present military preparations added to the desertion of the people, will doubtless retard the collections." Most of the *samindars* were turbulent

* "Sadleir to Rumbold," May 21, 1778. This letter was not officially entered in the Madras Records. Sadleir sent a copy direct to the Court of Directors; cf. "Madras Despatches (Revenue)," January 25, 1782, paras. 155-167, vol. x., pp. 99-105. The bribes, described as "the sweets of office," amounted to £77,000 to Whitehill, £72,000 to Floyer, and £15,000 to Craufurd. See Bearcroft's speech for the prosecution of Sir Thomas Rumbold in the House of Commons in "Speeches for the Prosecution of Sir Thomas Rumbold in the House of Commons," f. 14b, "British Museum Additional MSS.," No. 28, 161.

† Same to same, of the same date, in Rumbold, "Answer to Charges," p. 57. (1781.)

‡ "Madras Despatches (Revenue)," April 8, 1789, vol. xv., pp. 645-646.

§ Rumbold lays special emphasis on the effects of a probable French war on the tranquillity of the Circars. See "Briefs," vol. i., f. 15.

|| In "Masulipatam to Madras," September 24, 1778; "Rev. Cons.," October 2, vol. xx., p. 632.

and deeply involved in intestine quarrels. The affairs of Vijayanagaram displayed a complete lack of revenue order. Meka Appa Rao, *zamindar* of Nuzividu, was the worst type of a misguided autocrat, and his *zamindari* ran the risk of a permanent sequestration. The protracted struggle between the *zamindars* of Peddapuram and Pithapuram came to a definite crisis when the former was ordered to restore the latter to his *zamindari* which had been under the former's management for more than a decade. Rao Mahipati Rao, uncle to the minor Kumara Mahipati, the lawful *zamindar* of Pithapuram, so thoroughly complicated the affairs during his term of management that the Chief and Council of Masulipatam was powerless to settle the differences. Curiously enough, the factious spirit among the *Velama Doras* ran so high that Chittada Tummayya, one of the partisans of the young Kumara Mahipati, carried him off at the point of the sword from the control of the Company and the immediate presence of the Chief of Masulipatam, who was attempting a reconciliation and adjustment of the different parties and their claims respectively.* Such a state of affairs clearly demonstrated the insufficiency of the authority of the subordinate chiefships adequately to deal with the exigencies of the *zamindari* situation. "The best and the speediest method of fixing with the Northern Zemindars, of knowing the causes of such considerable balances and to adjust the disputes amongst themselves was by calling them to the Presidency Government, who would then be acquainted with the true state of their affairs, be able to fix their revenues on some certain footing, and know what they had to depend on in case of trouble."† Rumbold further maintains convincingly that the presence of the *zamindars* at Madras prior to October 18, 1778, which saw the fall of Pondicherry, was intended as a purely political measure inasmuch as they were detained as virtual hostages for the tranquillity of the Circars,‡ and that past usage and even the precedent set up by Governor Wynch in demanding the presence of Vijayarama Raju at Madras, warranted such a striking measure which kept up the dignity of the Company in the eyes of the people at large and the *zamindars* in particular.§

The decision of the Madras Council ordering the *zamindars* and other renters to proceed to Madras for a new

* "Masulipatam to Madras," February 6, 1780; "Rev. Cons.," February 23, with an extract from the Masulipatam consultations of January 14, vol. xxiv., pp. 125-133 and 133-138 respectively.

† "Briefs," vol. i., f. 15.

‡ *Idem.*, f. 101.

§ *Idem.*, ff. 79-80.

settlement evoked great opposition among the subordinate chiefs and councils in the Circars. As Rumbold himself said : * " It struck directly at their consequence, not to say their craft. It was to reduce them from a state, little inferior to that of sovereign power, to their proper condition of Collectors for the Presidency." The case of Ganjam is an instance in point. Morgan Williams, Chief, was constrained to confess † that " literally speaking my Cash Account might be considered erroneous as the sums credited were not actually deposited " and was dismissed his station by Rumbold. ‡ This is only one of the glaring instances wherein the subordinate settlements were found guilty of maladministration and misappropriation, as the case of John Turing will clearly show. Fictitious objections were raised by them. The Masulipatam Council complained § that the departure of the *zamindars* " leaves us little room to hope that they will be able to negotiate bills with their sowcars," and further spoke of " the little hope we have of collecting . . . [the] heavy balances " due from them, even though payments were actually made by them later on. || Even Lord Macartney was compelled to observe the unsatisfactory conduct of the Masulipatam Council in this respect. His Lordship wrote to the Court of Directors : ¶ " We are much concerned to observe this want of consistency of system in the Chief and Council : indeed, we had for some time past been greatly disappointed in the very unsatisfactory accounts they had forwarded to us of the state of the Revenues under their management. Their letters had contained no more than circumstantial recitals of the difficulties they encountered in settling with the Zemindars and Sowcars, and of the disputes which subsisted between them." Besides making

* " Answer to Charges," p. 7.

† " Ganjam to Madras," January 26, 1780, in " Rev. Cons.," February 23, vol. xxiv., pp. 122-124.

‡ See the interesting minute of Rumbold leading to the detection of these frauds. " Rev. Cons.," December 31, 1779, vol. xxiii., pp. 450-457, and January 7, 1781, vol. xxiv., pp. 10-17.

§ " Masulipatam to Madras," May 3, 1778; " Rev. Cons.," May 15, vol. xx., pp. 189-190. The minutes of the Masulipatam Council are to be found in pp. 186-256. Vizagapatam stated the same objections. See " Vizagapatam to Madras," July 3; *idem.*, July 20, p. 391.

|| It is very interesting to note that nearly a lakh and a half of Madras Pagodas were paid in on account of the Vijayanagaram family alone after Sitarama Raju and Vijayarama Raju arrived at Madras. See " Vizagapatam to Madras," October 15, 1778; *idem.*, November 6, vol. xxi., pp. 802-803.

¶ " Madras Letters Received," January 26, 1782, para. 6, vol. x. No pagination is maintained for this volume.

these frivolous objections Masulipatam rather "started difficulties than held forth encouragement for their coming" by trying "to apprise the Zemindars of what will be expected of them."* Such a state of affairs at the subordinate settlements rendered it necessary on the part of Rumbold and his council to issue strongly worded instructions and reiterate them to secure immediate compliance.† Summing up his view of the whole position, Sir Thomas wrote in a personal letter to the Court of Directors‡: "The uncontrolled power of the Chiefs of the southern settlements . . . I am persuaded, was very oppressive to the Zemindars and detrimental to your revenue and commerce. The alteration that has taken place by fixing their Jemmabundy here will be productive of the best consequences to the Company though it will require time for the Zemindars to recover from the load of debt with which they were burthened, and the utmost attention and indulgence must be given to promote the cultivation of their lands. The determination of calling the Zemindars to the Presidency has struck at the root of those evils which they complained of and it is the subordinate chiefs alone that will probably wish the measures we have taken had been dispensed with."

Most of the *zamindars*, renters, and interpreters of the Company, besides the lesser revenue officials, arrived at Madras by about July, 1778,§ Sitarama Razu, brother and *diwan* to Vijayarama Razu, having arrived even before Rumbold took charge of the government. The Secret Committee following the Court of Directors took objection to calling the *zamindars* to Madras, which, in their opinion, must have occasioned them great trouble and expense.|| But the real facts were that the personal attendance of the Ganjam *zamindars* was dispensed with in order to obviate these hardships, and the *majundars* and the *patros* were ordered to represent them and thus enable the Madras Council to make "a just valuation of those lands."¶ On the other hand, Vijayarama Razu, by far the richest *samindar* in the Circars and the only one who had

* Rumbold's minute of May 15, vol. xx., pp. 250-254.

† "Madras to Vizagapatam," April 3; *idem.*, pp. 125-130. See also Rumbold's circular letter to the individual *zamindars*, and a specially worded one to Vijayarama Razu dated April 4; *idem.*, pp. 113-115.

‡ "Rumbold to the Court of Directors" (Personal), October 31, 1778, in "Madras Letters Received," vol. ix., pp. 277-278.

§ "Rev. Cons.," July 20, vol. xx., p. 420.

|| "Second Report"; "Madras Despatches," July 11, 1781, in Appendix 153 to the same.

¶ "Rev. Cons.," July 20, vol. xx., pp. 45-67, and "Madras to Ganjam," July 21; *idem.*, pp. 470-474.

travelled a long distance, "had not shown any reluctance to act conformably to the orders received from the government,"* while the Masulipatam Council expressly admitted† that their *samindars* readily obeyed the instructions of the Company "with every mark of submission and obedience becoming our station." In accordance with the general prerogative of the presiding servants of the Company's Councils in India‡ and with the explicit delegation of the powers by his council,§ Sir Thomas dealt with the *samindars* personally and reported the results to the latter for their ratification, which they generally accorded without any appreciable dissensions among them. This procedure was wrongfully condemned by the Committee of Secrecy as being irregular in itself, as incriminating Rumbold's conduct in the negotiations, and as lowering the importance of the Council at Madras.|| But the *samindars* were under no restraint during their stay at Madras, and had a free and open communication with the President and the members of his Council individually.¶ Moreover, after the agreements had been made, the *samindars* were asked to hasten to their respective territories in order that they might pay off their old balances to the Company.** But heavy rains prevented their departure for nearly a couple of months. Rumbold declares†† that "one of the principal motives for ordering the Zemindars to the Presidency was to attend to their complaints and as far as in our power to redress their grievances. We have not neglected any of the petitions that have been laid before us and have endeavoured to give the complaints every relief in our power." In this he was borne out by the *samindars* themselves, who jointly expressed‡‡ their "sincere thanks for having adjusted our disputes according to justice which had offered us great satisfaction and joy."

* "Vizagapatam to Madras," April 22; "Rev. Cons.," May 15; *idem.*, pp. 180-183. See also Appendix 21 to "Second Report."

† "Masulipatam Consultations," April 24, in "Masulipatam to Madras," May 3. See "Rev. Cons.," May 15; *idem.*, pp. 230-231.

‡ It was the usual custom of the chiefs of the subordinate settlements to negotiate personally with the *samindars* and renters, and lay the results of the conferences before their respective councils for discussion and ratification.

§ See "Rev. Cons.," September 28, vol. xxi., pp. 567-578.

|| "Second Report."

¶ "Briefs," vol. i., f. 83.

** Rumbold's minute of October 1, 1778; vol. xxi., pp. 662-667. See also Appendix 49 to "Second Report."

†† *Ibid.*, November 20; *idem.*, pp. 844-845.

‡‡ Letter dated December 5, 1778, sealed and signed jointly by Vijayarama Raju, Sitarama Raju, Appa Rao, Jagannadha Raju, Triupati Raju, and Achyutarama Raju, the principal *samindars* in the Circars who were

Rumbold's settlement at Madras clearly resolved itself into three distinct parts. First there were the *zamindars* to settle with. Then there were the Company's *haveli** lands to be let on lease. Finally there was the case of the *zamindari* family of Vijayanagaram which had to be specially dealt with owing to the extreme intricacy of its affairs and its supreme importance to the peace and tranquillity of the Circars. The Madras Council took up these affairs one by one and arrived at specific settlements.

After offering a comprehensive review of the position of the *zamindars* and their outstandings to the Company, Rumbold recorded†: "In our present situation of an actual war and an exhausted treasury, I am clearly of opinion that a certain established revenue is preferable to any speculative schemes even if they should in the end be productive of a large tribute." Having been already urged‡ upon by his council "to conclude as speedily as possible" a revenue settlement with the *zamindars*, he carried through a quinquennial *jamabandi* at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. increase on the *mamul jumma*.§ The settlement is very interesting from the administrative point of view. There were cases of *zamin-daries* such as Nizividu which were not capable of any increase and hence left untouched. There were cases, again, of *zamindars* who totally refused to agree to any further enhancement of their tribute on account of special difficulties, as in the case of Rao Venkata Rao of Pithapuram,|| which the government acquiesced in upon a further review of the position.

The financial advantages of this settlement were considerable. At a time when the financial needs of the presidency were heavy and pressing owing to the war with the French, Madras was relieved of the pressure of bills which the subordinate settlements were permitted to draw upon the Presidency Treasury. Pointing out these advantages, the Madras Council wrote to Masulipatam¶: "You will be able to raise sufficient money without drawing on us to provide for your expences and to forward the Company's investment

present at Madras for the settlement conducted by Rumbold. See Rumbold, "Answer to Charges," Appendix No. 16.

* *Haveli* represents the Company's demesne land.

† Minute of October 10; "Rev. Cons.," vol. xxi., p. 664.

‡ "Rev. Cons.," August 28, 1778, vol. xxi., p. 568.

§ The *mamul jumma* denotes the customary tribute paid by the *zamindars* under the arrangements of the Muhammadan rulers of Hyderabad and of the French who rented the Circars from them.

|| See "Madras to Masulipatam," November 18, 1778; *idem.*, pp. 838-843.

¶ November 18, 1778, vol. xxi., pp. 838-843.

by every possible effort, which we particularly recommend to you, and we flatter ourselves that during the course of the ensuing season you will be in a situation to assist in supplying our treasury from the northern revenues in the districts under your management especially as we have taken upon ourselves to provide the sums to be paid to the Subah.* The Court of Directors were not satisfied with the settlement and accused Rumbold and his Council for having wasted an admirable opportunity for exacting a greater tribute from the *zamindars* assembled at Madras, especially when they were destitute of any means of resisting the Company's demands.† But Sir Thomas himself admitted‡ that he "had rather pinched the Zemindars too much in his agreements with them." He further stated§: "This increase of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the old rental is the only increase which has taken place since the Government of the Moguls. . . . The sum total of the additions made to the revenue, at different times, since the accession of the Company to the Circars, amount to 50 per cent. upon the old establishment. An enormous exaction! And far more oppressive to the Zemindars than an equal augmentation would have proved under their Mahomedan masters; inasmuch as the perquisites of the Mogul officers are comprised in the estimate which is improperly called the Moorish rental; whereas, under the later agreements, as existing when I came to the government, these perquisites were not taken into account, nor were the extortions of the Company's servants subject to any better control than their own discretion." Further, giving evidence before the Committee of Secrecy which drew the "Fourth Report," Edward Cotsford stated||: "The encrease (*sic*) of the Jemmabundy or tribute of the principal Zemindars occasioned much discontent amongst them. Considering the state of the Zemindars in general and the state of India at the time, I think the insisting upon an encrease of their tribute or Jemmabundy was injudicious." As a matter of fact, on the recommendation of Bala Krishna, the Company's interpreter at Ganjam and the renter of the Vijayanagaram assigned lands and the vast *haveli* of the Ichchapuram

* The reference is to the tribute paid by the Company to the Nizam for the grant of the Northern Circars. So far the Masulipatam treasury was responsible for the payment.

† "Madras Despatches (Revenue)," January 10, 1781; Appendix 153 to "Second Report."

‡ "Briefs," vol. i., f. 103.

§ Rumbold, "Answer to Charges," p. 32.

|| Appendix No. 24 to the "Fourth Report," Answer to Question No. 23.

district, the *jamabandi* of the Ganjam *zamindars* was reduced from Rs. 3,86,200 to Rs. 3,08,700 on account of the "distress and inability of these petty Zemindars to pay their high Jemmabundy."*

The settlement with the Masulipatam *zamindars* was not productive of the best results, as the latter turned out to be extremely reluctant in their payments. The Masulipatam Council proceeded with a demonstration of the Company's military prowess and asked for an extension of their general powers in dealing with the *zamindars*.† It is undoubtedly clear that Masulipatam unnecessarily precipitated measures against the *zamindars* when a certain amount of patience and tact could easily have achieved their ends peacefully. The Madras Council was temporizing in their attitude toward the *zamindars*, and condemned the action of the Masulipatam Council. They wrote that "the Board are of opinion that violent and precipitate measures and the exercise of force have been more detrimental to the Company's revenues in every part of their government than a well-timed lenity and proper distinction bestowed upon the deserving."‡ Rumbold was particularly consistent in his temporizing attitude with the *zamindars*. He minuted:§ "The practice that has too frequently prevailed under the Company's government in India of displacing persons on the most frivolous pretences from their hereditary possessions or from such as they have been confirmed in by their ancestors agreeable to the acknowledged customs that have prevailed in their famlys (*sic*), has thrown more odium on the gentlemen employ'd in India than any other transactions that have been brought before the publick and has been reprobated by all degrees of people at home. . . . I am no friend to these military expeditions set on foot against the almost defenceless Zemindars, the consequences of which are seldom favourable to the Company."

The sequel to Rumbold's settlement during the period under review was that three or four years' time was allowed for the systematic payment of the Company's balances by the *zamindars*.||

* "Rev. Cons.," August 13, 1779, vol. xxiii., pp. 67-78. See Appendix 61, "Second Report."

† "Masulipatam to Madras," April 5; *idem.*, April 20, vol. xxii., pp. 262-276.

‡ "Madras to Masulipatam," April 26, 1779, vol. xxii., pp. 286-296.

§ "Rev. Cons.," November 24, vol. xxiii., pp. 311-315.

|| "Rev. Cons.," September 15; *idem.*, pp. 143-172.

(To be continued.)

THE INNER EAST

[This Section is devoted to the study of the politics, history, and art of the Asiatic territories included within, or immediately adjoining, the Soviet Union. Special attention is given to Soviet sources of information, while at the same time the principle is pursued of securing the collaboration of various non-Bolshevist writers who are natives of the territories under consideration. The Section is conducted in consultation with Mr. W. E. D. Allen, M.P., the distinguished Eastern traveller and writer. For the present issue he has furnished a series of summaries illustrating views on recent events.]

RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION AND RAILWAY CONFLICTS IN MANCHURIA

The following is a summary of an important article by A. Kantorovich which appeared in Volume 25 of *Novie Vostok* (The New East) the official organ of the "Scientific Association of Eastern Studies of U.S.S.R." In view of present events in Manchuria, this study of the problems involved has considerable interest. A sketch map will be found at the end of the Section (p. 733).

RAILWAY construction in China has more than anything else been a really sensitive indicator reflective of the general tendency of the industrial and political development of the country. The history of the external relations of China is, in fact, to a certain extent a history of its railways.

Railway building there had truly been an apple of discord not only between China and the Powers of the world, but also among the latter as well. But never had it taken a completely new and a more sensational aspect than it did some two years ago. It was the configuration of the railroad projects in Manchuria and the Japan-Mukden railway conflict which arose so unexpectedly in the last months of the last year that had given it this aspect.

Manchuria has been, more than any other part of China, the centre of railway building conflicts, for it presents a series of conditions by force of which railway construction there is not only a mere essential element of the economics of the country, but the very trunk of the whole system of industrial relations; that very "commanding summit" around which rallies the process of economic development. The conditions which make Manchuria so important are:

1. *Manchuria is a country yet feebly populated, but in a process of active colonization.* Its territory measures, according to the "China Year Book," 363,000 square miles; or 500,000 square miles if we include Eastern and

Inner Mongolia (the districts of Jekhe and Bartu). The population estimated variously is from 20 to 30 millions—that is, from 40 to 70 per square mile; the greater part of population—about 26·9 millions (postal authorities' estimate 1928)—is concentrated in Southern Manchuria.

The density of population per square mile by comparison with other provinces of China is represented as follows: Shantung, 552; Szechwan, 601; Shensi, 875; Hunan, 454; Hupeh, 380; Chili, 295; whole Manchuria, 40-70; North Manchuria, 33.

The great difference that exists in the prices of land corresponds to these figures. The average price of land of ten "Mu" (3 acres) is between 150,000 Mexican dollars in Shantung and Chili, while in North Manchuria the estates of 450 "Mu" of first quality fetch only 1,000 Mexican dollars; of second quality 800; and of third 400.

It is self-evident, of course, that such a difference in prices produces a strong inclination for colonization, which is evident from the fact that during the last quarter-century its population has increased from ten to twenty times. Another evidence to this effect is the growth of flour imports. The Chinese Eastern Railway transported 113 million tons of flour in 1903, 579 millions in 1913, 1,771 millions in 1923, and 3,300 millions in 1926-1927, the average increase amounting to 38·9 per cent.

In Southern Manchuria the process of colonization seems to have reached its completion if we are to believe the somewhat exaggerated Japanese reports; thus in the Mukden district 95·9 per cent. of arable land is already under cultivation; in the Loian district 95·6 per cent., in the Sinmintun district 96·6 per cent., in the Andun district 83·3 per cent., etc. (see Kinosuke: "Manchuria," New York, 1925).

The regions lying towards the North-Korean frontier, however, lag behind, hardly 40 per cent. of the arable land being worked, while the great spaces of North Manchuria still wait cultivation.

The process of colonization has been rapidly accelerated during the last few years—namely, in 1923 and 1924 there arrived in Manchuria 400,000 emigrants, in 1925 500,000, and in 1926 600,000. In 1920 the influx of emigrants reached the figure of 1,000,000. The increase may be explained by the ruin of the Shantung and Chili peasantry as a result of military operations, excessive taxation, etc. Whatever the cause the current year will show still higher results of emigration. On the average

the immigration into Manchuria is increasing by 50 per cent. annually.

2. *Manchuria is a vast country of extensive agriculture*, a country capable of giving an immense agricultural produce with a considerable margin for export. In this respect of interest are the data for the region gravitating to the Chinese Eastern Railway. For the four years 1922-23, 1925-26 it produced 9,362,000 tons of grain, of which 6,388,000 went for the needs of the local population and the rest (2,974,000 tons, or 31 per cent. of the total) was available for export. In the calendar year of 1926 the production amounted to 10,531,000 tons, of which 3,213,800, or 31 per cent., were left for export. Correspondingly the grain transport over the Chinese Eastern Railway shows the following relations:

	1925-26.	1926-27.
Export	66.4 per cent.	63.7 per cent.
Import	12 "	11.1 "
Local communications,	21.6 "	25.2 "

(See *Vestnik*, "Manchuria," 1927, No. 10.)

3. *Manchuria, besides its fertile soil, is also rich in other natural resources*. One-fifth of the territory is covered with forests equalling about 45,000,000 acres, containing 150 milliards of cubic feet of timber. In North Manchuria forests occupy 380-390,000 kilometres (40 per cent.) and contain about 7 milliard metres of wood.

Of minerals there are thirty-eight various deposits, including coal, iron, copper, gold, silver, lead, tin, asbestos, aluminium, platinum, etc. (see B. P. Torgastén: "Mining Industry and Resources of the Far East," Harbin, 1927, pp. 28-34, etc.). In South Manchuria there are great reserves of oil shales estimated at 5½ milliard tons, capable of yielding about 300,000,000 tons of oil. At the present day Manchuria produces mining products to the value of 54.5 millions of American dollars.

4. *Manchuria, differing from China proper, which is cut up by rivers and canals, is comparatively poor in waterways*. In the south, however, it possesses two big rivers—namely, Liao, navigable for over 880 kilometres as far as Chjenziadun, and with its two navigable confluences the whole length accessible to steamers of 1,333 kilometres; and the Yalu, less favourable for navigation. Both rivers, however, present difficulties, being frequently shallow and frozen for three to four months in the year. None of the rivers of Manchuria give it an access to the sea.

Railway construction in Manchuria has reflected in itself epoch-making political tendencies—viz., expansion of Russian Imperialism in the Far East; its conflict with England; its defeat in the war with Japan; their first struggle against American intervention; the Japanese political offensive in China both during and after the World War; the fall of Russian Imperialism; and the grabbing policy of Japan in the north of the Asiatic Continent.

Russia was first to embark on the "discovery" of Manchuria by means of railway construction. The contract for the construction and exploitation of the Chinese Eastern Railway was concluded by China with the Russian Asiatic Bank representing the Russian Government. The main line of railway (Manchuli-Harbin-Pogranichnaia) was finished in 1903. The construction of a further section from Harbin to Dairen and Port Arthur completed the railway.

Having strengthened itself in Manchuria, Russia was in a position to seek the recognition of Manchuria and the whole of North China as the sphere of its exclusive interest and influence. The conflict that arose in consequence with England was settled by the 1899 agreement in accordance with which England bound herself not to seek railway concessions to the north of the Great Wall, while Russia undertook a similar obligation with regard to the Yantoy River basin.

The Russo-Japanese War dealt a blow to the exclusive influence of Russia in Manchuria, which henceforward became divided into two spheres of influence, the northern Russian and the southern Japanese.

By the Portsmouth Treaty, in the year 1905, Russia ceded to Japan the territory of Kwantung and the southern section of the Manchurian Chinese-Eastern Railway from Port Arthur to Dairen to Chanchun, thence known as the South-Manchurian Railway. These acquisitions were confirmed by the Japan-Chinese Agreement, December 22, 1905 (by subsequent agreements which safeguarded the exclusive dominance of Japan in Southern Manchuria).

It was found out, however, very soon, that neither China nor the other Powers (particularly America) were willing to tolerate the exclusive position of Japan in Southern Manchuria, and that this attitude of the Powers threatened in an equal degree also the Russian interests in the north.

The Sinmintun-Fakumyn Railway project, the construction of which China had granted in 1907 to an English firm, showed Japan that it still had to defend its position

in Southern Manchuria. Thanks to the unwillingness of England to jeopardize the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Japan managed to defeat the project. An agreement was concluded with China, September 4, 1909, whereby England engaged itself not to build the railway in question without Japan's consent. The 1907 incident caused a deal of dissatisfaction in America, which already possessed a considerable share of the Manchurian trade. The United States of America directed all its efforts to the policy of placing the railway systems of Manchuria under international control. This policy was the inspiration of the well-known Mr. W. Street, the then American Consul at Mukden. With his name is also connected the tendency of several American circles for the introduction into China of an active and aggressive policy. On the initiative of the same Mr. Street, an Anglo-American group opened negotiations with China about the construction of the Trans-Manchurian Railway from Tsinchow to Aigun on the River Amur. A preliminary agreement was signed on May 2, 1909, and ratified on January 21, 1910. This railroad was to cut across the Russian and Japanese spheres of influence to provide an independent outlet for the products of both Southern and Northern Manchuria. Its construction would thus effectively end the respective monopolies of the South Manchurian and the Chinese-Eastern Railways.

In the winter of 1909-1910 the American State Secretary sent the following alternative offer first to England and later to Russia: "To support and accept participation in the construction of the railway or to agree to the neutralization and transference to an 'impartial management' of the whole of Manchuria's railway systems." This latter plan presumed the buying out of the existing railways (including the South Manchurian and the Chinese-Eastern Railways), with which end in view China was to be enabled to obtain an international loan on the condition that until the settlement of the said loan the railways remained under an international administration. This question, however, was bound to be connected with the question of the banking consortium (first) which at the time was being organized by Street and was complicated by the struggle that was taking place between this consortium (consisting at the time of England, France, Germany, and America) and the competing syndicate created by Russia with the aid of the independent Belgian, French, and English banks. In the end the consortium was compelled to include in its composition Russia and Japan, and both

of the American projects fell through. The result of all this was a further rapprochement between Russia and Japan.

The first and post-Portsmouthian decade was utilized by Japan for strengthening her position in Southern Manchuria (changing into broad gauge the Mukden-Andun Railway, the financing of the new Chinese Chanchun Railway, the opening of a series of branch lines of the Southern Manchurian Railway, and the acquisition of rights of exploitation of the important mine deposits).

The beginning of the World War opened up new possibilities for Japanese expansion in China generally and Manchuria particularly. The Treaty signed in May, 1915, as a result of the presentation of the twenty-one demands and the subsequent Japanese ultimatum, gave Japan a series of important economic and other advantages. This Treaty extended the concession period of the Southern Manchurian and Mukden-Andun Railways, also that of the Kwantung concessions to ninety-nine years. The Givín-Chanchun line contract was revised, placing it entirely under Japanese control. The political advantages thus gained were strengthened by a splendid diplomatic victory gained by Japan over the United States of America. The Note exchanged between Lansing and Ishii on November 2, 1917, recognized special Japanese interests in the adjacent provinces of China. Practically it meant non-intervention by America with Manchurian affairs.

In 1913, already by force of a Note of October 15, China promised to build with the aid of Japanese capital the following railway lines:

1. Ssupingkai-Taonanfu,
2. Kaiuan-Khailun,
3. Chanchun-Taonanfu.

This Note became known only in 1915, when the Yokohama Specie Bank signed a contract for a loan of 5,000,000 yen for the construction of the first section of the Ssupingkai-Taonanfu Railway to Chjentsiandun. The traffic on this line was opened in 1917. In 1919 this loan was merged into a new one furnished by the Southern Manchurian Railway, and then began the construction of the line to Taonanfu (312.5 kilometres from Ssupingkai opened in 1923) with a branch to Baintalai (113.7 kilometres).

In 1918 two new contracts were signed by China with the Japanese Banks (Bank of Chosen, Bank of Taiwan, and Industrial Bank of Japan)—namely, on June 18—for a loan for the construction of the Kirin-Hunan (on the Korean

frontier) line; and on September 28 on a loan for the construction of four lines—namely :

1. Jehol (Yenho)-Taonanfu,
2. Chanchun-Taonanfu,
3. Kainan-Kharlun-Jirin,
4. Jekho-Seashore.

This enterprise was, however, never realized owing to the change of government in China, the pro-Japanese Anfu group being replaced by the anti-Japanese Chili Government. The main cause though perhaps was the insufficiency of free capital in Japan itself.

On its North Manchurian network Russian Imperialism was, owing to the World War, unable to show any particular activity. The transport over the Chinese-Eastern Railway rose from 732,000 tons in 1909 to 1,164,000 tons in 1913 and to 2,086,800 tons in 1916. The export of grain also grew. The line nevertheless showed deficits until 1915. No new lines were built. In 1916 the Russo-Asiatic Bank concluded an agreement with the Chinese Government for the construction of the Harbin-Aigun and Mergen-Tsitsikar lines, but it was never realized.

The White Governments of Siberia and the Far East, however much they wanted it, were powerless to keep up the prestige of Russian Imperialism. Soviet Russia from the beginning took up a strongly friendly attitude towards China based on its respect for Chinese National sovereignty.

This attitude was utilized by Japan for the expansion of its influence over Northern Manchuria. The project of Kirin-Huinin line had already violated the former Russo-Japanese agreement on the division of the spheres of influence of these two Powers. Under the pretext of fighting Bolshevism, Japan concluded in August, 1918, an alliance with the Chinese Government for joint action against the Bolsheviks. There are indications that at that time the Japanese activists hoped to seize the Chinese Eastern Railway. Later, however, North Manchuria, with the Far East of Siberia, came under the sphere of international interference; the Chinese-Eastern Railway found itself subjected to international railway control in Vladivostok. Later still, however, it was found that the general conditions did not favour the realization of such a plan. The Japanese, as well as the international adventure, finally failed. In China itself the national movement began to show signs of awakening, and took on an anti-Japanese character owing to Japan's exactions in Shantung

and Manchuria, and a period of decline of influence in China set in for Japan. As a result, the Chinese administration grew stronger in North Manchuria. In 1920 China concluded an agreement with the so-called "reorganized management" of the Russo-Asiatic Bank (in Paris), a temporary agreement, by dint of which the Chinese received several seats on the Board and in the Revision Commission of the Railway.

At the beginning these changes were rather favourable to Japan, as the Chinese administration was obedient. In North Manchuria the activity of Japanese banks and commercial firms increased, squeezing out the Russians. At Harbin and along the line estates were bought up by the Japanese, and in place of the devalued rouble the Japanese yen began to make its appearance. In former days the activity of the Chinese-Eastern Railway was aimed at the development of Manchurian exports through Vladivostok only.

In 1913 thither went 79 per cent. of the whole and 85.5 per cent. of the grain export. In 1920 all this was changed. To the south went 86.8 per cent. To Vladivostok, where mortification had set in, went only 13 per cent.

The victory of Soviet power in Siberia and in the Far East has, however, changed all this.

The Chinese authorities could not ignore the consolidating power of Soviet Russia, who was the undisputed owner of the tremendous means of the Russian people invested in the Chinese-Eastern Railway. All the efforts of Imperialist Powers could not prevent the conclusion in 1924 of the Peking and Mukden agreements between U.S.S.R. and China, which regulated, among other things, the joint Soviet-Chinese management of the line (introduced in October, 1924). The Chinese-Eastern Railway ceased to be a weapon of the Japanese interests. On the contrary, it has now become the *point d'appui* of Chinese national policy in Manchuria, and also of Soviet-Chinese trading and economic relations (including the restoration of the rôle of the port of Vladivostok). The distribution of the grain export has now improved. Vladivostok has received in the last four years 45.7 per cent., 37 per cent., 47.1 per cent., and 46.1 per cent. respectively.

To sum up the history of railway construction in Manchuria represents a chain of acute international conflicts between Russia and England, between Russia and Japan, between Russo-Japanese block and the Powers with America at the head, between Japan and the Powers,

between Japan and Soviet-Chinese interests, and between Japan and China.

CONCLUSION—PROSPECTS

The open conflict between the Japanese and Chinese capital in its present scale dates from 1926, when the Japanese were first confronted with active railway construction by the Chinese directed against their (Japanese) interests. In the spring of 1927 the economic and political life of Japan became eventful (acute financial crisis, change of Government) and this sharpened their interest in the Manchurian problem. The Cabinet of the party of Seiukai, who had come to power, proclaimed as their slogan, "A positive policy in Manchuria and Mongolia," which, in other words, meant a decisive pressure upon China and the Manchurian authorities. In the summer of 1927 the Japanese Government convened two official conferences at which new demands were formulated. Simultaneously the Japanese Press adopted vigorously the same attitude. The result was the presentation to the Peking Government of a series of demands and the beginning of the so-called Manchuria-Mongolian negotiations. As far as the railway construction question was concerned, these demands apparently implied the stopping of the Kirin-Chanchun Railway construction and the consent to a construction of new lines with Japanese means. To these, as to other demands, the Japanese were shown a strong resistance. An anti-Japanese feeling arose all over Manchuria and riots spread, and nothing came out of the Manchuria-Mongolian negotiations.

Having failed in this direction, Japan attempted to gain American influence. In the autumn of 1927 Japan was visited by Thomas Lamont, one of the directors of Morgan's firm, and soon after, it became known that this firm intended to issue a big loan to the South Manchurian Railway, which was to amount to \$30,000,000. It was to be used for the construction of new lines. The chief aim of the project was, however, not the money, which at the time was easily obtainable in Japan itself, but the creation of American interest in the Japanese Imperialistic enterprises, which would weaken the Chinese resistance. This political aspect of the loan was sharply criticized both in America and abroad and it was consequently never realized.

All that remains at present from the "positive policy" in Manchuria is only the decision to strengthen the personal

undertakings of the South Manchurian Railway and the Japanese investments in Manchuria. In 1928 the South Manchurian Railway increased the coal output to 8,000,000 tons, also the gun-metal output to 350,000 tons. In addition, they organized a new undertaking—the production of artificial manure.

To sum up the situation one must admit that the near future will not bring about any sensational changes in the existing co-relation of the forces. The Chinese administration is bound up hand and foot in its military operations, its finances extremely disorganized. Chinese capital is scattered, and compared with it the Japanese interests, which are regulated by the Government, seem gigantic.

All this, however, does not diminish the fact that the prospective of Japanese Imperialism in Manchuria is growing paler and that the tendency of historical development is with all its firmness directed to the weakening and even to the complete elimination of the Japanese influence.

(A sketch-map will be found on page 734.)

LAMAISM IN MONGOLIA

[The following summary of a paper, from Vol. 25 of *Novie Vostok*, by C. Natsoff, throws an interesting light on developments in Mongolia, particularly among the religious bodies, since the establishment, through Soviet influence and intervention, of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1924. The observations, particularly with regard to Buriatia, which conclude the paper deserve attention, as throwing an interesting light on the Bolshevik attitude towards one of the most important religions of the East.]

MONGOLIA is the cradle of northern Lamaism; it has brought up amidst its steppes hundreds and thousands of servants (Lamas) of the Buddhist religion.

The Manchu dynasty did its utmost to utilize in its own favour the immense influence of the Lamas. The Lamas received from the Manchu a complete freedom of action in all questions of religion. The Lamas themselves, as well as their properties, were freed of all taxes and other charges. The more active Lamas received from the Manchu authorities various kinds of gifts and grants and titles of "Gigen" (saint), "Hambo" (bishop), and "Sordji" (priest) which empowered them to impose upon the population all sorts of contributions in aid of the religious institutions. The policy of the Manchu in thus aiding the Lamas was to restrain, with the help of the Lamas, the wild energy of the Mongolian nomads.

The influence of the Lamas was indeed great. No business, whether of the State or of an individual, could be undertaken without a preliminary consultation with a Lama.

In spite of such an attitude on the part of the Chinese Emperors to Lamaism, the declaration of Mongolian independence in 1911 was supported by a number of Lamas. The greatest of the latter, the second "Saint" after Djibtsen-Damba-Huttukhta — namely, Samdi-Baksha-Djalhandzsa-Huttukhta — commanded one of the regiments in Western Mongolia, operating against the Chinese. Other noted Lamas participated in the conspiracies and the preparations for the risings. The "protectors" of yesterday, of the Chinese, had been compelled to take such action on account of the ever-growing indignation felt among the wide masses of the population against the oppression and exploitation practised by the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants.

After the victory of the National Revolutionary Movement in Mongolia (1921) the position of Djibtsen-Damba-Huttukhta as head of the State was considerably changed. In the first years of this victory the Huttukhta was a constitutional monarch, but the actual power was in the hands of the People's Revolutionary Government.

With the decline of the power of the Huttukhta, the Lamas naturally felt themselves relegated into the background; seeing in the People's Revolutionary Government a new force in the country, which was gradually to undermine their influence over the Mongolian populace, and having no possibility of risking an open revolt, the more reactionary section of the Lamas resorted to the policy of murdering personages by means of poison, etc. These elements endeavoured to enlist the help of the foreigners (Tibetans) and hoped for foreign military assistance (the Chinese Militarists).

Apprehending the importance of the party in strengthening of the freedom earned by the Mongolian masses, they succeeded in utilizing in favour of their own counter-revolutionary aims noted members of the People's Revolutionary Party (Bodo and Danzan), thus weakening the party ranks. Even in the Government there were supporters of the conservative interest who helped the organization of the conspirators. The great Lamas, such as the Tibetan Saji-Lama and Nomun-khan Huttukhta (Dja-Bogdo), attempted to raise a revolt. The conspiracy, however, was detected in time, and Saji-Lama was shot at

Urga in spite of some sort of opposition from the constitutional monarch, Djibtszen-Damba-Huttukhta, while Dja-Bogdo was beheaded in his own camp "Majin-San," between Kansu Province (China) and Nan-Tai-Shir (in Mongolia).

After the death of Djibtszen-Damba-Huttukhta, Mongolia was proclaimed a People's Republic. Part of Huttukhta's property was handed over to the State, and part to the religious institutions.

The First Great Huruldan of the Mongolian People's Republic, which took place in November, 1924, decided to place the seals of the Bogdo-khan in the hands of the Government for safe-keeping, and to introduce into the country the Republican régime without a President at the head of the State, entrusting the supreme power to the People's Assembly and to the Government elected by the latter.

Next the First Great Huruldan adopted the following three historical decisions:

1. Separation of the Church from the State.
2. Abolition of titles of all degrees and the hereditary rights of the Huttukhtas and Hubilganas (Church-feudals).
3. Withdrawal of voting-rights from the Princes, Huttukhtas, and other personages of the Church hierarchy dwelling in the monasteries.

All these measures of the People's Revolutionary Party and its government, directed towards the weakening of individual influence upon the State, clearly showed that the wide masses of Mongolia were imbued with the idea of the National Revolutionary Movement.

The approximate number of Lamas in the Mongolian People's Republic was estimated at from 120,000 to 125,000 persons. In the five Halhas Aimaks (districts) of Bogdo-Khan-Ul, Tsitselic, Mandal, Khan-Taishi, and the Dylger-Ul the number of Mongolian monks was estimated in 1924 to amount to 112,671 persons, which means that the Lamas represented 20 per cent. of the entire population, or 45 per cent. of the male population. The Lamas may be divided into two sections:

1. Those living in the provinces among the laymen (75,000). These are maintained partly by contributions, but chiefly by their own efforts as landowners and cattle-breeders.
2. Those living in monasteries (45,000).

The monastery Lamas are sub-divided into two sections:

1. The high Lamas holding high posts (5,000).
2. Monks studying the divine books (40,000).

To attain the post of a high Lama, the monk must serve in a monastery a certain period and pay from 4,000 to 6,000 roubles; the money being obtained either from relations or from the masses by way of contribution, to beg which a monk will travel to every corner of the province. The number of Lamas has declined considerably during the last three or four years under the National Revolutionary régime.

Though statistics are unreliable, the reduction in their number from 1918 to 1927 can safely be stated to amount to 25,000 to 26,000 persons.

According to the statistics of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party the number of Lamas has shrunk still more since 1927.

The whole population of the country is 700,000: males 346,612, including 92,869 Lamas; females 338,320. The Lamas thus compose now about 26·7 per cent. of the male population. In spite of this decrease in their number, the wealth of the monasteries has increased. The whole cattle of Mongolia is estimated at 4,497,436 (taxable units), of which 830,525 belong to the monasteries—*i.e.*, 18·4 per cent. of the cattle wealth of the country is in the hands of the monasteries. The Mongolian Lamas thus are not only a political obstacle in the development of public life, but also continue to oppress the masses economically.

The position of the Mongolian Lamas at present is no doubt much worse than it was. The Lamas living among the laymen in the provinces are deprived of all their former privileges, having been completely equalized with the masses. They are subject to the same taxation and services—*i.e.*, they have to serve in the army, pay taxes, etc. The middle Lamas no longer get contributions from the population in the former dimensions, thus being deprived of the chances of becoming high Lamas. All their labour in connection with the studying of divine books is in vain.

To better their lot under the new circumstances the Lamas have now started a new reformation movement. The reformers point out that formerly the Buddhist teaching, especially Lamaism, was quite different; that it is now distorted. The early Buddhism knew not rewards by titles and privileges; and they demand—

1. Abolition of monetary payments for the promotion to the post of high Lama.
2. Free access to the monastery posts.

3. Collective ownership in place of private ownership.
4. Cleansing of the Mongolian religion.
5. Strict observance of the laws of Buddhism.
6. Institution of hermit life.

The reformatory movement has to a certain extent been successful, mainly in the Buriat-Mongolian autonomous S.S.R. which borders upon Mongolia. In Buriatia there are already separate monasteries of the reformers.

The highest organ managing the affairs of the Siberian Buriat Buddhists is the spiritual "Sobor" convened every two years. Its sphere of activity includes:

1. The high guidance of the purity of the faith.
2. Guidance of the affairs of the Church.
3. Building of "Datsans," prayer houses and schools.
4. Creation of religious societies.
5. Well-being of monasteries.
6. Distribution of means.
7. Election of the Padito-Kanbo-Lama.
8. Publication of instructions, etc.

Mongolian Lamaism at present is being split up; it is no longer united either in ideology or materially.

The revolutionary parties must utilize this weakening of Lamaism. They must bring about internal dissensions among the Lamas by theological disputes; by encouraging contradictory interpretations; by strengthening the democratic elements.

They must endeavour to educate the masses politically and enlighten them on the futility of the dogmas.

They must discredit the Lamas by exposing the negative points of their activity and do everything in their power completely to free the people of Mongolia from the already dwindling influence of Lamaism.

MUSSULMAN COURTS IN CENTRAL ASIA

[The following is a summary of a paper by N. Fioletoff published in Volumes 23-24 of the Soviet publication *Novie Vostok*. As a frank exposition of the Bolshevik's attitude and intentions towards Mussulman institutions in Central Asia, it may be read as a sequel to Mr. Mustafa Chokaiev's two articles "The Basmaji Movement in Turkestan" and "The Soviets and Afghanistan," published in Nos. 78 and 83 of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*.]

I. JURISDICTION OF KAZIS UNDER MUSSULMAN LAW

THE Kazi courts represent one of the most characteristic survivals of the Mussulman law. They survive not only in the Mussulman East, but also in the Central Asian Soviet Republics.

The foundation of the Kazi court is based on the first sources of the Mussulman "canonical law"; in the decisions of Shariat and the dictates of tradition. Islam knew not until recent times the sharp division between the religious duties and the civil relations proper. The sources of Mussulman religious teachings, like those of the ancient Jews, embrace therefore all the spheres of the criminal, the civil, the judicial, and the law of process. These sources must form the basis of the activity of a judge, which activity is in a certain sense regarded as a function of a religious character. The judge becomes, as it were, a guardian of the strict rules of Mussulman "faith and honour," while the office of a judge is regarded as established by "divine command for the administration of justice." A Kazi must be a Mussulman by faith and possess at least the qualities required of a witness. He must be honest, of age, prudent, independent and authoritative, well versed in the questions of religion, of law and traditions, and well known for his "righteous" life. He is appointed by the head of the State or his plenipotentiary. All Kazis are equal in the sphere of their rights, but the jurisdiction of each Kazi is limited by a definite territorial region, sometimes even by time (appointment for a certain period) or by other factors (appointment for a definite number or category of cases). To safeguard Kazis from temptation, Mussulman law forbids them to accept gifts (except from nearest relatives and friends); to accept invitations from either of the contestants or to attend their meetings. He cannot judge the affairs of his relatives or friends. He must not attempt to decide a case "when his mental faculties are not clear and firm."

He must discharge his duties in a mosque or in a public institution, or, as most frequently happens, in his own house.

Under the Kazi jurisdictions the presence of a plaintiff is presupposed in every case, independent of whether it concerns a property or a criminal proceeding. In this sense the Kazi criminal justice corresponds to the Roman "accusatio."

After hearing the plaintiff the Kazi must in the first place endeavour to reconcile the contestants, reminding them of the Prophet's teaching on "siulkh," and of the Koran's counsel that a peaceful agreement is valued higher than "the office and mercy."

"The burden of proving" (*onus probandi*) falls on the plaintiff.

The Mussulman process admits the so-called "formal proving." The form and method of proving are defined by the sources themselves of the Mussulman law, which possess scholastically elaborated casuistics. The basic aspect of an indubitable proving is the evidence of witness satisfying certain requirements, and, in certain cases, the oath. The written documents have only a secondary importance, insufficient alone for the motives of decision, unless substantiated by witnesses.

The oath in the Mussulman law is resorted to mainly as a "purifying oath" for the defendant. If a plaintiff cannot prove his case, the Kazi offers the defendant at the request of the plaintiff to swear that the accusation is wrong. If he swears, the case is dismissed. It is dismissed likewise, if the plaintiff failing to prove his case fails also to demand such an oath from the defendant. If, on the other hand, the defendant refuses by silence or by word to take oath, the Kazi decides the case in favour of the plaintiff.

In complicated cases when the orientation in the sources and various commentaries, etc., and their application to the given case, represented difficulties beyond the Kazi's competency, the question was submitted to the learned legal experts—"Mufti." This enquiry was made even beforehand. Information thus furnished became a document called "Rivojat."

The "Rivojat" is submitted by the Kazi to his "Agliams" for discussion, and, having heard their opinion, he formulates his decision. Preference is given to the party that obtains "Rivojat" first, or if both parties had obtained it simultaneously, the one whose "Rivojat" was from a more authoritative "Mufti" got the preference. The verdict

thus arrived at is final. Revision or retrial of the case is allowed only in cases of verdicts contradicting the law. Revision takes place at the conference of Kazis, or it is effected by the chief Kazi (Kazi-Kaglian).

2. EVOLUTION OF THE KAZI COURT

The Mussulman judicial process reflects to a considerable degree those forms of civil inter-relations which are characteristic of the elementary beginnings of commercial capitalism. In this respect one can detect in it certain analogies with the Roman process and the Roman law. The Roman judicial process developed, however, consecutively in connection with the development and complication of economic inter-relations. In the classical epoch there grew in the Roman process a definite tendency for the introduction of the "inquisitional movement"—for the expansion of a judge's rôle, etc.

The Mussulman process inasmuch as it was expressed in the Kazi courts was less susceptible to changes. In the Mussulman States, and particularly in the Khanates of Central Asia, commercial capitalism existed side by side with the elements of feudal and semi-feudal relations and with the surviving remnants of a patriarchal-tribal régime. Correspondingly therefore both the commercial and the civil relations connected therewith bore a peculiar Eastern character. There were here no well-developed and well-organized credit-systems and credit-institutions. Hence the peculiar "concrete realism" of the Mussulman process. In commercial transactions there were in the majority of cases no receipts nor anything corresponding to the bill of exchange. Transactions were effected by parole, but in the presence of witnesses. The whole trade was carried on in the bazaars, in special caravanserais and shops in accordance with the requirements of the Shariat, in order that the goods to be sold might be seen during the transaction, the enactment of which is effected with the aid of witnesses, who are paid both by the seller and the buyer and "acting in a way during the transaction the rôle of brokers." To this system of commercial transaction corresponds the system of formal evidence which does not recognize written documents as of sufficient power.

If this system was satisfactory for primitive and uncomplicated commercial transactions, it was not so in the criminal sphere where, with the complication of political relations and the growth of statecraft, the encounter with

more serious difficulties inevitably took place. The criminal process of the Shariat retained to a greater degree traces of tribal relations, primitive rights, and in this sense it contradicted the later forms of the State's social régime.

Already in the commentaries on the Mussulman law one can find therefore deviation from the original "accusatio" process in criminal matters. Proven thefts and robberies now can no longer remain unpunished; the peaceful settlement being now recognized as inadmissible. There are two forms of criminal cases: (1) Punishment in its proper sense ("khad"), the degree of which is determined by the Shariat; and (2) "taazir," punishment not foreseen by the Shariat, the degree of which, not being determined beforehand, is left to the discretion of the Kazi. "Taazir" may also be applied for the non-observance of those dictates of the Koran or Shariat, the punishment for which has not been indicated in either of them; and also for some inconsiderable sins against "social morals." In the affairs connected with "Taazir" it increases thus the independence of Kazi. In the commentaries on the Mussulman laws a difference is made between crime against the interests or honour of private persons ("Hak-kul-abd") and behaviour contradicting the requirements of law, but not harmful to a person, known as "crimes only against the divine command" ("Hak-Allah"), such as, for example, that of drunkenness, non-observance of rites and customs, etc. In such cases "Taazir" can be applied independently of anyone's complaint or accusation, and not only by the Kazi alone, but also by any person appearing thus in "Dei causa!"

Finally, a principle has been introduced that the Kazi courts should try only matters connected with those questions that are contained in the Shariat, the so-called "Shariat matters." All other cases of acts and behaviour against the State are to be dealt with by the State administration. A division thus is effected between the religious court and the lay court. In practice, however, a majority of criminal cases passes to the administrative courts, and this in contradiction to the Shariat, only civil affairs being left to the Kazi courts. The administrative procedure was thus freed from those formal rules and guarantees which were established for the Kazi courts and was also less limited by a definite law. Hence its undoubtedly high-handed action. A case is tried verbally, and no notes are taken, there remaining thus no traces of

a tried case. Bribery and extortion and illicit practices have under the system become most common.

In spite of the fact that the Kazi court owing to its external forms provided a greater degree of legality than the administrative court, it also became contaminated with corruption, due no doubt to influences of the general order of things in the Central Asian Khanates and to the system of remuneration.

The Khazi court, on the other hand, could not satisfy the demands of a more complicated civil life, especially from the moment of the appearance in Central Asia of Russian "colonial" capital and of the development of the credit system. Credit transactions arising out of this new order could not, in fact, remain within the competency of the Mussulman courts and found their way into the European courts (Russian in Central Asia). So did also all the transactions with the Europeans.

In spite of these failings of the Kazi courts the Young Bokharan party in Bokhara, and the Liberal strata of the Mussulman bourgeoisie and intelligentsia in Turkestan, in the period of Russian domination, did not think it necessary to replace the Kazi courts with European courts. The Mussulman masses attributed the failings of their Kazi courts to the influence of "Russian reaction." The demand of all the strata of Mussulman society was consequently, not the abolition, but the reorganization of the Kazi courts, the restoration of the "original spirit of the Shariat," and its independence.

3. THE KAZI COURTS UNDER THE SOVIET RÉGIME

The conservative forms of the Kazi courts, with their semi-feudal and specifically patriarchal order of the East, could not naturally be tolerated under the Soviet régime. The court of Kazi, and the Shariat rights applied by it, presented, in a sense, a certain obstacle to the introduction of the principle of a single People's Court as an organ of the proletarian dictatorship. After the final consolidation of the Soviet régime in Turkestan, measures were adopted for the liquidation of the Kazi courts and the introduction of the Soviet People's Courts.

Subsequent developments—the expansion of the Basmaji movement, and the introduction of a new economic policy (N.E.P.)—to a certain extent caused the changing of the Soviet policy in regard to the Mussulman courts among other questions. From 1921 began the partial restoration

of the Kazi courts in Soviet Turkestan. The slow development at the time of the Soviet People's Court also contributed to this restoration which began to seem necessary, especially since the entry into the Soviet Union of the Bokharan and Khoresmian (Khivan) Republics, where the Kazi courts and their traditional tribal bases were especially strong. This retreat is, however, temporary. The Kazi courts will die out as soon as they lose authority. They can be undermined gradually from within with the aid of progressive clergy and teachers.

The basic principles of the Soviet policy in regard to the Kazi courts in Central Asia are as follows:

The Kazi courts are allowed to function in deference to the express wishes of the labouring masses, and at their wish they will be abolished in time.

Measures are being taken to safeguard the population with a sufficient number of Soviet judges and to enhance the respect for the People's Courts.

Attempts are repeatedly being made to Sovietize the Kazi courts by selection of judges; by changing the conditions in which they function; by instituting guarantees of Soviet control of the activities of the Kazi courts, etc.

Correspondingly with this principle developed the Soviet legislation about the Kazi courts. One of the more substantial acts of this legislation is the paragraph "On the courts of Kazi" of December 23, 1922. In this paragraph the voluntary character of the courts is emphatically stated. "The Kazi try cases only if so desired by the contestants. In case of a defendant's refusal to be tried by the Kazi, the case passes to the single People's Court" (2). "Kazi are to be elected by the native-born citizens possessing voting rights under the Soviet legislation" (5). "They are elected for one year" (5). "The electors select two candidates of whom one is confirmed in his post by the Executive Committee of the locality concerned, the other remaining an appointed candidate" (9-10). "The age census is twenty-five" (6). There is to be no special formal qualification (such as theological judicial education). The court is maintained or subsidized by the local Executive Committee.

The competency of Kazi courts is also limited. They can try cases of insults by action, word or letter, libel, hooliganism, "common" theft, and suchlike. Punishments for these offences must be based on the regulations in the corresponding paragraphs of the Soviet Criminal Code (1922)—namely, in the paragraphs 172, 174, 176, 181.

Complaints against the decision of the Kazi can be lodged at the Soviet People's Court. The Kazi courts at present represent, in fact, a mixed Soviet-Shariat court. There is no doubt the Soviet legislation has cut deeply into it.

Another fact weakening the Kazi court is this. The power of a decision of the Kazi court lies in its spiritual (or religious) authority. Kazi does not resort to the services of Militia or other organs to compel the appearance of a defendant or to enforce their decisions. It is natural that cases requiring compulsion and effective decisions will not be submitted to a Kazi court, but to a People's Court.

The Kazi court, in short, is already gradually losing its former specific importance and its, so to speak, "judicial" character. The expansion of the net of the People's Courts, especially in the last year, has considerably reduced its number.



CORRESPONDENCE

"INDIA ON TRIAL"

To the Editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW.

SIR,

Your reviewer summarizes the contentions advanced in my book "India on Trial" in these words: "That people (the Indian) consists in the mass of peaceful, contented peasants and workers who prefer British rule to any other, while the upper classes can be divided between aristocratic warriors devoted to the British throne and talkers who appear only to want power. To the latter classes foolish British politicians persist in surrendering power."

I consider this summary to be a travesty of a serious attempt to deal with problems of vital concern to India and the Empire. Anyone reading the review without reading the book might be excused for believing that "India on Trial" consisted of crude banalities.

Yours faithfully,

J. E. WOOLACOTT.

August 5, 1929.

DEBATES IN THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES

ANNUAL SURVEY

REPORT BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA REVIEWING THE WORK PERFORMED BY THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES DURING THE PAST YEAR

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY : I call upon His Highness the Chancellor to present the report reviewing the work performed by the Chamber of Princes during 1928.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA : Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—I rise, in discharge of my duty as Your Highnesses' Chancellor, to review the work of the last year. I may say at the very outset that this year has been, from its importance, one which may well shape the destinies of generations to come. We have taken the opportunity provided for us by the statesmanlike sympathy of Your Excellency to conduct intensive researches into the legal and the economic aspects of the position of the Indian States, whose ideals and importance are now appreciated by a wider circle of opinion than was previously the case. Many major issues have been classified ; and we have brought our best endeavours to the task of discovering the directions in which the present political system is, from our point of view, capable of improvement. The results of our labours have yet to mature, but we are hopeful that in no long time they will bear fruit.

THE INDIAN STATES COMMITTEE

As Your Highnesses are doubtless aware, our work during the last year primarily centred round the Indian States Committee, whose appointment we owe to Your Excellency's appreciation of our difficulties ; our activities in this connection began even before the last Chamber Session. We held a series of preliminary meetings with the Right Hon. Sir Leslie Scott in Patiala, Kashmir, Jamnagar, Bikaner, and Bombay. These discussions revealed early the necessity of setting up a special organization to prepare the case of the Princes for presentation to the Committee of Enquiry. Colonel Haksar of Gwalior was placed in charge of the special organization as Director, while Professor Rushbrook Williams of Patiala was associated with him as Joint Director. The Ministers and Officers of many other States also assisted the organization work both in India and England, and their labours made it possible for us to present our case to the Indian States Committee far more effectively than at one time seemed possible. The time at our disposal was very short in view of the difficulties to be overcome. For, be it remembered, the Indian States are separate units ; their Rulers are but gradually acquiring the habit of close and effective co-operation ; and the material necessary to establish our contentions had to be collected throughout the length and breadth of India. I need not refer here in detail to the work of the special organization in India and England in connection with the presentation of our case ; but I feel I must particularly mention our obligations to Sir Leslie Scott and his colleagues, to Colonel Haksar and Professor

Rushbrook Williams, and to others associated with them in the very strenuous, devoted work they have accomplished on our behalf.

WORK IN ENGLAND

The nature of the enquiry conducted by the Indian States Committee necessitated the presence in England of a strong representation of the Standing Committee of the Chamber, in order that the representation of the case might be effectively directed. It was accordingly arranged that their Highnesses the Maharajas of Kashmir, Cutch, and Nawanagar, His Highness the Ruler of Bhopal, and myself should proceed overseas in the course of the summer. Prior to our departure, two important conferences were held. The first consisted of the Punjab Hill Chiefs, who assembled, in March last year, in my capital. The second was a representative meeting of Princes and Ministers convened in Bombay, in April last, to discuss the general line of action in connection with the work in England. Both these conferences proved fruitful, and solid work was done. Therefore, for over seven months we had to be busy in England. The quality and the quantity of the work done in England on behalf of the whole Order speaks for itself. We could not have accomplished this, or anything like it, but for the confidence and support which Your Highnesses lent to the Standing Committee and myself in the discharge of the important and delicate task entrusted to us. I am particularly grateful to my colleagues their Highnesses the Rulers of Kashmir, Bhopal, Nawanagar, and Cutch, who left their States and gave me freely of their time and assistance, in directing the presentation of our case before the Indian States Committee. To their wise counsel, unsparing labour and generous support, I, as Chancellor, must ascribe the success which characterized our labours. The amount of work entailed was very great. In it we were most ably assisted by our Ministers. I should like to make particular mention of Sir Parbha Shanker Pattani, Administrator of Bhavnagar, Sir Manubhai Mehta, Prime Minister of Bikaner, who was kindly deputed to England by my dear elder brother His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner; from Major Colvin, who represented His Highness of Rewa; from Mr. Wattal, of the Kashmir Government; and from Mr. Abbasi, the Political Secretary of His Highness the Ruler of Bhopal, and Mr. Sen of the Patiala Government.

AND IN INDIA

But while we were in England, the work in India had to be carried on. We had to conduct a double-barrelled organization, and the Chancellor's Secretariat in India was more active than ever before. His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar acted as Chancellor during my absence, and I take this opportunity of thanking His Highness for his efforts in the interests of our Order. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, whose devoted work on behalf of the whole Order of Princes has laid the foundations of our present edifice. His statesmanlike advice and his wise championship of our cause were as ever a tower of strength to us. Our one regret was that he found it impossible to come to England with us last year.

While I am discharging, as Chancellor, my debt of gratitude to those who aided in the work of the year, I should like to convey the thanks of all of us to His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur, who worthily upheld the dignity and reputation of the Indian Princes at the last session of the Assembly of the League of Nations. We await his report with keen interest; but the success he achieved is already in some measure known to us.

WORK OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE

Your Highnesses, in the circumstances explained above, it was but natural that the routine work of the Standing Committee should recede to the background in view of the all-engrossing labours demanded by the enquiry into our present and future position. This explains why only one meeting of the Standing Committee could be held during this year. This took place in January last. It is, however, gratifying that, despite obvious difficulties, we were able to achieve constructive results through the Standing Committee. The following subjects were discussed at the meeting :

1. Construction of Tramways in Indian States.
2. Question of amending Section 45 of the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908 (V. of 1908), to enable Civil and Revenue Courts in British India to send their decrees for execution to Courts of Indian States.
3. Standardization of Ceremonial Programmes.
4. Revision of the Rules and Procedure for the settlement of boundary disputes between Indian States.
5. Question of giving Publicity to the Proceedings of the Chamber of Princes.
6. Acquisition of Non-Residential Property in British India by Ruling Princes and Chiefs.
7. Radio Broadcasting in British India and its application to Indian States.
8. Question of the grant to Ruling Princes and Chiefs of the Privilege of exercising Censorship over Telegrams.
9. Air Navigation in India (including Indian States).

SOME DETAILS

Out of these items, those relating to construction of Tramways, Publicity of the Chamber Proceedings, and the proposed amendment of Section 45 C.P.C. have been finally disposed of. The Standing Committee's recommendation regarding the Publicity of the Chamber Proceedings has already been approved by Your Highnesses, while that relating to the construction of Tramways will be presented in the course of this session, when I shall have to say more about that subject. The proposed amendment of Section 45 of the Civil Procedure Code had been suggested to give legal sanction to the existing practice of reciprocity in the matter of execution of decrees. The proposed amendment was not intended to give any facilities to State subjects or any powers to State Courts ; it only aimed at giving legal sanction to certain procedure which is being followed even at present by the British Indian Courts in this behalf. The States concerned did not particularly desire the amendment, and the latest opinion received by the Government of India was to the effect that the proposed amendment was unnecessary even from their point of view. Accordingly, the Standing Committee dropped the proposed amendment.

The question of revision of Ceremonials has been referred by the Standing Committee to a Sub-Committee consisting of the following :

His Highness of Bikaner,
His Highness of Kashmir,
Myself, and the
Political Secretary,

to collect material, from the States, regarding difficulties experienced in this behalf in the past and suggestions for improvement in future. I

shall be addressing Your Highnesses soon on this question, and hope and trust that Your Highnesses will give it the early and serious consideration its importance requires.

The draft rules for the settlement of boundary disputes were referred to a Sub-Committee of the following Ministers :

1. Sir Manubhai Mehta of Bikaner,
2. Mr. Wakefield of Kashmir,
3. Mir Maqbool Mahmood of Patiala,

under the ægis of His Highness of Bhopal, and their report, which has been approved by the Standing Committee, is being circulated to Your Highnesses for inviting further suggestions and criticisms, which will then be thrashed by the Standing Committee.

Regarding Acquisition of Non-Residential Property in British India by Princes, the Standing Committee has finally amended the relevant summary, particularly providing for acquisition through bequests or successions. The amended summary is now with the Government of India, and I hope it will be ready for the next session. The question of Radio Broadcasting in British India was also further considered, and the agreement reached at the Standing Committee is reported to be under consideration of the Government of India experts. The question of Censorship over Telegrams was also considered, and though certain technical difficulties have been discovered by the Legislative Department, avenues are being explored to find a practical solution of them. The question of Air Navigation over Indian States is a matter in which, as Your Highnesses know full well, we are all vitally concerned. Accordingly, it evoked a lively discussion at the last Standing Committee meetings. The matter being still under consideration, I am precluded from referring to it at length, but I trust I may be permitted to take Your Highnesses into confidence by stating that we have succeeded not only in presenting our view-point strongly at the Standing Committee, but have also given token of our willingness, within limitations, to meet the reasonable demands of the Government of India in the matter. I hope and trust that with fair play, reason, justice, and imagination it will be possible to solve this knotty problem.

Apart from these questions, the Standing Committee informally discussed the question of the Employment of the European British subjects in the States, and that of the proposed decoration of the Chamber Hall with the Armorial Bearings of the various States. It is premature to refer to the first question here at this stage, and I hope it will come in due form at the proper time before Your Highnesses. About the second question, in view of the obvious difficulties involved, it was decided to give up the question of decorating the Chamber with Armorial Bearings, which are to be returned to the different States concerned. We also discussed among ourselves informally the various questions connected with the Agenda of the Indian States Forces Committee.

CHANGES IN THE CONDUCT OF BUSINESS

This year, Your Highnesses, also witnessed two important changes in the conduct of our business. For the first time the Secretary to the Chancellor and our experts attended the meetings of the Standing Committee. Moreover, for the first time the Standing Committee prepared its own and Chamber's Agenda for the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy. For both these changes we are beholden to His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir for bringing in the relevant resolutions; and to His Excellency the Viceroy for giving effect to them forthwith. Our preoccupations this year in connection with the Butler Committee work

in England did not make it possible for us to make full use of the proposed change allowing us to frame our own agenda, but I hope and trust that this year we shall make up for that.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Your Highnesses, I should be failing in my duty if I did not convey publicly, on the floor of this house, my sincere thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy on behalf of the Standing Committee for the sympathetic consideration which we have received from His Excellency in all matters connected with the Chamber and the general welfare of our Order. I am also indebted to my colleagues of the Standing Committee and to their Highnesses of Dholpur and Sangli, who, as substitute members, attended our Standing Committee Meetings, for their valuable contribution towards the success of our deliberations. And last, but not the least, my obligations are due to the Political Secretary. We are indeed most grateful to Mr. Watson, to whom the Standing Committee has already passed a formal vote of thanks, and to the other officers of the political and other departments of the Government of India who have contributed to the transaction of our work.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—Yesterday Your Highness heard the high praise which His Excellency the Viceroy bestowed on my brother, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, for his work as Chancellor of our Chamber; and today we have heard His Highness read his interesting report reviewing the work done on behalf of the Chamber and in the Standing Committee and the Chancellor's office, with which His Highness, as our Chancellor, has had so much personally to do; and I feel sure that Your Highnesses will receive with approbation and enthusiasm the motion which I rise to move—viz., that we record our warm appreciation of the admirable manner in which His Highness of Patiala has carried on the work of his exalted office in the interests of our Order, and that we accord a hearty vote of thanks to His Highness for the same.

This year His Highness is just completing his third year of office as Chancellor. Always arduous, the duties and responsibilities of the Chancellor were, during the past twelve months, rendered far more responsible and heavy on account of additional work of the greatest importance which His Highness and the members of the Standing Committee, and particularly my brothers, who proceeded to England for the purpose, as well as the Chancellor's Secretariat and the Special Organization, have had to bear in connection with the Butler Committee. This would not be a fitting opportunity for referring in further detail to the great importance to our States of the work and the findings of the Butler Committee, which we are awaiting with eager interest; but I feel sure Your Highness will agree that the Chancellor's report is a record of substantial work done during the year, and that His Highness is entitled to our deep gratitude.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF NAWANAGAR: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—It gives me great pleasure to second the resolution of thanks which His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has proposed. May I say at the outset that I regard it as most fitting that the Prince, who among the members of our Order has worked longest and most devotedly to lay the foundation of the success of this Chamber, should be the first to commend what has been done during this eventful year?

I need not speak of the services which His Highness of Bikaner has rendered to our Order; they are well known to all of you. I am sure he feels a legitimate pride in the edifice which has been erected upon the foundation he laid.

For the year which we have just heard reviewed constitutes a landmark, not merely in the history of our Order, but also in the history of this Chamber. Thanks to Your Excellency, the appointment of the Indian States Committee has provided us with the opportunity, for the first time, of taking action in the eyes of the world as a corporate body. It is true that there are some very distinguished members of our Order who have not hitherto taken that active share in the work of the Chamber which we hope they will take in the future. But I maintain that the success of the work accomplished last year has already begun to demonstrate the strength of corporate action; and I feel sure that before long this fact will produce its inevitable impression. I am convinced that if the Indian Princes are to help the Empire, this country, and their own subjects, they must stand together and cultivate the habit of acting together. Only in this case can the Indian States realize their destiny as an integral part of the future Indian federation, and constitute a real strength alike to the whole country and the British Empire.

I desire to associate myself whole-heartedly with the well-deserved tribute which His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has paid to His Highness the Chancellor. Those of us who have worked with His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala can testify to the courage, the wisdom, the determination and the unselfishness which have characterized his services to our Order. During the difficult times of this last year we have never found him wanting, and the clarity and vigour of his public pronouncements have been of the utmost service to us. I should also like to associate myself with what has been said about the Director and Joint Director of the Special Organization, and all those other experienced Ministers and officials who laboured so devotedly to assist us. I think their work was excellent; and I should like to say that in my opinion we have every reason to be proud that we have such men in State service.

I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

THE PANT SACHIV OF BHOR: Your Excellency and Your Highnesses,—It is a matter of gratification to us all that His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has worked and has given abundant proof of his tact and capacity in discharging the onerous duties that have fallen upon him as a Chancellor of this Chamber.

In reviewing his work as Chancellor, we have to keep before us his activities in India and England, specially with reference to the Butler Committee.

His work in England consisted mainly of influencing the public and attracting their attention to the grievances and needs of our Order by explaining to them and making them realize our present situation, and enlisting their sympathies; and Your Highnesses all know how very successfully he has done it. He has been kind enough to furnish us all with the details of his activities in England, for which we are very grateful to him.

As regards his work in India, he has made an organized effort in collecting and preparing the evidence to be placed before the Committee, and it was done in such a tactful manner as to appeal to them, for whom it was done. He has spent a good deal of labour and energy, and achieved this uphill work well-nigh successfully. It must have cost a great deal of money, of which the lion's share, I believe, must have fallen to his lot. Every one of us who has got this kind of experience will easily understand and appreciate what I have said above.

As Chancellor of this Chamber, he was quite up to the mark, and, as every one of us is conversant with his work, I need not much dilate upon this point. However, I cannot refrain from making a passing reference to his work. He has tried to make the Chamber attractive and

active. He has won the confidence and good will, both of his Brother Princes and the Government, which is by no means an easy task. He has been broad-minded and sympathetic, and has always at heart the interests of representative members and the constituents also. He is trying to remove the misrepresentations and unwarranted allegations levelled against the administration of Indian States by a brochure containing the real state of things, which will soon be published.

For all this, I personally offer my sincere thanks, and hope the Chamber will not be sparing in recording its applause for the valuable and meritorious services done by the worthy Chancellor.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF ALWAR: In a very few words I desire to associate my name with the sentiments of appreciation and thanks expressed by those who have gone before me on this resolution for a vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. I know from my personal association with His Highness, both in work as well as in social matters, that he has paid the greatest consideration to the work and onerous responsibilities which have fallen on his shoulders as the elected Chancellor of this house. His Highness has held this office and holds it now at an important juncture in the career of those who belong to the Chamber of Princes. For Your Excellency was good enough to appoint a Committee, now generally known as the Butler Committee, which was given certain terms of reference and in connection with whose work His Highness, together with some other members of my Order, took upon themselves the responsibility of going to England to carry to a conclusion the work which was started in India, but which could not be finished in India because it was not possible for the Committee to return there again for another year. May I, therefore, whole-heartedly associate myself with the congratulations that have been poured on His Highness's worthy shoulders? I congratulate him for the interest that he has taken, but more still on the success that he has achieved so far in his endeavours.

His Highness has been generous enough to speak in kind terms about myself for the period that I held the post of Chancellor when His Highness was away. I propose to take the opportunity of conveying my thanks on another occasion. Suffice it to say on the present one that I really had little to do. For it was His Highness who instigated me on more than one occasion to issue whips round to members of our Order in order that they might give practical and pecuniary assistance in connection with the work that was being conducted in England. The work in itself was to me personally very distasteful. But my brother Princes responded very generously, not to my call, but to the call (which I merely repeated with a few additional words of my own) that came from the Chancellor, who was in England at the time. However, His Highness has been good enough to appreciate the very little work that I was able to perform during the six or seven months that I held the post of Chancellor, which gives me satisfaction in the sense that I was able to contribute, in however small a degree, in however unworthy a degree, to the task which was being carried on by His Highness and his colleagues both in England and in India.

Therefore I whole-heartedly associate myself with the congratulations, and I do so conscious of the fact that it is easy enough to speak in platitudes, that it is easy enough to be conventional. I know some cynics have even called our Chamber a "mutual admiration society." I want to avoid that when I am expressing what my heart feels. I am not expressing in complimentary or conventional terms only. I am sure those who have gone before me have done likewise, and in adding my quota of gratitude and thanks to His Highness the Chancellor, I wish him

every success in his endeavours to bring to a fruition that important and responsible task with which we, as his colleagues, have been associated; which he, as Chancellor, is doing his very best to bring to a fruition; and which, when it comes before Your Excellency for a final decision, we hope will lead to the result that you, your Government, the Chancellor, his colleagues, and the Princes of this Chamber all unitedly wish and desire.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY: I think the Chamber has certainly been fortunate this year—a year which, as has been pointed out, has been exacting and heavy—in the services that it has been able to enlist of His Highness the Chancellor. It is natural that the principal attention of the Chamber should have been directed to the work of the Committee that has been enquiring into certain matters with which Your Highnesses are very closely concerned, and I have no doubt at all, although we still await its report, that, when the report is received, it will show that the Committee has taken full account of the case that Your Highnesses sought to lay before it. I have equally no doubt that the Committee will have been materially assisted by the manner in which that case was developed.

There is only one other point to which I want, in one or two sentences, to refer. I notice that the Chancellor, in reference to the more general work of the Chamber, has made a reference to the Armorial Bearings that Your Highnesses will observe have been set up as an experiment in order to test the effect of colour in this Chamber. I understand from the Chancellor that a decision has been reached about them to which he referred in his speech. The only observation I desire to make is that I think it conceivable that, after seeing them actually on the walls, there may be some among Your Highnesses who might possibly desire, with the fuller knowledge of the effect produced by the decoration, further consideration of the question. If that be so, I wish to hold myself at the disposal of any of those interested either to discuss the question, or to act as a liaison officer between Your Highnesses and the architect in your mural schemes for the betterment of the Chamber.

The resolution has been proposed, and seconded, and supported, that the Chamber should be asked to offer its thanks to the Chancellor for the manner in which he has directed its work during the past year. Those who are in favour will signify their assent.

(The Chamber signified its assent.)

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY: The resolution is carried unanimously.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA: I am very grateful to Your Excellency, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, and the Princes for the acknowledgment of my humble services, and I thank Your Excellency and their Highnesses from the core of my heart.

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY

RUSSIAN ICON PAINTING

BY W. E. D. ALLEN, M.P.

RUSSIAN icon painting is little known in Western Europe, and it is generally by the relatively decadent work of the eighteenth century that critics have been able to judge this art, which the Russians thirty years ago, when they themselves had only just begun to discover and clean, to study and restore, the masterpieces of their mediæval painters, acclaimed in perhaps too exaggerated enthusiasm. The few examples of Russian icons which have been acquired by the National Gallery, and the translation by Professor Minns of Kondakov's work, have, however, recently served to introduce this art to England. The exhibition in Berlin and other German cities, which has been organized this year by the People's Commissariat of Public Instruction of U.S.S.R. and the German Society for the Study of Eastern Europe, cannot fail to be welcome to those many people to whom the Galleries and Museums of Soviet Russia are necessarily inaccessible. Further, for the purposes of comparative study, it is an inestimable advantage to have icons of all schools and all periods concentrated in one gallery.

Icon painting is essentially an Oriental art, in that it finds its highest spiritual meanings in colour rather than in form. It embodies the genius of the East for colour, a genius which finds its expression, not only in the miniature painting and in the rugs and embroideries of Persia, Turkey, and Central Asia, but even in the variegated rugs of the Anatolian peasant of today. Icon painting took its origin from Egypt and developed in the Byzantine Empire at the period when Oriental influences in art and thought were flowering out of the magnificent debris of the civilization of the Roman West. In the Greek lands the art of icon painting reached its apogée in the twelfth century, and it had its renaissance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the Palæologoi, after the recovery of Constantinople from the Latins, revived the spirit, although not the political power, of the Eastern Greeks. Westward, Byzantine art had its influence on the Italian Renaissance. In the Balkan lands there survived, after the Turkish conquest of Constantinople, a series of connected artistic cultures—the principal, Island Greek and Roumanian; the lesser, Serb and Bulgar—which represented provincial schools of authentic Byzantine inspiration. Eastward, in Russia, the mediæval Slav Grand-Dukedoms inherited the pure Byzantine tradition, and blending the austerity, the splendour and the fixity of the Imperial city with the humanism, the barbaric fantasy, and something of the gentle vagueness of the Slav soul, the Russians produced an art which in many ways became original and proper to themselves.

A number of fine copies of the earliest examples of Byzantine art in Russia were to be studied at the exhibition in Berlin. Of unique interest is Professor A. Brjagin's copy of "Our Lady of Vladimir" (No. 1 of catalogue), a Byzantine work of the first half of the twelfth century, which is in the Uspenski Cathedral at Moscow. Brjagin had also copied a head of Christ (No. 3) of the twelfth century, also from the Uspenski Cathedral. The characterization of these paintings is magnificent; the gentle loveliness of Our Lady, with the indication of pathos and fatality; the Christ with wise and mourning eyes, and a mouth daring, almost aggressive.

In the twelfth century the Mongol wars shattered the unfolding culture

of Kievan Russia; in the free cities of the north, in Pskov and Novgorod alone, there was a sparse and meagre crop of what might have been—in Southern Kiev—a new flowering of the Greek seed on Russian soil. Pskov and Novgorod developed their own schools; they had the tradition of Byzantine technique, but their forms were crude, their colours were in the own bright barbarous spirit of little-tutored men. Fine examples of the Pskov and Novgorod schools are a *Deisis* of the thirteenth century (No. 7); "Virgin and all the Saints" of the fourteenth century (No. 11), in which a rich dark green gives an imposing background to brilliant red robes. "The Four Saints" (No. 10) is the finest example of the Pskov school of the fourteenth century: its high technical qualities would suggest, almost, that it was the work of an imported Byzantine artist. "The Raising of Lazarus" (fourteenth to fifteenth century) (No. 12) has marvellous delicate colouring and shows the influence of the rising Moscow school. In the fifteenth century the northern towns were giving place to Moscow both in politics and in the arts. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the northern reversion to provincialism is obvious. In the icons of the so-called Northern School of Vologda and Archangel, in the seventeenth century, the crude drawing seems to show Scandinavian rather than Muscovite influence, but the colour remains wonderfully brilliant and vigorous (Nos. 102 and 103).

In the fifteenth century the decline of Mongol power resulted in the expansion of the Grand-Dukedom of Moscow, and at the same time the Diaspora of the Byzantine Greeks affected the development of Muscovite as it did of Western art. In fifteenth-century Russia the great painters of the day, men like Andrew Rublev and Master Denis, were famed throughout the country, and the painting of icons achieved perfection in the portraiture, the misty backgrounds and the pure startling colours of the genius of a school which, at its best, had a rare and passing way.

There is at the exhibition a copy by Professor Chirikov of the "Three Angels" (No. 16), attributed to Rublev, and the Professor is to be congratulated upon the real inspiration with which he himself has recreated the soft background and the exquisite blues of the fifteenth-century master. "The Apostle Paul" (No. 33) is another magnificent example of this period. The pellucid and delicate brushwork of the Moscow school, at its best period, is altogether original in icon painting and was never achieved either by the Byzantine or by the later Mediterranean schools.

The minor schools of Tver and Jaroslav which developed in the same period are represented by some beautiful examples, but the influence of Moscow is predominant, and we observe the development of a national, rather than, as earlier, of regional schools. This tendency is no doubt partly explained by the practice of the Grand Dukes to compel famous local painters to reside in Moscow.

At the end of the fifteenth century and onwards the growing influence of foreign styles is evident. The Italo-Greek (or, as the authors of the catalogue call it, Southern Slav) influence is strong (Nos. 45, 46, and 47): Georgian facial types are not uncommon (e.g., No. 58); Chinese elements may be suspected in the sixteenth-century *Anastasis* from Vologda (No. 73); and the influence of the Persian miniature painters—which may not infrequently be noted in icons of the seventeenth century—appears as early as in a "Birth of Christ" (No. 35) of the fifteenth century.

The last authentic school of Russian icon painting was that which flourished under the protection of the family of Stroganov, merchant-princes of the Urals, who represented in more ways than one the brief whispering of an "Elizabethan" spirit in Russia. Good examples of this school are Nos. 89 and 90. The technical skill and accuracy of detail is of a high standard, but the ability of these craftsmen is a long descent

from the mystical inspiration which marked the supreme masterpieces of the twelfth century, and from the lovely delicacy of Rublev's work.

Lastly, there are the examples of the work of the later painters, Simon Ushakov (Nos. 111 and 112)—whose fame seems to me to be ill-founded, when his work is compared with that of the older schools—and of Peter Goldobin. The icons of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, of which a few examples are perhaps wisely shown, mirror the ill-digested influence of European styles and the artistic sterility of the children of an age which sought to imitate an alien culture rather than to develop the profundities of their own nature.

Professor Chirikov and his collaborators of the State Restoration Work Department are to be congratulated on their services to civilization in the restoration and preservation of these treasures of Russian mediæval art.

BOOK REVIEWS

SURYA NAMASKARS (SUN ADORATION) FOR HEALTH, EFFICIENCY, AND LONGEVITY. By Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Chief of Aundh. Second edition, 1929. (Printed at the *Aundh State Press*.) Price 1 rupee.

(Reviewed by JOHN CALDWELL-JOHNSTON.)

We had the pleasure in the April, 1929, number of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* of recommending to our readers the perusal of this unique work—a treatise on Physical Culture directly derived from and founded upon the immemorial religious teachings of the Hindu Scriptures. It is a trite saying that history repeats itself. Rather should one aver that in the inconceivably vast pilgrimage of the human race through space and time many things have been practised by our forerunners that have since become forgotten, and many things have been discovered and invented in our day that were both known and lost long ago. Thus we feel sure that these traditional Sun Exercises which His Highness the Chief of Aundh has brought to our notice would well repay examination at the hands of our medical and Physical Culture experts. This second edition, at the original very modest price of one rupee, has been considerably enlarged and improved. Several chapters are rewritten, while two new chapters and six new pictures have been added. The technique and *modus operandi* of performing the Namaskar exercise are fully and thoroughly explained, even at the risk of repetition. "Surya Namaskars" has already been translated into six Indian languages—namely, Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Kanarese, Telugu, and Tamil; and Urdu and Bengali versions are shortly to appear. All these translations have been made by learned volunteers on their own initiative. If one may venture a suggestion, it might seem worthy His Highness's deliberation whether a personal visit to England might not be beneficial in obtaining needed publicity and consideration for the so excellent "Surya Namaskars."

ESSAYS AND SPEECHES. By G. C. Bhate, M.A. (*Tutorial Press, Bombay.*)

The author was Principal of the Willingdon College, Sangli, and on the eve of his retirement gathered together these writings in English. They are some of the harvest of thirty years of active and scholarly life, and they show a wide range of interest and of intellectual sympathy. In one address he treats of the problem of "Western Education" and its effect on Indian character; the older type of Indian had religious ideals, but with a mechanical and constructive ritual, and with undue self-concentration, whereas the modern one tends to have a better conception of duty, personal and social, but needs discipline of his mind and will. In another he analyzes "the scientific spirit," which he thinks is rare in India, and discusses its fuller application to Indian circumstances, and he urges young men to more patient study and strenuous practical work.

"Cramming," as a method, he discourages and on the whole condemns, and pleads for methodical study, with perception, attention, reflection—so that the natural leaders of the people shall be really cultured. He holds suggestive discourse on the fruitfulness of the conjoint and simultaneous study of "Greek and Indian philosophy." His papers on "Sartor Resartus" and "Carlyle" recall one's own enthusiastic studies of fifty years ago; and he has felt the spell, and hopes for an Indian Carlyle. His longest paper is a thoughtful summary view of Kant's philosophy and its extension by the versatile genius of Hegel.

Mr. Bhate has studied at first hand the works of the Maharashtra poet Ramadas (1608-1681)—the Verses addressed to Mind, devotional in character, teaching love and faith towards Rama—and especially the famous Dasabodh, or Precepts of the Servant of Rama, in dogmatic and didactic dialogue, giving the philosophic and religious views of the poets and saints of Maharashtra, and diverging into man's worldly duties. Ramadas, in later life, was, as is well known, the spiritual perceptor of Sivaji. Mr. Bhate gives high praise to the Dasabodh, and says that it is, like the poems of Tukaram, a stimulating book; incidentally he mentions that Ramadas was "enamoured of fame," and suggests that his ethical goal was to "act in such a way as to secure world-wide fame after your death."

The three short biographical essays are fascinating: the venerable Dr. Ramkrishne Gopal Bhandarkar, eminent as teacher, antiquarian, historian, social reformer, religious leader; Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915)—brilliant student, disciple of Ranade, President of the Indian National Congress, imperial statesman, founder of the Servants of India Society, sane and practical, wise and good, beloved of many friends, and too early dead; Haribhaoo Limaye, of Fergusson College—history lecturer, administrator, civic worker, liberal thinker and citizen. A "Plea for Sociology" is an excellent paper, though short. That science, founded by Auguste Comte, has won its way to secure position and general study.

W. F. W.

ILLUSTRATED SUPPLEMENT

INTRODUCTION

It has long been felt that the addition of an Illustrated Supplement to the *ASIATIC REVIEW* was desirable; and now by the courtesy of the Railway Department of the Government of India and the office of the Indian Trade Commissioner in London, it has been found possible to supply this want as regards the present issue. To many of our readers who are already acquainted with the East these illustrations may bring back pleasant memories, and those who may have had no previous acquaintance with the areas which the *ASIATIC REVIEW* is intended to survey will have some little opportunity of visualizing the scenes to be found in those areas. The first eight illustrations represent life and architecture from Gujarat in the west to Bengal in the east, and may be thus surveyed from west to east. Mount Satrunjaya is the Holy Mountain of Palitana State in Kathiawar. The top of the hill has two ridges, with a dip between, the temples of which are shown in the illustration. There are nearly nine hundred temples on this hill. They belong to the sect of Jains, who had a peculiarity of bringing their temples together so as to form "cities." Some of the temples may be as old as the eleventh century.

The one illustration relating to Kashmir shows some typical Kashmiris with their nightingales. This important Indian state has several songbirds, among which is the bulbul. The true nightingale is the Persian bulbul; the bulbul cultivated by the Muhammadans in Northern India is the short-legged thrush.

Coming down again to the plains of Rajputana, one finds scenes of Jodhpur and Bikanir reproduced in two illustrations. Bikanir is well known, as the Chief was a British Empire delegate at the Peace Conference, and the Bikanir Camel Corps has thrice gone overseas on active service—to China, Somaliland, and Egypt. The country is mainly desert, and hence the importance and usefulness of the camel. The camel in Indian talk has not the reverence which the cow receives, nor the popularity of the elephant; yet he has wonderful patience and endurance. In Rajputana the camel-riders can traverse remarkable distances at a high

speed. The illustration shows two camels separately ; but they look best when tied head and tail in a long cavalcade. The Jodhpur scene, another typical of Rajputana, shows the castellated city wall and graceful fretted balustrades and brackets. From the position of the shadows on the ground one can appreciate how vertical the sun must be. Jodhpur produced that wonderful soldier, statesman, and staunch friend of the British Raj, the late Sir Pratap Singh, who died about seven years ago.

We may pass on to the illustration representing a travelling blacksmith in the Central Provinces. These Provinces, situated in the physical centre of gravity of India, contain in the Chhatisgarh plateau one of the great granaries of the country. The type of vehicle drawn by a pair of oxen is one of which there are several varieties throughout the Peninsula, varying from small solid wheels to large wheels five feet in diameter, complete with hub and felloes. The blacksmith, the worker in iron, shares pre-eminence amongst artisans with the workers in stone, copper, wood, and gold.

The next picture shows the principal temple in Motiohali's Tuk.

The illustrations of the buildings at Gaur, in the district of Malda in Bengal, complete the present collection. The mosque styled Qadam Rasūl (the Footprint of the Prophet Muhammad) dates from the middle of the sixteenth century, and is maintained by the Government of India. The style is purely local. The Chaukatti is another mosque (masjid) at Gaur. Gaur dates from about A.D. 1200, when it was the capital of Bengal for the Muhammadans who were then the ruling power. After a century and a half an adjacent site, Pandua, was made capital, which was again abandoned in its turn. At one time a populous centre where all the arts were cultivated, it fell into decay towards the end of the sixteenth century, and now consists of picturesque ruins.

The remaining three illustrations should prove of special interest to readers in India who have not had an opportunity of visiting the Indian exhibits at the North-East Coast Exhibition in Newcastle. The Indian Trade Publicity Officer has kindly contributed an explanatory text.

INDIA AT THE NORTH-EAST COAST EXHIBITION

By B. D. ASLI, M.A.

(Indian Trade Publicity Officer)

FOUR years ago when the British Empire Exhibition in London closed its portals one could hardly have prophesied that this country would see another Empire Exhibition of equally long duration within such a short time. It was, however, due to the optimism and progressive spirit of the hardy "North-east" that this seemingly hazardous venture was accomplished, and an exhibition, though not of equal dimensions, yet of equal importance and interest as its great predecessor at Wembley, was installed in the busy city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. On May 14 last, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales opened this exhibition, and since then it has continued to draw thousands of visitors daily to its multifarious attractions.

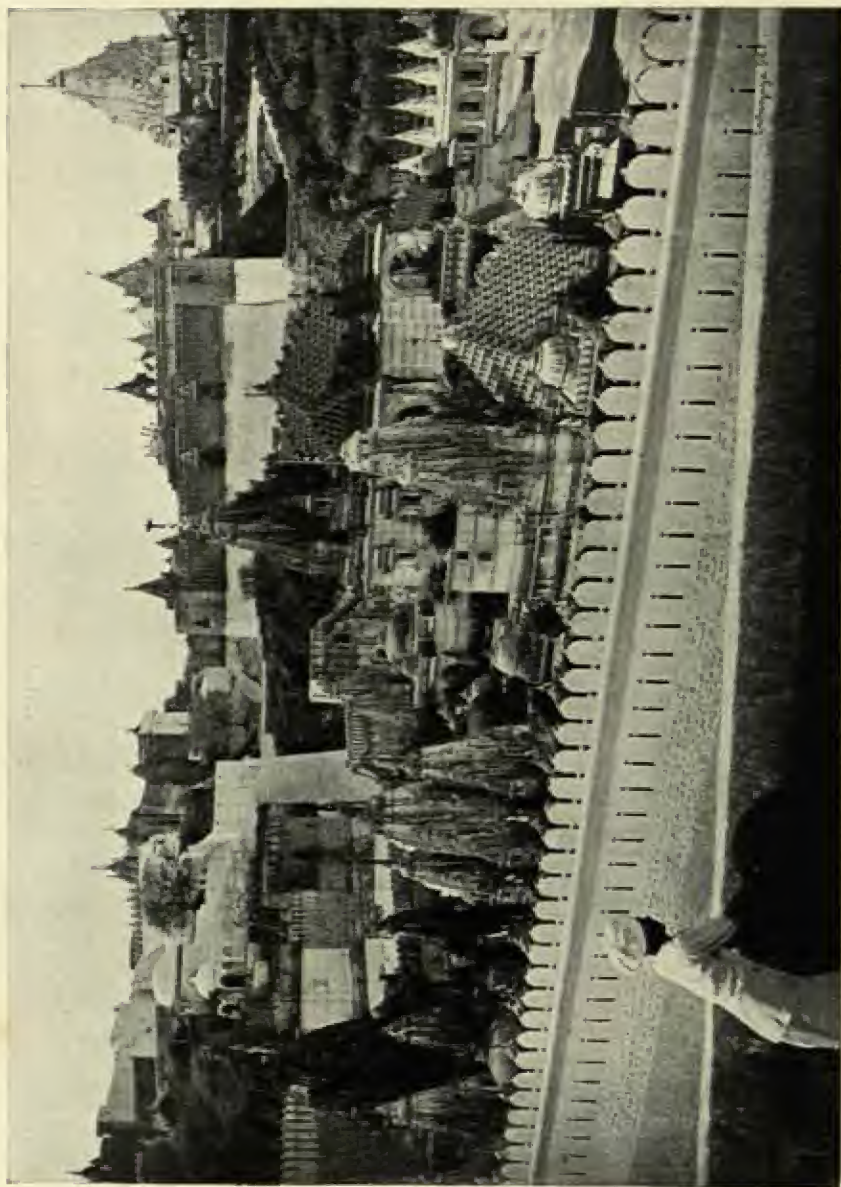
Through the courtesy of the Empire Marketing Board India was in occupation of this pavilion from August 5 to 31 last, when exhibits of foodstuffs of commercial importance were displayed. In view of the Board's policy to confine its exhibitions to food products only it was not possible to show other exhibits. There were seven principal stalls displaying nearly four tons of exhibits, which consisted of rice, tea, coffee, spices, cigars, chutneys, jams, jellies, sauces, canned fruits, such as mangoes, guavas, and lyches, etc. A working diorama of a rice-field, depicting thrashing operations and the transport from the field to the market in bullock carts, was the principal attraction of the rice stall. Similarly, on the tea stall was shown a realistic diorama of a tea plantation with a factory in the background. These dioramas proved of great advertising and educational value. The slogan of the Indian stall was "BUY MORE INDIAN GOODS TO ENABLE HER TO BUY STILL MORE GOODS FROM YOU," and this was illustrated by the figures of a Hindu and a Muhammadan standing back to back holding a balance, the pans of which showed by miniature cases and bales the proportionate quantities of India's exports to and imports from the United Kingdom. In order to popularize Indian foodstuffs, arrangements were made for the sale of samples of rice (selected Patna and

Burma), tea (100 per cent. Indian blend), mango chutney, canned mangoes, guavas, lyches, and cigars and cheroots. Throughout the period of India's display, cooking demonstrations were given in the Empire kitchen in the pavilion to show the correct method of cooking rice and various uses of rice as a constituent of a meal, as well as to illustrate the superiority of Indian tea to other teas. Books containing a few rice recipes were also distributed during the demonstrations. Cinema films of agricultural and industrial activities as well as places of interest in India were daily displayed in the Pavilion Theatre, where crowds used to throng at every show. Thousands of pamphlets on India were distributed, and some hundreds of students accompanied by their teachers must have visited the stand and listened to the talks on India given from time to time. Some enterprising shopkeepers were so much impressed with the value of publicity afforded by this exhibition that they devoted their entire shop windows to the display of Indian products only, and a certain first-class restaurant at Newcastle made a speciality of serving Indian curry and rice and other dishes cooked by an Indian chef. It was after the British Empire Exhibition in London of 1924-25 when at an Indian restaurant curry and rice were served that four Indian restaurants were opened one after another in the heart of London, and it was not unlikely that a similar result would follow India's display at Newcastle. Restaurants were very effective media of food propaganda.

The Indian exhibit was formally opened by the High Commissioner, Sir Atul C. Chatterjee, K.C.I.E., accompanied by the Trade Commissioner, Mr. A. M. Green, I.C.S. The High Commissioner arrived at Newcastle on August 6 last, and the same evening he broadcasted from the B.B.C. Station. After cordially inviting his thousands of listeners to visit the Indian stand, Sir Atul said: "It may surprise some of you to hear that India is easily the greatest market in the world for British goods. But India can only buy goods from England if she can sell her own products in the markets of the world. At present India actually buys from England much more than England buys from India. I appeal to you all, and especially to the housewives of this country, to buy more Indian goods, and thus to help India to buy still more British goods." The High Commissioner particularly referred to rice. He said that India had exactly the climate, the soil, and the labour required for rice growing, and, consequently, she produced a first-class article at very low prices; whereas countries in Europe and America

with a less favourable climate and dearer labour laboriously produced a possibly more handsome but actually less nutritious rice, and he exhorted his listeners to buy Patna rice from Bengal if they wanted a handsome rice, or Rangoon rice from Burma if cheap but very nutritious rice was required. This short speech had its effect, for the following day nearly 40,000 people visited the Indian stand. It was the day of the official opening. The hall was overcrowded long before the High Commissioner arrived, accompanied by the Lord Mayor, the Lady Mayoress, and the Trade Commissioner. It was an interesting ceremony. Festoons of flowers were hung in the doorways in the Indian fashion, and before a large and notable gathering the High Commissioner, who was introduced by the Lord Mayor, made an impressive speech on India's trade, and declared the exhibition open. A particularly interesting feature of the ceremony was that the Lady Mayoress was garlanded in Indian fashion by an official in Indian costume, who, after putting a red mark on the forehead, presented her with a coconut and a basket full of various Indian products, which were exhibited. At the tea which followed, Indian savouries cooked by an Indian chef were served, which were highly relished by the guests. Since the opening day the Indian section had had a prosperous career until its close. Dr. Drummond Shiels, the Under-Secretary of State for India, paid a visit to the stand, and was specially pleased that India was so well represented.

The publicity achieved by this exhibition was very great. Over a million people saw the Indian exhibit. Thousands of samples were sold. For instance, half a ton of rice and over a quarter of a ton of tea were sold as samples, besides some thousands of cigars, etc. A big firm of rice distributors acknowledged having opened 600 new accounts as the result of the exhibition, including two in South America. Their travellers reported that most of the grocers they interviewed knew nothing about Indian rice, but they only stocked American and Spanish-Japan rice. From the trade statistics it could be seen that last year this country imported 128,000 tons of rice, of which only about 30,000 tons were from India, the rest being from foreign countries. It is hoped, however, that by publicity like this the people will be made acquainted with the merits of the Indian rice as well as other food products, such as chutneys, mangoes, etc., with the resultant increase in the demand. It is the breath of publicity that keeps alive the torch of trade.



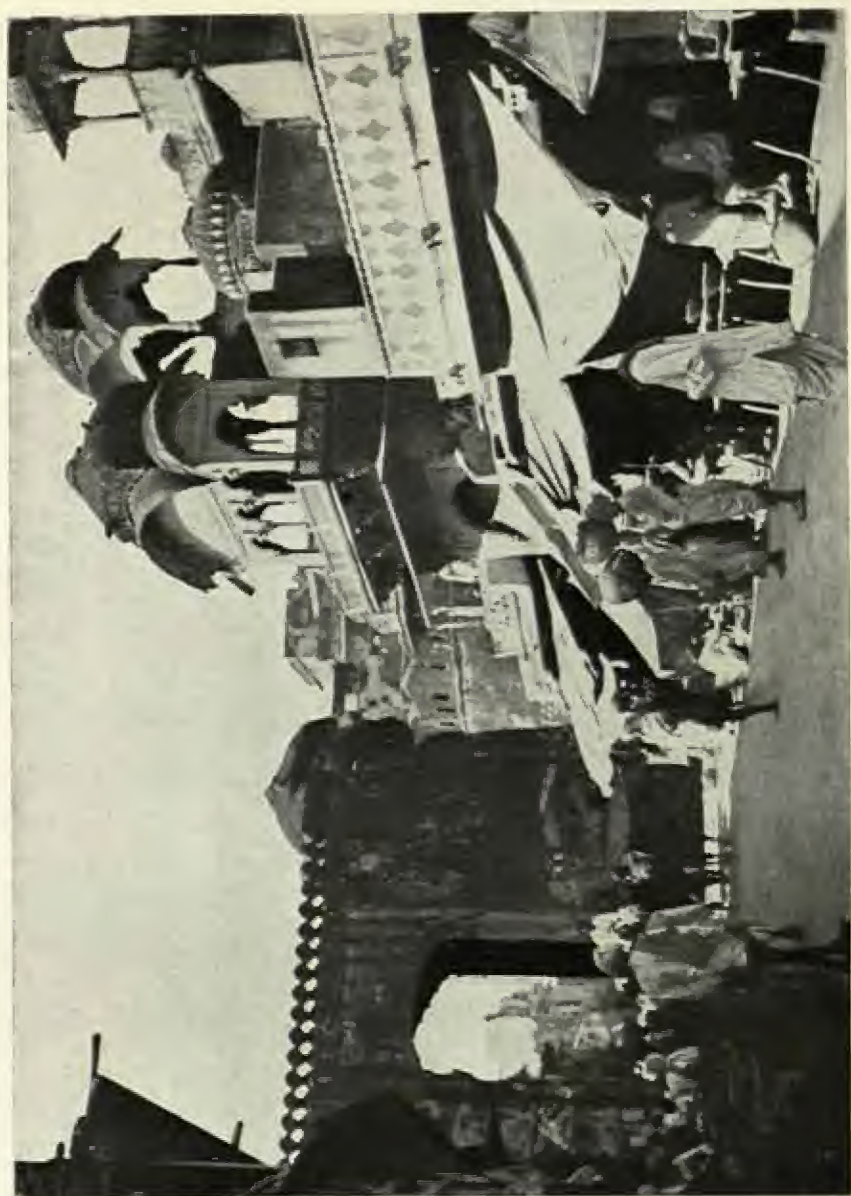
TEMPLES IN THE DIP BETWEEN THE TWO SUMMITS OF MOUNT SATRUNJAYA

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KASHMIRIS WITH NIGHTINGALES

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BAZAAR SCENE, JODHPUR

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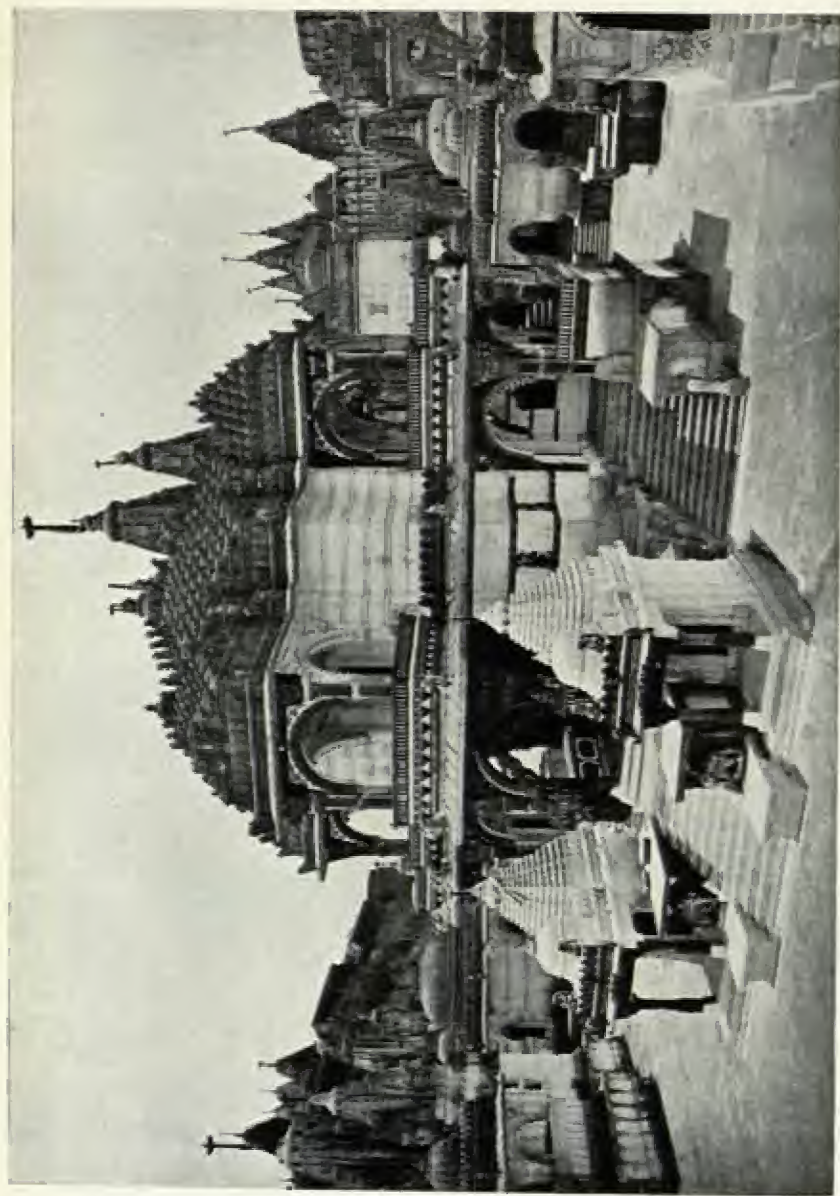
LOADED CAMELS, BIKANIR

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A TRAVELLING BLACKSMITH IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES

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THE PRINCIPAL TEMPLE IN MOTIHALI'S TUK

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

(FORMERLY "THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW")

The Times writes :

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VOL. XXV.

JANUARY—OCTOBER, 1929. Nos. 81—84

	PAGES
JANUARY ISSUE	- 1-176
APRIL	" - 177-368
JULY	" - 369-560
OCTOBER	" - 561-764

INDEX TO VOL. XXV.

INDIA		PAGE
SIND AND THE PANJAB.	By <i>Sir Louis Dane</i>	1
"	By <i>P. R. Cadell</i>	566
LORD CURZON.	By <i>Sir Francis Younghusband</i>	4
GOVERNMENT CHAPLAINS AND THE INDIAN CHURCH ACT.	By <i>A. J. Macdonald</i>	17
*UPLIFT OF THE ABORIGINALS OF CHOTA-NAGPUR.	By <i>Rev. T. van der Schueren</i>	65
*INDIAN EDUCATION.	By <i>J. A. Richey</i>	89
*VILLAGE UPLIFT IN THE PANJAB.	By <i>F. L. Brayne</i>	115
THE ORIGIN OF CASTE.	By <i>Stanley Rice</i>	147, 331
†THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN NORTHERN INDIA.	By <i>Dagmar C. Wilson</i>	373
QUESTIONS FOR THE SIMON COMMISSION :		
I. LAW AND ORDER.	By <i>Rapporteur</i>	177
II. THE INDIAN ARMY AND A SELF-GOVERNING INDIA.	By <i>Colonel J. D. Crawford</i>	390
INDIA'S THREEFOLD PROBLEM.	By <i>L. F. Rushbrook Williams</i>	182
*THE INDIAN COASTAL TRAFFIC BILL.	By <i>Frank Birdwood</i>	241
*EUROPEANS IN INDIA AND THE REFORMS.	By <i>Sir Walter Willson</i>	269
INDIA'S INTEREST IN THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.	By <i>P. Padmanabha Pillai</i>	397
THE RATIO CONTROVERSY IN INDIA.	By <i>Sir Jehungir C. Coyajer</i>	405
*HEALTH PROGRESS IN INDIA.	By <i>Sir Thomas Carey Evans</i>	433
A NATIONAL SCRIPT FOR INDIA.	By <i>A. Latifi</i>	456
PROGRESS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.	By <i>Sir Jogendra Singh</i>	561
*SOCIAL EMANCIPATION IN INDIA.	By <i>Sir Phiroze Sethna</i>	571
*INDIAN RAILWAY DEVELOPMENTS.	By <i>Sir Clement Hindley</i>	638
*EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN INDIA.	By <i>Professor D. K. Karve</i>	664
THE ECONOMIC POSITION IN INDIA.	By <i>Kikabhai Premchand</i>	682
INDIA AT THE NORTH-EAST COAST EXHIBITION.	By <i>B. D. Asli</i>	750

* Proceedings of the East India Association. † The "Asian Circle" Articles.

THE INDIAN STATES

PAGE

THE SALT REVENUE AND THE INDIAN STATES. By Colonel K. N. Haksar	7
A FEUDATORY STATE OF WESTERN INDIA. By V. V. Rajwade	191
*THE INDIAN STATES INQUIRY	295
THE BUTLER REPORT AND THE INDIAN PRINCES. By J. Saxon Mills	413
THE INDIAN STATES AND THE BUTLER REPORT. By A. H. Molson	580
DEBATES IN THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES :	
OUR MAIN LINK WITH INDIA	353
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS	532
ANNUAL SURVEY	735

FAR EAST

THE ENTHRONEMENT OF H.I.M. HIROHITO. By Mrs. C. M. Salwey	25
LABOUR PROTECTION IN MALAYA. By W. Benson	31
FRENCH INTERESTS IN THE FAR EAST. By L. Archimbaud	42
THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN CHINA. By Edith M. Pye	204
HISTORICAL ANALOGIES OF THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CHINA, II. By W. J. Clennel	230
THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF SARAWAK. By Charles Hose	481
THE PACIFIC OCEAN. By General C. D. Bruce	601
†CHINA AND THE SO-CALLED OPIUM WAR. By Sir Richard Dane	611

NETHERLANDS INDIES

THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES. By J. F. W. van der Meulen	197
THE DEFENCE OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES. By Lieut.-General H. Bakker	421
THE INDO-EUROPEAN PROBLEM IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES. By Dr. J. C. Kielstra	588

FRENCH COLONIES

LINES OF FRANCO-BRITISH COLLABORATION IN ASIA	39
†SYRIA. By Captain D. McCallum	220
BRITAIN AND FRANCE AS COLONIZING POWERS. By Count de Nalèche	529
INDO-CHINA TODAY. By Pierre Pasquier	596

THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

†SOME FEATURES OF THE AFGHAN PROBLEM	369
†IMPRESSIONS FROM THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST. By Sir E. Denison Ross	380
(See also under "French Colonies.")	

THE INNER EAST

TOWNS OF ANCIENT GEORGIA. By W. E. D. Allen	57
GEORGIAN ART IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By Talbot Rice	317
THE BOLSHIEVICS AND AFGHANISTAN. By Mustapha Chokaier	497
RECENT SOVIET PUBLICATIONS. (Reviewed by W. E. D. Allen.)	516
RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION AND RAILWAY CONFLICTS IN MANCHURIA	713
LAMAISM IN MONGOLIA	722
MUSSULMAN COURTS IN CENTRAL ASIA	727

HISTORICAL SECTION

SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD. By Lanka Sundaram	141, 312, 704
PORTUGUESE RULE IN GOA. By E. Rosenthal	491

ORIENTALIA

MARCO POLO. By N. M. Penzer	49, 327
---------------------------------------	---------

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY

EXPLORING ROYAL NINEVEH. By W. R. Dawson	522
RUSSIAN ICON PAINTING. By W. E. D. Allen	744

CORRESPONDENCE

SIND AND THE PUNJAB. By C. M. Baker	236
MORAL TRAINING IN INDIAN SCHOOLS. By J. E. Webster	740
"INDIA ON TRIAL." By J. E. Woolacott	734

OBITUARY

PAGE

*W. COLDSTREAM	476
--------------------------	-----

ILLUSTRATIONS

PANELS OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIAN ICON	316
FACSIMILE OF DOCUMENT GRANTING SARAWAK TO SIR JAMES BROOKE	490
GOA : GOVERNOR'S PALACE, HOSPITAL	491
CHURCH OF BOM JESUS, CHURCH OF CALANGUTE	491
TEMPLES NEAR MT. SATRUNJAYA	753
KASHMIRIS WITH NIGHTINGALES	754
BAZAAR SCENE, JODHPUR	755
LOADED CAMELS, BIKANIR	756
TRAVELLING BLACKSMITH, CENTRAL PROVINCES	757
PRINCIPAL TEMPLE IN MOTIOHALI'S TUK	758
CHANKATTI MASJID, GAUR	759
QADAM RASUL, GAUR	760
INDIAN GOVERNMENT STAND, NORTH-EAST COAST EXHIBITION, NEWCASTLE, 1929.	761-764

LITERARY SECTION

Reviewers of the undermentioned books include: Sir Francis Younghusband, Sir Verney Lovett, Mr. S. N. Mallik, Sir Richard Burn, Sir Richard Temple, General C. D. Bruce, Mr. Stanley Casson, Mr. W. R. Dawson, Mr. N. M. Penzer, Mr. A. L. Saunders, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. E. B. Havell, Mr. K. M. Panikkar, Mr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, Mr. H. A. R. Gibb, Mr. J. Chartres Molony, Mr. J. Caldwell Johnston.

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Indian States.

The Relation of Indian States and the Government of India (*Martin Hopkinson*), 164. The British Crown and the Indian States (*P. S. King*), 540. Memorandum of the Indian States People (*Arya Bhushan Press, Poona*), 541. Problems of Indian States (*Arya Bhushan Press, Poona*), 541.

Near East.

The Holy Cities of Arabia (*Putnam*), 555. Tamerlane, the Earth Shaker (*Thornton Butterworth*), 557. The Arab's Place in the Sun (*Thornton Butterworth*), 557. I'bn Batuta (*Routledge*), 557. A Baghdad Chronicle (*Cambridge University Press*), 558.

The Far East.

The Restless Pacific (*Scribners*), 168. China and England (*Oxford University Press*), 171. Weighed in China's Balance (*Heath Cranton*), 172. Through the Moon Door (*Williams and Norgate*), 174. Chinese Birthday, Wedding, Funeral, and other Customs (*Luzac*), 175. The Pillow Book of Sei Shonagon (*Allen and Unwin*), 176. Nippen Shindo Ron

The Far East.—Continued.

(*Cambridge University Press*), 343. An Outline History of Japan (*Appleton*), 343. Outline History of the Japanese Drama (*Allen and Unwin*), 344. Malayan Forest Records (*Forest Department of the Federated Malay States*), 344. Siam and Cambodia in Pen and Pastel (*Constable*), 344. Eastern Windows (*Hutchinson*), 345. A Short History of China (*Harper*), 552. Fifty Years of Romance and Research (*Hutchinson*), 554. The Cloud-Men of Yamato (*Murray*), 554. The Land of the Lama (*Seeley, Service*), 555.

General.

Stalky's Reminiscences (*Jonathan Cape*), 162. The Mind and Face of Bolshevism (*Putnam*), 163. Asia Reborn (*Harper*), 351.

Fiction.

Sugirtha (*Hulberts*), 558.

Music.

The Story of Indian Music and its Instruments (*William Reeves*), 559. History of Arabian Music to the Thirteenth Century (*Luzac*), 559.

Inner East.

Georgian Dictionary (*Tiflis*), 516. History of Abkhazia, 517. Album d'Architecture Géorgienne (*Tiflis*), 517. Bulletin of the Caucasian Historical-Archæological Society of Tiflis (*Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R.*), 517. Bulletin of the Society for the Exploration and Study of Azerbaijan (*Baku*), 517. Southern Ossetia (*Trans-Caucasian Scientific Association, Tiflis*) 518. Soviet Adigea (*Krasnodar*), 518. Bulletin of the Ingush Scientific Research Institute of Native Studies (*Vladikavkaz*), 518. Embassy of Tolochanov and Yevlev to Imeretia (*Tiflis*), 518. Embassy of Mishetzký and Klyucharev to Kakhétia (*Tiflis*), 518. History of the Cultural Life of Turkestan (*Academy of Science, Leningrad*), 519. Sketches in the History of the Kazak-Kirghiz Nation (*Kirghiz State Publishing Department, Orenburg*), 519. In the Unknown Mountains of Yakutia (*State Publishing Department, Moscow*), 520. Vostok (*State Publishing Department, Leningrad*), 520.

Orientalia.

The Ocean of Story, Vols. IX. and X. (*Sawyer*), 348. Surya Namaskars (*Aundh State Press*), 350. The Most Ancient East (*Kegan Paul*), 350.

Religion and Ethics.

The Path of Purity (*Oxford University Press*), 549. Brief Sketch of the Zoroastrian Religion and Customs (*Taraporevala, Bombay*), 549.

Art and Archæology.

Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India (*Government of India Central Publication Branch*), 345. Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum (*Van Oest, Paris*), 346. Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan (*Allen and Unwin*), 347. The Poems of Nizami (*The Studio*), 347. Palmyrena (*American Geographical Society, New York*), 348. Epygraphia Zeylanica (*Oxford University Press*), 348. A Century of Exploration at Nineveh (*Luzac*), 523.

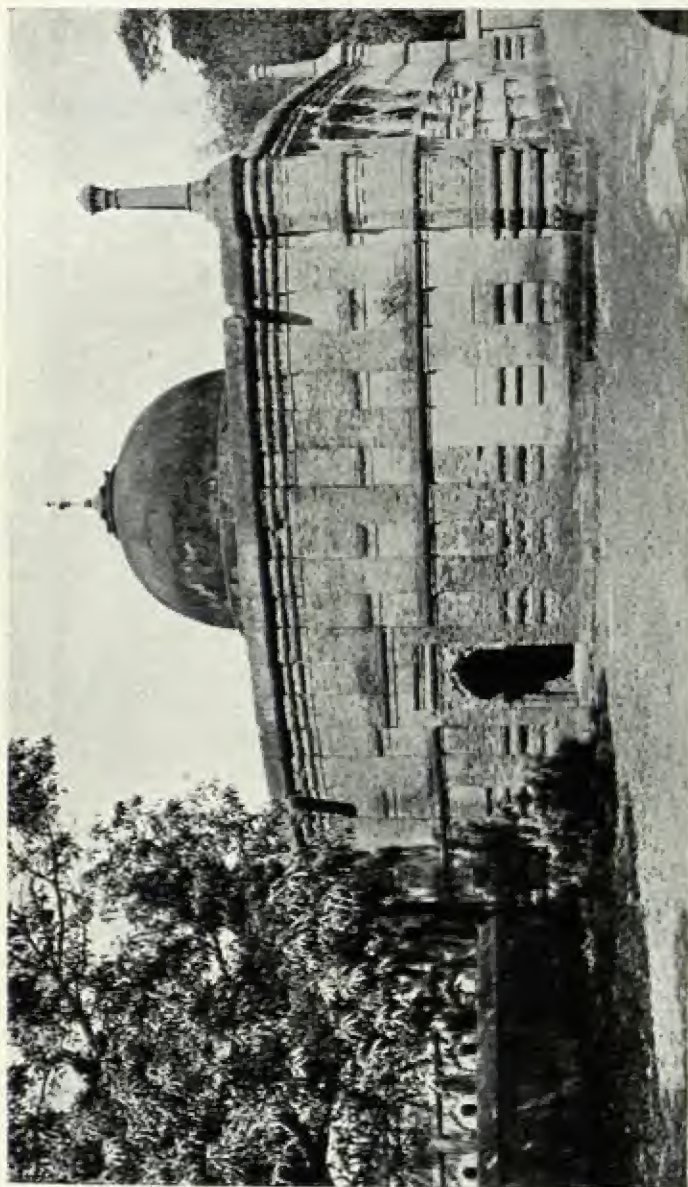
French Books.

L'Enigme Chinoise (*Payot*) 167. L'Inde et son Ame (*Publications Chitra Boulogne-sur-Seine*), 338.



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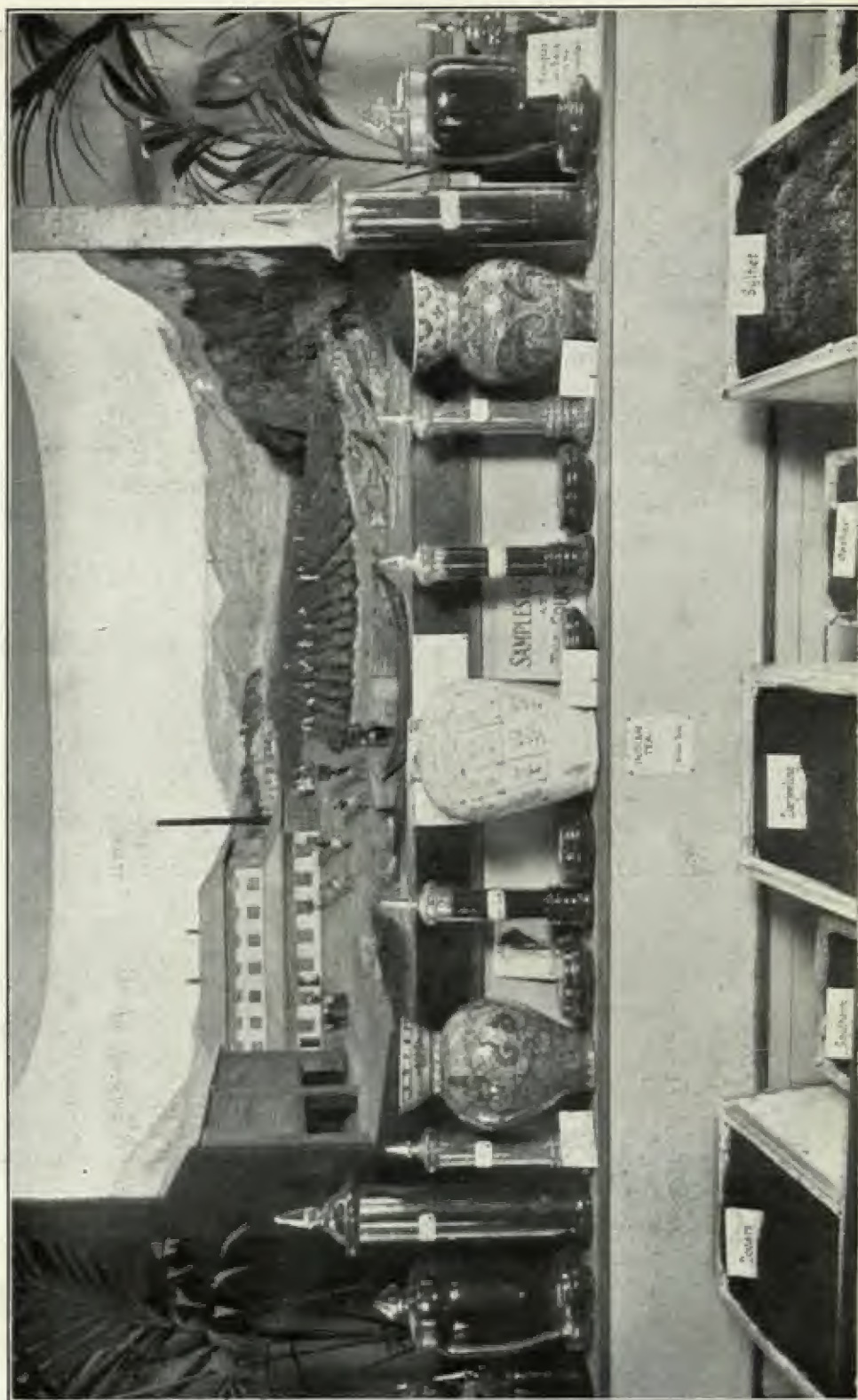
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